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**Annals of the
Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute,
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EDITED BY

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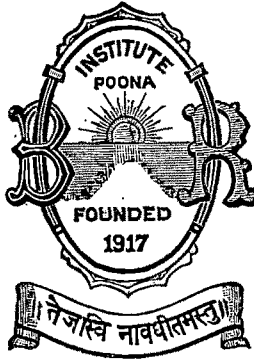
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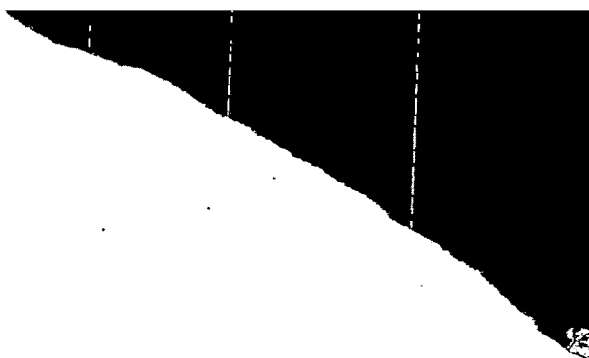
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OCTOBER 1937

[PART I

INFLUENCE OF THE MAHABHARATA ON HINDU SOCIAL LIFE *

BY

HIS HOLINESS SHRI SHANKARACHARYA- (DR. KURTKOTI)

It is after twenty years that I am once more taking part in a public gathering of this Institute. Some of you may remember that I was amongst you when this institution was inaugurated on the 6th July 1917, soon after my installation on the holy seat. A few of the faces that then gleamed have since been eclipsed. First and foremost among them is the eminent Sanskritist, the late Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, whose birth-day centenary is now celebrated here along with the 20th anniversary of this Institute. The Hon. Secretary, Dr. Sukthankar, has already spoken to you all that had to be said in this connection. I may add that Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar's great solicitude for the safety of his valuable collection of books, privately expressed before me in reply to my condolence on the death of his son (sometime my colleague as a University examiner), the late Professor Shridhar Bhandarkar, led to a train of thought that resulted in the foundation of this Oriental Research Institute, associated with Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar's name. To-day we also miss the late Prof. Dr. P. D. Gune of the Fergusson College and the late Hari

* An address delivered on the occasion of the celebrations of the Birthday Centenary of the late Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar and the 20th Anniversary of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, at the Institute on the 6th of July 1937, when the Virāṭaparvan volume was presented to the Raja Saheb of Aundh. • •

Narayan Apte, the creator of the Marathi historical novel. I am happy to say that some of the scholars who interested themselves in the inauguration of this Institute are still amongst us, though a few of them have been kept away from attending this gathering. It is really a pleasure to me to meet you all on this occasion and renew old memories.

Though on account of my various engagements and responsibilities, I have not been able to take part in the affairs of this Institute as intimately as you and I could have wished, still I can assure you that I have watched with interest the valuable research work conducted by the Institute, the *magnum opus* of which can be said to be the Critical and Illustrated Edition of the Mahābhārata.

I, therefore, think that it will be in the fitness of things, on this occasion, to indulge in some reflections on the influence of the Mahābhārata in shaping the social life of the people of our country. The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata may be said to have influenced Hindu thought and conduct far more vitally and effectively than the Iliad and the Odyssey of Homer are reported to have influenced the thought and manners of Greece and Rome. It was rightly said by a leading Roman poet that Homer had taught better morality to the people than the Greek philosophers, in so far that in his Ulysses, Homer set forth before the reader the man of action whom no temptation would swerve from his duty, and in so far that in his Achilles and Agamemnon he showed that the passions of princes led to the ruin of their subjects and the freedom from passion and wrath was one of the greatest virtues for man to attain. What the philosopher spoke of in the abstract the poet showed with great effect in the concrete. It is really admirable that the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata have done this far more effectively and to a larger number of people and for a longer period of time than the Greek epics have done; and what is still more to be admired in our Sanskrit epics is the fact that they are living epics to us, never to die, and they speak in their original tongue to generations of Hindu readers and audiences who still continue the ancient Hindu tradition and venerate them as amongst the holiest of Scriptures. Ours is still a living nation, whilst those whom the voice of Homer first address-

sed are no longer continuing in a national sense as the children of Hellas.

To-day I should like to confine myself to the *influence* of the Mahābhārata, as I said before, leaving aside any consideration of the problems of its authorship, chronology and historicity. We are now concerned with the universal truths that are enshrined in its pages. From this point of view the Bhagavadgītā, which is the kernel of the Mahābhārata, first compels our attention. It is so well-known and has attracted such a multitude of readers all over the world, that we must believe that a little poem of seven hundred verses which has such great power and which rouses such an amount of enthusiasm is a work of imperishable interest and influence. The philosophy of life propounded in the Bhagavadgītā is of the highest value. It seeks to reconcile Thought, Concentration, Devotion and Action. By the reconciliation of these four, any person can make of himself a good man and a great man, provided his action is Duty for Duty's sake.

The Bhagavadgītā contains principles of conduct which are of great use even for solving some of the perplexing problems in the world of to-day, problems that have shaken the minds of statesmen. The trend of present-day feeling is in favour of social equality. Even the people in the capitalistic countries cannot deny, in the abstract, this ideal. The problem is about the practicability. I am of opinion that if the principles of the Bhagavadgītā are properly understood this problem can be better and more easily solved. Nature loves diversity. The mind of man seeks for a unity. There is this duel. Man must find out a unity in his own mind to realize a unity in nature. That unity in nature is not realized by forcing the forms of nature artificially into one form. Rather, the mind has to be trained to appreciate the unity that underlies the diversity of nature and not try to realize it by force. Force may create a change for a time, but diversity will quickly follow as a reaction. This principle is very beautifully laid down in the Bhagavadgītā whose key-note is समत्व (equanimity). Translate it in terms of the world of to-day. We wish for a socio-economical unity. The capitalist has to realize that unity in his own mind and act to the spirit of it. This puts a burden on the rich man and directs him to act in con-

formity with his duty to the poor. At the same time the diversities in nature correspond to the diversities in human genius which develops best in an atmosphere of freedom. There must be no force or violence to bring out an artificial equality to the negation of this freedom. The Bhagavadgītā advocates freedom and prescribes force only as the last recourse. If then, the richer classes or individuals in a State do their duty properly, as, for instance, in the manner in which Ruskin also idealizes in his *Unto This Last* and if they recognize the ultimate unity of Man with Man, there is some justification for the learned man, the soldier, the politician, the merchant, the lawyer, the physician, and so on having some privilege, some position, some preferential treatment in material comforts; for, by their conduct they show that they are entitled to this sort of privilege and protection. But duty is the test. This gospel of Duty was preached for us by the Bhagavadgītā thousands of years before Ruskin or Modern Socialism was born. The Bhagavadgītā preached more than any one else a doctrine of social equality of a higher type, abiding in the spirit and not in material manifestation and pointed out that perfection lay in the realization of the spiritual sense of equality in the practical world. Men of thought and of action are not slaves. They rule their passions by instinct and thereby qualify themselves to rule Nature. The Gītā says :

इहैव तैर्जितः सर्गो येषां साम्ये स्थितं मनः ।

I wish the socialists in this country, who are necessarily Socialists in thought and not in action, as they have no power to realize their ideals, would recognize this higher type of spiritual Socialism, as it may be styled, preached in the Bhagavadgītā and convey a taste of it to their Socialist comrades in the West.

In Hindusthan there is to-day more need for social reforms than the economico-political reforms propounded by Socialists of the West. Without the realization of these social reforms we cannot maintain the solidarity of the nation. This necessity of Social Reform has often times been decried by people who have not fully understood the significance of the terms Dharma and Ācāra, religion and conduct and particularly what elements are Sanātana or eternal and what are admittedly capable of modification. Certainly, the Hindu conception which comprises in the term Dharma all our actions, from birth to death and from dawn

to dusk, is very admirable, but this term must be taken in a very rational and liberal sense, not as something to be blindly followed at all times and under all circumstances. This latter misconception of Dharma as something rigid and finite, as a thing incapable of further growth with the advancement in knowledge and civilization, has been the cause of our decline and fall. The same Dharma by which our ancestors accomplished such glory in their happier times has, by misconception and misinterpretation, become the cause of our downfall.

I will quote here a few verses from Śāntiparvan, selected at random, to show what a liberal idea the Mahābhārata has about Dharma, which it expressly defines as being for the welfare of all beings.

श्रुतभक्त्यर्थमेवेह धर्मप्रवचनं कृतम् ।

The Mahābhārata also says :

यदन्यैर्विहितं नेच्छेदात्मनः कर्म पुरुषः ।

न तत्परस्य कुर्वीत जानन्नाप्रियमात्मनः ॥

यद्यदात्मनि चेच्छेत् तत्परस्यापि चिन्तयेत् ।

(If a man does not like a certain thing being done to him by others he should not do it to them. Whatever a man desires for himself, he should also wish it to others.)

These are the basic principles of Dharma. Dharma is further described as being based on sweet reasonableness :

“ कारणाद्धर्ममन्विच्छेन्न लोकचरितं चरेत् ”

Here we are distinctly told that Dharma does not consist in blindly following traditional ways, when they are unreasonable. Tradition always means something useful and reasonable at a time, but not necessarily useful for all times. There is a change in all things. Nature's rule is to change ; but the spirit of the change is what really counts in Dharma. It is a true observation of Tennyson that “ the old order changeth yielding place to new and God fulfils himself in many ways, lest one good custom should corrupt the world. ” The true reformer should not belittle the past, and at the same time the conservative who prides himself upon the all-comprehensive character of Religion as our Sanātana Dharma is, should also be prepared to change, where change we must, in the view of greater knowledge, material advancement and political exigencies. Certainly we comprise in the

term Dharma such things as appertain to health, education, marriage commerce, agriculture, war, peace and what not. Have not ideas and methods in all these subjects changed from time to time? Consequently has not the Dharma which governs these actions changed from time to time? As the Śāntiparvan says:

अन्यो धर्मः समस्थस्य विषमस्थस्य चापरः ।

The Dharma of man who is in a tranquil condition of life is here described as being different from that of the man who is labouring in adversity. Again we are told:

आपदस्तु कथं शक्याः परिपाटेन वेदितुम् ।

There is no cataloguing of misfortunes. But there is necessity for, and possibility of, a comprehensive meaning to be given to Dharma, because misfortunes prowl over the highways and by-ways of human life. What adversity can be described as greater than the condition through which Hindu Society has been drifting for centuries past? In fact, our society will survive only if rational changes are made at this juncture, maintaining the real spirit of Dharma. I quote another verse from Śāntiparva

तस्मात् कौन्तेय विदुषा धर्माधर्मविनिश्चये ।

बुद्धिमास्थाय लोकेऽस्मिन्वर्तितव्यं कृतात्मना ॥

(" Therefore " says Bhīṣma to Yudhiṣṭhira " The man of culture should follow the dictates of Reason in discriminating Dharma from Adharma ".)

Is not this conception of Dharma rational? And is it not therefore our sacred duty to maintain and interpret Dharma as a rational and intellectual thing now as it was in the time of the Mahābhārata?

I have referred here to a few verses of the Mahābhārata as specimens of the rational and intellectual outlook that the great Epic has taken of human life and human institutions. If we have due regard for these precepts, we shall be in a position to pilot the barque of Hindu Society to the haven of safety amidst the justling rocks through which our voyage lies and the many shoals and quagmires of inertia and lethargy in which our barque constantly threatens to be overwhelmed. None can exhaust these texts in a speech. There is God's plenty in the Mahābhārata; verses exhortatory, spirited, stimulating, that will hearten the distressed mariner in the voyage of life and constantly give him

a light and a guidance in the greatest gloom of his despondency. The Mahābhārata is full of such precepts and of glorious instances. The philosophy enshrined in it is not a dry or dead philosophy. It is a philosophy that is lived by the great characters in the poem. They have their times of prosperity and their times of gloom. Those examples we ponder over, those precepts we cherish, and let us hope we shall always continue to cherish with a full understanding of their meaning and their significance. Let us understand with reason, because, believe me, the Lord Kṛṣṇa and the veteran Bhīṣma spoke to rational men and expected them and their descendants (that is, ourselves) to understand and interpret their message in a rational manner, even though the times changed. Now there has been a great change. We are not living in the Heroic Ages of History. We are living in a state of industrial war. We have to synthesize the civilization and culture of the East and the West. And what really changes the whole situation is that we are to-day a nation of conflicting creeds and interests, and to crown all this, we are no longer politically free. And those heartening words of the Mahābhārata apply to us, if we apply them to our conditions in the right way.

I have purposely refrained from any academic discussion and different interpretations and points of view on this thing and that. Nor have I gone into any academic controversy. We live in the practical world. The practical impinges upon the theoretical and the ideal in all directions, and modifies it. I am more interested in the application of the teachings of works like the Mahābhārata to our present day society and our immediate needs than in any historical disquisitions about it. These latter have, no doubt, a value of their own for the scholar and the historian. I have more to do with persons of ordinary calibre, people perplexed with the weight of the world and overwhelmed with insurmountable difficulties of their own, than with scholars and historians like this audience. Ordinary people make a mountain of their difficulties. We need not laugh at them. It is really a mountain to them. To a philosopher these things are vain; he weighs their difficulties as a grain of sand. In Hindu Society these difficulties now-a-days take an extra-ordinary nondescript form, but usually have a bearing, first of all, on the leading of an honourable existence, though often as industrial serfs or slaves. Then there

are questions of marriage and caste which sometimes perplex the best and wisest. But in my opinion you have only to run to the Mahābhārata for the purest light and the most helpful guide to be had for the solution of these problems, and I should be glad if my words to-day should serve the purpose of inspiring the public through this learned audience to ponder over the weighty verses of the Mahābhārata and appreciate them in the right spirit. It is for the wise to properly lead the ignorant and for leaders like many in the present audience, to guide the masses to a right synthesis of life, in consonance with the temper of the present times and the true spirit of Dharma as expounded in the Mahābhārata.

Now it remains for me to do one thing. It is, of course, a very pleasant work, but as a preface to it, I must say a few words in that connection. I must again come back to the Critical and Illustrated Edition of the Mahābhārata which I referred to at the outset as the most important work of the Institute. A standard edition of the Mahābhārata, the greatest Epic of the World, an Epic of national interest and international importance, was a great desideratum. But thanks to the lead taken by the Raja Sahab of Aundh, who, presiding over a meeting of the General Body of this Institute as early as in 1918 not only dwelt upon the need for such an edition but also voluntarily offered to give a very substantial pecuniary aid for the initial expenses, and thanks also to the various scholars of this Institute who most willingly and courageously took the heavy responsibility on their shoulders, the Herculean labour has materialized to a considerable extent. In the critical edition of the Ādiparvan Dr. Sukthankar has, in his "Prolegomena," dealt with the problem of textual criticism in a very masterly way. His method of handling the material of various manuscripts is, by all means, as scholarly and judicious as it ought to be. The Mahābhārata, which is considered one of the holiest books by the Hindus is recited by many as a Scripture in all parts of Hindusthan. But it has now been shown that there is a difference of as many as ten thousand verses between the Northern and Southern editions. To get over this difference some earlier editions have mixed up both Northern and Southern versions, thus making for still greater confusion. How necessary a critical edition is can be seen from this. It is un-

doubtedly a very stupendous task and it is a matter for gratification that financial support has come forth from several quarters including the Government of India, the Governments of Bombay, Madras and Burma, the University of Bombay, H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, their Highnesses the Maharajas of Baroda, Mysore, Bhavanagar, Gwalior, Kolhapur, Patiala, Phaltan, Porabandar, Sangli, Ichalkaranji and others, besides a few rich men. I do not think I will be making any exaggeration if I were to say that it would be a very happy day if other princes and men of means in our country were to distinguish themselves with similar acts of patronage at the call of the Institute for a speedy completion of the monumental edition of the Mahābhārata. Such sort of active sympathy must inspire the promoters of the project with hopes and I feel sure they need not be under any apprehension as to the success of their arduous undertaking. The Institute must be really congratulated for what it has so remarkably accomplished. And our best thanks are due to Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, Editor-in-Chief, and his colleagues, for the signal success.

The Institute and the public are greatly indebted to the Raja Saheb of Aundh for his munificent grant which duly served as the foundation grant and which speaks highly of the love of culture and learning and, above all, his patriotism. It is, therefore, most fitting that the Institute should now present the Raja Saheb with a copy of the Virātaparvan which he has done so much to help to see the light of day. On behalf of the Institute I have great pleasure to present to the Raja Saheb Shrimant Bhavanrao (Balasaheb) Pant Pratinidhi of Aundh this splendid Book with my blessings for his continued health and happiness.

THE INDIAN CONCEPTION OF VALUES †

BY

Prof. M. HIRIYANNA, M. A.

The subject of value is a very complicated one, and it may appear presumptuous on my part to have undertaken to say anything that is worth listening to about it; but I shall not enter into the intricacies of the subject. I have for long felt that Indian philosophy is essentially a philosophy of values; and all that I now attempt is to convey to you one or two ideas which have occurred to me in this connection. Without further preliminaries therefore, I shall begin by stating what I understand by the term 'value'. It seems to me that the meaning of this term can be best indicated by contrasting it with that of another, viz. 'fact'. The immediate purpose of all knowledge is to acquaint us with facts. If I look about me, I perceive some object or other. That is direct observation. I may also come to know of things indirectly as when I hear a distant sound and connect it with its possible source. The object seen directly or known indirectly is a fact. It need not signify a present existence, as these examples may suggest. It may be what existed in the past or what will exist in the future. It is not even necessary that it should be a matter of certainty; it is enough if it appears to be so. What is meant by 'fact' then, as used here, is simply anything that becomes the object of explicit consciousness. Such facts may well suffice for the purposes of a purely theoretic investigation; but in actual life their knowledge, as a rule, leads to action whose aim is the positive one of securing something we like or the negative one of avoiding something we dislike. Either way, knowledge lights up for us the path of action which we pursue in order that some desire of ours may be satisfied. It is this satisfaction of desire or attainment of ends as the result of knowing facts that is to be understood by 'value'. But the realisation of value in this sense (*iṣṭa*) generally

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implies the prior securing of some appropriate means; and these mediating factors (*viṣṭa-sādhana*) also are often described as values. It is however obvious that, as subserving ends other than themselves, they can be only instrumental and not intrinsic or ultimate values. Thus money is an instrumental value, while the satisfaction of any of life's needs to which it is a means, is an intrinsic one. I shall have to do with both these kinds of value, and the particular context in which the term is used will, I hope, make it clear in which sense it is to be taken.

I have assumed that the realisation of value is preceded by a knowledge of it. This is in accordance with our philosophical texts which define it as 'that which, being known, is sought to be realised in one's own experience'.¹ Whether objects below the level of conscious being also seek values is a difficult question to decide. Some among modern as well as ancient writers have said that they do. A recent writer Prof. Laird, for instance, remarks that even such objects exhibit a partiality, or 'non-indifference' as he terms it, to some things as distinguished from others. A creeper twines round a tree near by and iron filings move towards the magnet, implying by their behaviour a certain preference to some objects rather than to others. And among ancient writers, Manu for example has stated that plants and trees have a sense of pain and pleasure.² This view may be right or it may be nothing more than poetic fancy such as inspired Kālidāsa to write his *Cloud Messenger* or Shelley, his *Sensitive Plant*. But it is not necessary for us to settle the point for I propose to confine my attention now to what are called *puruṣārthas* or 'human values', which signify that they are for a reflecting subject and thus exclude all reference not only to the sphere of infra-conscious being but also to all lower animals. The latter also, no doubt, strive to satisfy their desires like man; but they differ from him in that they do so without any *idea* of the satisfaction they are seeking. Animal activity may involve an end, but it does not proceed from a definite consciousness of that end. As the *Āitareyāranyaka* says: 'Among living beings, it is man alone that says what he has known, that sees what he has known.

¹ Cf. *Siddhānta-muktāvalī*, st. 146 and *Vedānta-paribhāṣā*, viii.

² *Antaḥ-samjñā bhavantiyete sukha-duḥkha-samanvitāḥ*, i. 49.

He knows the future, he knows this world and the next; and he desires to attain the immortal through the mortal. Thus is he endowed, while other creatures are aware of only hunger and thirst'.¹

The rough and ready manner in which I have stated the meaning of value raises many questions. Thus the statement that it is for a reflecting self may lead one to ask whether values have any objective reference or are purely subjective. We must leave unanswered such questions, however important they may be, and proceed with our immediate task of pointing out what is distinctive about the Indian conception of values. Since, according to our definition, whatever is the means of satisfying any of the needs felt by man is an instrumental value, the number of such values becomes almost infinite. But a little reflection will show that there is no certainty in regard to several among them that they will secure the end that is sought to be attained through them. What was successful once or in the case of one person may not be so at another time or in the case of another person. Secondly, even when the means prove successful, the satisfaction derived through them is only provisional in that it is sooner or later replaced by a desire for some other mode of satisfaction. Thus, as ordinarily known to us, the instrumental values are for the most part precarious (*anāikāntika*) and the intrinsic values are all unstable (*anātyantika*).² That is the irony of life, and it makes us ask whether there are any values that are not vitiated by these defects. The Indian answer to this question, to state it very broadly, is that there are two such values, viz. *dharma* and *mokṣa*. The other values are all brought under the heads of *artha* and *kāma*. These are the four well-known *puruṣārthas*—*artha*, *kāma*, *dharma*, and *mokṣa*.³ We may call the former pair secular values, and the latter spiritual. When I say that Indian philosophy is one of values, I mean that it primarily deals with these *puruṣārthas* and that the consideration of metaphysical questions comes in only as a matter of course. Even among the values, it is dir-

¹ II, iii. 2.

² Cf. *Sāṃkhya-kārikā*, st. 1.

³ This list, though old and well-recognised, is not altogether satisfactory for instrumental values are collocated in it with intrinsic ones. Thus *artha*, as generally understood, can only be a means while *mokṣa* is always conceived as an end.

ectly concerned with the two higher ones of *dharma* and *mokṣa* and the right means of realising them; but, as it should also show how they are superior, it has necessarily, though only generally, to consider the nature of the other two values. Hence we may define philosophy, as conceived in India, as *a criticism of values*. Other branches of learning also deal with select values; but the idea of preference or of better and worse is not, strictly speaking, involved in them.¹

I have classed *dharma* and *mokṣa* together as spiritual values, but there is a great deal of difference between the two conceptions necessitating a separate treatment of them. I shall begin with *dharma* but, before explaining the different views held about it, I shall state what is to be understood by this term. Vātsyāyana in his commentary on an early *sūtra* of Gautama represents *dharma* as the result of right conduct. He says that virtues like charity, speaking the truth and compassion lead to it, and regards it as the means to some form of good.² We may thus take the word as standing for moral merit. But it must be admitted that this is not its usual meaning. More commonly, it is used with a wider significance as comprehending Vedic ritual or religious duties of one kind or another. But the point is that even when used in this wider sense, it necessarily includes ethical conduct on the principle, recognised from very early times, that the Vedas do not cleanse the morally impure.³ Śaṅkara, for instance, has stated that nobody that is not virtuous is qualified to enter upon the ceremonial life.⁴ *Dharma* may thus be more than virtue, but it is not less. I shall not therefore be misrepresenting its nature if, for my present purpose, I regard it as a moral concept roughly corresponding to the good as it is ordinarily understood in the West. I shall accordingly refer to it hereafter by its Indian name or by its Western equivalent as occasion may require.

Now the ethical aim, to state it generally, is on the one hand to put a check upon or, if we prefer to express it so, refine natural

¹ Where such an idea is present, the *vidyā* may be said to usurp the function of philosophy.

² I. i. 2.

³ *Ācāra-hīnam na punanti Vedāḥ. Vasiṣṭha-dharma-sūtra*, vi, 3.

⁴ *Vedānta-sūtra*, III. i. 10.

impulses which are for the most part selfish, and on the other to strive to the best of one's ability for securing the welfare of society. These features characterise *dharma* also. It comprehends first the cultivation of virtues like fortitude and temperance (*ātma-guṇa*)¹ which involve a good deal of self-restraint. Next, and for the most part, it consists of what are known as *varṇāśrama-dharmas* or duties which are conceived mainly, though not exclusively,² as social. Both of these are obligatory, and they are therefore termed *nitya-karmas*. The notion of *dharma*, however, is not exhausted by them, for it also includes *kāmya-karmas* which, as their name indicates, directly aim at securing the good of the agent himself, like rank and riches. Only these *karmas*, on account of the inclusion of certain forms of ritual in them, are sometimes conceived as yielding their result not in this life but in a future one. Whether the advantages sought are of this world or of another, it is indispensable that their seeking should not come into conflict with the essential objects of the moral life, viz. self-culture and social service. This conception of *dharma* as a means to the attainment of certain ends is exactly the one we find, for instance, in the *Mīmāṃsā* as taught by Kumārila. *Dharma*, be it understood as obligatory or optional, thus becomes an instrumental value and not an ultimate one.

But this is only one of the ways in which it is conceived by the Indians, and there are two others which we should consider now. It will be seen that, though by placing various restrictions on the exercise of natural impulses, the above view precludes the seeking of *kāma* in its crude sense of animal pleasure, it explains *dharma* on a utilitarian and therefore an ultimately hedonistic basis, since it makes its value depend upon the resulting well-being. Dissatisfied with this explanation, other thinkers, like Prabhākara, conceive of it in a different way. In their view, the idea of the *phala* or the result to be attained, irrespective of its being for oneself or for others, should be completely abandoned, and *dharma* should be regarded as an intrinsic value worthy of being pursued for its own sake. What ought to actuate man

¹ See *Gautama-dharma-sūtra*, viii. 20-3.

² Daily rites like *mahā-yajñas*, for instance, have in view the good of beings other than fellow-men.

in pursuing it is the consciousness that it is his duty to do so, and never the prospect of satisfying any desire that he or others may have. *Dharma* accordingly becomes an ultimate value here and not merely an instrumental one as in the previous view. What is noteworthy is the total rejection of the hedonistic standpoint and the replacement of it by the principle of duty for duty's sake. If we overlook certain more or less important differences, this view of the good or of the right, as it is perhaps preferable to term it, corresponds in the history of Indian thought to the view of the 'categorical imperative' put forward by Kant in the West. What he states in respect of the good, viz. that 'it is good in itself, and considered by itself is to be esteemed much higher than all that can be brought about by it in favour of any inclination' ¹ is exactly applicable to the present conception of *dharma*. This altered view of it has a very important implication: It shows that an instrumental value may, if one wills, be so pursued as to transform it into an intrinsic one. The way to do it is to mentally detach it from all its practical uses and concentrate one's efforts on realising it for its own sake. There is no question that this turning away from the ordinary secular purposes to the fulfilment of which our activities are commonly directed is to greatly elevate them; and so far, we may regard this theory of *dharma* as higher than the previous one. But there is one serious defect in it. In commending distinterested activity in the literal sense of the expression, it is indulging in a pure abstraction, for action entirely divorced from purpose is a psychological impossibility. To insist upon such activity in the name of *dharma* is, as Śaṅkara observes, to reduce life to a form of meaningless drudgery. ² Considerations of this kind have led to the formulation of a third view which, as being Vedāntic, may be looked upon as containing the highest conception of *dharma* according to ancient Indians. It represents a further revaluation of *dharma* by making it subserve what is known as *mokṣa*. Our actions are not here emptied of all motive as in the previous view; only the *diverse* purposes of the duties that fall to us as men are replaced by *one and the same* end of

¹ T. K. Abbott: *Kant's Theory of Ethics*, p. 10.

² See com. on *Gītā*. III, 1.

helping the attainment of *mokṣa*. *Dharma* thus assumes the role of an instrumental value once again, but it is instrumental not to the realisation of any secular ends, however purely they may be conceived, but for achieving what is regarded as the supreme spiritual ideal.

But what is the nature of this ideal to which *dharma* is to be subordinated? The conception of *mokṣa* differs widely in the different schools; but all of them represent it as the highest of human values. The significance of representing it so, according to our criterion of the highest value, is that there should be no lapse from it when it is once attained. That is, it should be eternal (*nitya*). It should also be absolute in the sense that it can never become the means to any other end (*phala*). We need not dwell on the distinctions in the nature of *mokṣa* as conceived in the several schools. It will do for us to regard it as standing for peace of spirit which it finally purports to be according to all of them. This value is intimately connected with Truth or knowledge of ultimate reality, since the acquisition of such knowledge is regarded as a necessary preliminary to its attainment. Truth thus becomes a means and not an end. This is clear, so far as the Vedānta is concerned, from the description of the knowledge of ultimate reality as a path or *pañthāḥ* in the Upaniṣads.¹ That the same is also the view of thinkers other than Vedāntins may be indicated by citing the opinion of the exponents of other systems. In the *Nyāya-sūtra*, for example, we read that *mokṣa* results from knowing the true nature of reality.² The *Sāṃkhya-kārikā* again speaks of the destruction of the threefold misery (*duḥkha-traya*) as the consequence of knowing what the system takes to be the ultimate nature of the universe.³ That is, Indian philosophy does not stop short at the discovery of truth but utilises it for attaining something else which it holds to be more valuable. But it will be said that such a view removes Truth from the high pedestal which it occupies as an ultimate value according to Western conceptions. Thinkers like Bradley are positive that philosophy aims only at Truth. He writes: 'It

¹ *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, iii. 8.

² *Tattva-jñānāt niśreyasādhigamah* (I. i. 1)

³ *Duḥkha-trayābhighātāt jñānāsā* (st. 1).

seeks to gain possession of Reality but only in an ideal form.'¹ Another modern writer states that 'its mission terminates in the quest, rather than any actions that may follow from it.'² Now the seeking of ultimate truth may have its own secular or worldly attractions. It may, for instance, be sought for the sake of the fame it may bring. By diverting it from all such aims and pursuing it for its own sake, Truth, it may be admitted, can be transformed, like *dharma* in the Prābhākara school, into an end in itself. But that seems to make philosophy the same as science, the only difference being that while the special sciences deal each with some one particular aspect of reality, philosophy is concerned with the whole of it. There is indeed a tendency to identify the two in the West, doubtless, as a result of the rapid growth of experimental science in the last few centuries. But considering the general nature of knowledge, it seems that its ultimate significance should be practical. Our minds, psychologists tell us, are through and through conational, and cannot therefore rest in mere cognition.

In thus differentiating philosophy from science, however, I do not imply that their subject-matter is necessarily distinct. We may grant, for the moment, that philosophy aims at nothing more than the co-ordination or the integration of the results of science. But this does not eliminate the difference between the two, for the impulses which they satisfy are entirely different. Science gratifies curiosity or wonder, if we prefer to put it so; but philosophy is meant to meet the deepest desire of man for peace of soul. In a beautiful poem, George Herbert says that God in creating man endowed him with all possible gifts—strength, beauty, wisdom, honour and pleasure; but in the end refrained from adding to them the great gift of rest, saying—

'Yet let him keep the rest,
But keep them with repining restlessness;
Let him be rich and weary, that at least
If goodness lead him not, yet weariness
May toss him to my breast.'

¹ *Essays on Truth and Reality*, p. 12.

² J. S. Mackenzie : *Ultimate Values*, p. 26.

³ [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

It is this restlessness, consequent upon not merely intellectual doubts but also the sorrows and sufferings of life, which is the true cause of man's philosophic quest. Or, to state the same from the standpoint of the present poem, this unrest is part of a divine scheme which is intended to make man turn to God where alone he can find abiding peace. Philosophy is not therefore 'a game of speculation', as it has been described, meant only to afford intellectual satisfaction by dispelling doubts, but a practical study which should issue in the right mode of life. Its aim is not merely to unravel the mystery of existence but to discover a way out of the misery of life as indicated, for instance, by Buddha's noble saying that he would willingly bear the burden of everybody's suffering, if he could bring relief to the world.¹

If we grant that the object of philosophy is to help us out of this radical unrest of life, we shall understand the significance of subordinating *dharma* to *mokṣa*. All our activities, indeed, seem to be directed towards this object; but we fail to attain it for, owing to our ignorance of the ultimate truth, we act on selfish or short-sighted views. Our belief, however, in the correctness of these views is immediate. Now it is a matter of common experience that if belief which is based upon immediate convictions is to be effectively removed, the knowledge of its contrary must become equally immediate. The knowledge of ultimate reality which speculative philosophy aims at, being merely a theoretical construction, is necessarily mediate. It may remove doubt, but it is powerless to influence conduct until it has been transformed into immediate knowledge. It is only when such immediacy is achieved and the truth, of which we are intellectually convinced, is seen mirrored in our own experience, that our old convictions disappear and our attitude towards life is set right. Till then we shall continue in the course to which we are accustomed. It is for converting mediate philosophic knowledge into an immediate experience that the Indian systems recommend the adoption of some definite course of practical discipline. To connect practical training in this manner with philosophy, it may appear, is to lose sight of the distinction be-

¹ *Kali-kaluṣa-kṛtāni yāni loke mayi nipatantu vimucyatām hi lokah*. See Kumārila's *Tantra-vārttika*, I, ii. 1.

tween it and religion. But we must remember that the training is not for securing any end externally imposed upon us; it is only for transforming into an inner conviction the mediate knowledge of ultimate reality which has already received our intellectual assent. Hence there is nothing authoritarian about it; and if philosophy thereby seems to become blended with religion, it is not in the sense of any dogma. We cannot dwell at any length on the details of this discipline. It will suffice to remark that it consists of two parts—one for securing detachment from all personal interests (*vairāgya*) and the other for cultivating powers of mental concentration (*yoga*). And it is chiefly as an aid to the former side of the discipline, viz. the elimination of selfish impulses, that *dharma* is to be utilised in the last of the three views referred to above. The way in which it contributes to this result is quite familiar through the teaching of the *Gitā* and does not require much explanation. Briefly it is that the pursuit of *dharma* in the spirit of this teaching, or *niṣkāma-karma* as it is called, will enable us to inwardly assimilate ultimate truth by destroying our narrow views which, as stated above, form the chief obstacle to our doing so.

But there is one aspect of this teaching to which I like to refer in passing. In all moral activities there is a distinction between quality and content. One and the same kind of action may be done in two or more ways which differ in their moral quality. Similarly, the moral quality may remain the same in diverse acts though their content be different. The result of subordinating the good to *mokṣa* is to elevate the moral quality of actions above their subject-matter. Thus the work in which Arjuna engages himself as a result of the *Gitā* teaching is stupendous in its magnitude, being no less than setting right the world which is running off the rails. The actions, which ordinary people like ourselves have to perform bears no comparison to it. While the one, for instance, would count for much in a historical estimate, the other would be nowhere. Yet, as a way of approach to *mokṣa*, the two do not differ in the least. 'All service ranks the same with God'. This is the significance of the famous principle enunciated in the *Gitā* that one's own duty, be it never so low, is superior to another's, a principle which has been accepted by all the orthodox schools and whose knowledge has filtered down even

to the lowest ranks of our society as suggested, for instance, by the words which Kālidāsa puts into the mouth of the fisherman in the *Śākuntalam*.¹ It should not be inferred from this elevation of the moral quality of an action above its content that the latter remains unregulated, for that would put an end to all social order whose maintenance, though not overtly emphasised, is one of the main objects of *dharma*. There is, as indicated by the term *sva-dharma*, a rule governing the content also, viz. that each person should do the duty of his station in society.

I have so far spoken only of the good and the true out of the famous triad of values commonly recognised in the West; and it is necessary to add a few words regarding the third of them, viz, the beautiful, to complete my treatment of values. Of these, the true is the same in both the schemes of values, although Indians look upon it as an instrumental and not an ultimate value; and *dharma*, you will remember, I have taken as roughly corresponding to the good. As regards the beautiful, however, we come across a rather strange fact, for it is not recognised at all by Indian philosophers. The only reference to it we can trace in their works is when they are illustrating their philosophic doctrine. In the *Sāṃkhya-kārikā* for example, Prakṛti is compared to a dancer who retires from the stage when she has played her part.² In the *Pañca-daśī*, in a similar way, painting as well as the drama, is made use of in the exposition of Advaita.³ Otherwise Indian philosophers are entirely silent about this value; and the statement that 'all prattle about poetry ought to cease,'⁴ though it refers to only one of the fine arts, represents their attitude towards all of them. And in this, they took much the same view as Plato seems to have done in ancient Greece. That this over-Puritanic view of art was not of late origin is shown by Manu's reckoning of song, dance and instrumental music (*taurya-trikam*) among human weaknesses (*vyasana*).⁵ The same also seems to be the import of the curse which, in the epilogue to the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, is stated to have been pronounced on dancing. In

¹ vi. 2.

² St. 59.

³ Ch. vi & x.

⁴ *Kāvya-lāpan ca varjayet.*

vii, 47.

other words, aesthetic pleasure on this view is not one of the higher values at all but only *kāma* or sensuous pleasure in disguise.

But this does not mean that the value of Beauty was not felt at all by Indians, for there were other groups of thinkers, neither less ancient nor less influential, who explored its nature and pointed out its exalted character. Bharata speaks of his work, which may be characterised as an encyclopaedia of nearly all the fine arts, as the 'fifth Veda'.¹ We may also mention in this connection the numerous *ālankārikas* or writers on poetics for, though they only speak of poetry and the drama, they imply a general theory of art. This altered view of art, broadly speaking, appears in two forms so that we have three different views in all here, as in the case of *dharma*.

(i) The first and the earlier which is advocated by writers like Bhāmaha is that the beautiful, being the source of pure delight, is far from reprehensible.² Vāmana, for example, referring to poetry and the drama, states that they are quite worthy of our regard (*grāhya*) owing to the beauty of their form as well as of content.³ Kālidāsa makes the dancing-master in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*⁴ say that the high esteem in which he holds his art is on account of its intrinsic merit, not because he professes it; and among the reasons given for such preference is the universality of its appeal, which shows that it is not to be regarded as merely subjective in its character. That is, even if art be *kāma*, as its critics say, it is *kāma* idealised and sublimated so that its selfish and sensual side is entirely eliminated.

(ii) This view of art for art's sake, as we may term it, is however not the final verdict of the Indian mind on it, for we find it profoundly transformed, as in the case of *dharma*, by another and somewhat later school of thinkers who represent it as the means essentially of experiencing *rasa* or aesthetic ecstasy, comparing it at the same time to the ineffable peace of *mokṣa*.⁵

¹ i. 12.

² Cf. Bhāmaha: *Prītim karoti kīrtim ca sādhu-kāvya-nibandhanam* (i. 2). This refers to poetic or, more generally, artistic creation; but the same, as sometimes cited by others, applies to artistic appreciation also. See e. g. *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 12 (com.).

³ I. i. 1-3.

⁴ i. 4.

⁵ *Para-brahmāśvāda-sabrakma-cāritvam*.

In addition to the exposition of this view in the many works of this school, there is also the old saying that it is only the fortunate that can taste *rasa*, for it is so much like *yogic* experience. The idea of *rasānubhava*¹ as the aesthetic aim is, no doubt, very old; but, to judge from the way in which it is mentioned in the *Nāṭya-śāstra*,² it seems to have been regarded at that time as its own justification. But in this later view its value comes to be assessed by a standard accepted by philosophers as the highest. Like the good then, it finally becomes related in the Indian view to the highest ideal of man. But there is an important difference in the manner of its relation which requires a few words of explanation.

It is common knowledge that the fine arts of dancing, architecture, painting and sculpture have been affiliated in India, as in many other countries, to religion and therefore in a way to philosophy also. Even poetry is so, as shown by what may be described as the 'poetry of piety' which comprises hymns and *stotras* too numerous to mention. But I do not mean by the relation of art to philosophy this kind of subordination through its subject-matter. That is only to utilise art for making religion and philosophy more attractive; and it justifies the claim put forward by Bharata,³ and reiterated by others, that no subject is beyond the reach of art. What I mean is the recognition that, quite apart from its theme, art by virtue of its form as art can be of use to the spiritual aspirant. It will be remembered that the practical discipline, required for transforming the mediate knowledge of ultimate truth into an immediate experience, comprises not only the cultivation of unselfish habits but also the practice of contemplation. Art also, like *niṣkāma-kārma*, may, by purging our emotions, help what I have described as the inner assimilation of the ultimate truth, for devotion to the beautiful is not less unselfish than devotion to the good. It is however, specially fitted to assist the latter or contemplative side

¹ *Puṇyavantaḥ pramāṇvanti yogivat rasa-saṁtatim*: quoted in *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, iii.

² vi. 32-3. The statement *Raso vai saḥ* occurring in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* is sometimes cited in support of the antiquity of this view. But there is nothing in the context to show its connection with *rasa* as aesthetic experience. See e. g. Śaṅkara's com.

³ i. 113-4.

of the discipline ; and it is as such that one of the arts, mūsic, appears to be recommended in the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*.¹ Art may, indeed, be characterised as the lay man's *yoga*, for the spell which it casts on one's mind is so complete. But over and above this direct help, there is another which it can indirectly render. By the attitude of detachment which it evokes, it gives man a fore-taste, albeit momentary, of the supreme peace which, according to all the Indian systems, should be the aim of man to secure. Satisfying thus the same impulse, art becomes a sample or pattern of *mokṣa* ; and a mind that is continually nourished upon it, if sufficiently earnest, may easily feel itself drawn towards that higher end.

Thus, according to the Indian view, all the three so-called eternal values are subsidiary to one and the same end of *mokṣa*.² Of these, the beautiful may not be a necessary aid like the other two, but it still forms a desirable approach to it. And here we come upon another point in which the Indian view diverges from the generality of European views. These three values, no doubt are vastly superior to all others which are infected with one form or other of self-interest ; but they are far from being supreme or absolute. In fact, it seems hard to understand how more than one value can be absolute. It is as a result of the conflicts and perplexities of life that we come to cherish these values ; but none of them is adequate by itself to take us finally beyond them. They certainly reveal to us the nature of the ultimate goal, but they do so only dimly and partially. We have explained the reason why the pursuit of truth for its own sake cannot be a supreme value. It is mediate and cannot therefore effectively supplant our first and intimate convictions regarding the world in which we find ourselves placed. The chief reason for the relative inferiority of the other two values is that their successful pursuit does not, as a matter of course, require a knowledge of ultimate truth. That is, their realisation is not incompatible with ignorance of the final philosophic truth. There should be instances within the experience of us all where goodness does not necessarily mean philosophic enlightenment. Similarly in the case of the beautiful also. The enjoyment of fine music or the appre-

¹ iii. 114.

² This is the significance of the Gītā statement, *Adhyātma-vidyā vidyā-nām* (x. 32) where Saṅkara understands *mokṣa-vidyā* from *adhyātma-vidyā*.

ciation of a good poem may require much intellectual culture but by no means does it need a knowledge of the ultimate truth also. In the case of beauty there is another deficiency also since the peace or poise of mind which it brings to its votaries, though comparable in its quality to the peace of spirit signified by *mokṣa*, is, as already remarked, transient and cannot therefore be the highest value. But it is quite permissible to pursue them even for their own sake for they are, unlike the other values, free from every taint of self-interest. The highest service they can render, however, is as handmaids to *mokṣa*. That is the central teaching of ancient India regarding values.

There is one other point to which a brief reference is necessary. The way in which the final goal of *mokṣa* is conceived as eternal and all-satisfying, may make one think that it is a mere idea which has been elevated to the rank of an ideal: and it may lead to the question whether it at all admits of realisation. The answer of Indian philosophers is that it can undoubtedly be realised. All of them, including the heterodox, believe that ignorance carries within itself the seeds of its destruction, and that it is bound to be superseded by Truth for which, as an old Buddhistic verse has it, 'the human mind has a partiality'.¹ And we may deduce as a corollary from it that evil also, which is a consequence of wrong knowledge, must fall away in the end leaving man free.² That is, even systems not recognising God as a benevolent controller, believe that the scheme of things is favourable to the realisation of the supreme value. But there is one distinction: Some Indian thinkers admit *jīvanmukti*, which means that the goal of life can be reached here on this earth; others do not recognise it and so make it realisable hereafter—in a future existence. If I may conclude by expressing a personal opinion, the question whether the highest value is attainable is not of much consequence. We may grant that it is not finally attained and that man's reach will always exceed his grasp. What really matters is the deliberate choosing of it as the ideal to be pursued, and thereafter making a persistent and continual advance towards it.

¹ *Nirupadrava-bhūtārtha-svabhāvasya viparyayāt :*

Na bādhosyatnavatvepi buddhestat-pakṣa-pātataḥ—quoted by Vācaspati in his *Sāṃkhya-tattva-kaumudī*, st. 64.

² Cf. Medhātithi on *Manu-smṛti* ii. 1: *Na hi vyāmoho yuga-sahasra-nuvartī*.

THE FORMATION OF KONKANĪ*

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(d) -tm- > -pp- (through* -tpm- with the *abhiniidhāna* of p in the group -tm-): s. gs. *āppana*, x. gx. nx. *āpun* (*ātman-*, *ātmānah* > MI-A. *appaṇo*, besides Pā. *attano*).

-dm- > -bb- : ?

-dm- > -mm- : s. gs. *Pommū* (< Sk. *padma*-) a *nomen proprium*.

§ 124 In the group nasal + stop the several treatments have been discussed in §§ 59-60. Following the strict orthography there suggested, we have :

-ñk- : s. gs. *añko*, x. nx. gx. *añko* (*añka-*) figure, s. gs. *añk^aḍo* hook ; s. gs. *kāñkaṇa*, x. nx. gx. *kāñkoṇ* (*kañkaṇa-*) bracelet ; s. gs. *kuñkūma* x, gx. nx. *kuñkū* (*kuñkuma-*) saffron. The nasal is lost in s. gs. *pālki* but retained in *palaṅg-pōs^u* (a loan-word with -ṅ- for -ñk- < *paryañka-*, **palyañka-*).

-ñkh- : s. gs. *sañkāli*, x. gx. nx. *sāñkoḷi* (*śṛṅkhalā*) a chain.

-ṅg- : s. gs. *āṅga*, x. nx. gx. *āṅg* (*aṅga-*) body ; s. gs. *śiṅga*, x. gx. nx. *śiṅg* (*śṛṅga-*) a horn ; s. gs. *āṅgaṇa*, x. gx. nx. *āṅgoṇ* (*aṅgaṇa-* < *añkaṇa-*) a court-yard ; s. gs. *raṅgu*, x. gx. nx. *rōṅg* (*raṅga-*) colour ; s. gs. *čāṅga* (*caṅga-*) good ; *bhīṅgāru* (*bhṛṅgāra-*) s. gs. *iṅg^aḷo* (*aṅgāra-* : *iṅgāra-*) live coal.

-ṅh- : s. gs. *jāṅga*, x. gx. nx. *jāṅg* (*jāṅghā*) the thigh.

-ñc- : s. gs. *pāñča*, x. gx. nx. *pāñč* (*pāñca-*) five ; s. gs. *māñčo* (*mañcaka-*) a cot ; s. gs. *cōñci* (*cañcu-*) a beak ; *vāñč^alā* lives, (= defrauds death) [< *vañcayati*].

-ñch- : ?

-ñj- : s. gs. *pāñjirē* (*pañjara-*) a cage ; s. gs. *māñji* (*m^uñja-*) the sacred thread ceremony ; *mañjūti* (*mañjiṣṭhā*).

-ñjh- : s. gs. *sāñja* (*sandhyā* : MI-A. **sañjihā*, *sañjhā*) evening ; x. gx. nx. *vāñj* (*vandhyā* > MI-A. **vañjhā*) a barren woman.

-ṇt- : s. gs. *kāṇṭo* (*kāṇṭaka-*) a thorn ; *ghāṇṭa* (*ghaṇṭā*) a bell ; *vāṇṭo* (*vaṇṭa-*) a share.

-ṇth- : s. gs. *kaṇṭhi* (*kaṇṭhā-*) a necklace, s. gs. *sūṇṭhi* (*ś. ṇṭhi-*) ginger.

* Continued from the Annals Vol. XVIII Part (iv) p. 384.

-ṇḍ-: s. gs. *dāṇḍāro* (*daṇḍā-*); *āṇḍa* (*aṇḍa-*) testicle; *māṇḍatā* (*māṇḍate*) settles, gets fixed or built up; gs. *bhaṇḍa* (*bhaṇḍa-*) obscene talk.

-ṇḍr-: ?

-ṇḍh-: ?

-nt-: s. gs. *dāntū*, *dātu*, x. gx. nx. *dānt*, *dāt* (*dānta-*) tooth; *kāntūka*, x. gx. nx. *kāntumk* (*kṇatāti*) grates; s. gs. *āntū* (*antara-* < *āntṛa-*) entrails.

-nth-: s. gs. *pantu* (*pānthāḥ*) way, mode of living, doctrine or sect; s. gs. *kanthu* (lex. *kanthā*) an ascetic's dress.

-nd-: s. gs. *čāṇḍāṇḍe* (*candṛā-*) moonlight; s. gs. *śinduru* (*śindūra-*) vermilion x. gx. nx. *noṇḍ*, but, s. gs. *naṇḍa* (*nānāṇḍṛ-*), ns. ngs. *kāṇḍo* (*kanda-*) onion.

-ndr- > MI-A. -nd- which converges with PI-A. -nd-.

-ndh-: s. gs. *khāṇḍu*, x. nx. gx. *khāṇḍ* (*skandhā-*) shoulder; *gāṇḍa* (*gandhā-*) sandal wood; x. gx. nx. *āṇḍor* (*andhakāra-*) darkness, obscurity; s. gs. *rāṇḍapa* (*rāṇḍhayati*).

-ndhr- > MI-A. -ndh- which converges with PI-A. -ndh-.

-mp-: s. gs. *čāṇḍpē* or *čāṇḍpē* (*campaka-*); *lempatā* (*līmpati*); x. gx. nx. *sāṇḍapaṇḍumk* (*sampatati*) to find.

-mph-: s. gs. *gumpu* (*gumpha-*, but cf. Kan. *gumpu*) a cluster, bunch, heap, collection.

-mb-: s. gs. *lāmbūka*, x. gx. nx. *lāmbūmk* (*lamba-*) to hang; *jāmba* (*jambū-*); s. gs. *nimbuvo*; gs. *līmbyo* (*nimbu-*) citron; x. gx. nx. *umbar* (*udumbāra-*).

-mbh-: s. gs. *kumbāru* (*kumbhakārah*, but cf. Kan. *kumbāru*) a potter s. gs. *khāṇḍbo* (*skambhā-*) a pillar.

§ 125 Nasal + Nasal.

(a) Double nasals -ṇṇ- and -nn- are simplified with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel and the resulting nasal is always dental. Here only MI-A. -ṇṇ- and -nn- are to be considered as examples of double nasal are limited in PI-A.

-ṇṇ-: s. gs. *kānu*, x. gx. nx. *kān* (*kārṇa-*) ear; s. gs. *pāna*, x. gx. nx. *pān* (*parṇā-*) a leaf. In a few cases -ṇṇ- is preserved through borrowing from Kanarese: s. gs. *baṇṇu* colour < MI-A. *vaṇṇa* < PI-A. *vārṇa*.

-nn-: x. gx. nx. *onād* (*annādya-*) corn.

(b) Double -mm- is also mostly of MI-A. origin and is simplified as above.

-mm-: s. gs. *kāma*, x. gx. nx. *kām* (*kārman-*) work; s. gs. *čāmdž* (*čārman-*) hide, leather.

(c) When the nasals are heterogeneous the first is assimilated to the second.

-mn- > MI-A. -nn- which then converges with PI-A. -nn-.

-nm- > MI-A. -mm-, which then converges with PI-A. -mm-. In the Sk. word *jānman-* which has been accepted as a learned borrowing s. gs. give *janmu*, but gx. g. nx. *jolm* birth.

§ 126 Nasal + semivowel, treated under groups with *y*, *r*, *l* and *v* below.

§ 127. Nasal + sibilant treated under groups with a sibilant below.

GROUPS WITH *y*

§ 128 In the groups stop + *y* where the stops are gutturals, palatals, cerebrals or labials, the *y* is assimilated.

ky: *šimki* sling (*šikyā-*).

khy: s. gs. *vākkana*, x. nx. gx. *vākoṇ* (*vyākhyāna-*).

gy: s. gs. *lāgtā* (*lagyate*) sticks, attaches, comes into contact;

ghy: ?

cy: ?

gy: ?

ty: s. gs. *thumtā* (*trutyate*) breaks; *phutā* (*sphutyate*) breaks.

thy: ?

dy: s. gs. *jāḍu* thick (*jāḍya-*).

qhy: ?

py: s. gs. *nīptā*, x. gx. nx. *lipomk* (*lupya-*) hides;

phy: ?

by: ?

bhy: ?

§ 129. When the stops are dentals they are assimilated first and then as stops they assimilate *y*. Such an intermediate state is seen in Vedic *jyōtiḥ* as opposed to *dyut-*.

Thus *ty* > **cy* > *cc*; *thy* > **chy* > *cch*; *dy* > **gy* > *jj*; *dhy* > **jhy* > *jjh*.

ty: s. gs. *nāctā* (*ṇṭya-*); *aḍḍeca*, x. gx. nx. *ōḍḍē* (*ardha-*trtya*) two and a half.

thy: ?

dy: s. gs. *vīju* (*vidyut*) lightning; *āji*, x. gx. nx. *āḷ* (*adyá*) today, now;

dhy: s. gs. *śījtā* (*śidhyati*) is finished, boiled; *riḷtā* (*ṛdhyati*) soaks, pervades; *sāñja* (*sandhyā*) evening; ns. ngs. *māḷār* (*madhya-gr̥ha*),

§ 130. In the group nasal + *y*, the *y* is assimilated;

ny: s. gs. *rāna* (*āraṇṇa-*) forest.

ny: s. gs. *māna* (*manjā*) nape of the neck.

my: s. gs. *sama* (*sāmya-*).

§ 131. In the groups *l*, *v* or sibilant + *y*, the *y* is assimilated

a) *ly*: s. gs. *kāli*, x. nx. gx. *kāl* (*kālyā-*) yesterday; s. gs. *mola* (*maulya-*) price; x. gx. nx. *teḷ*. s. gs. *tela* (**tailya-*) oil.

b) *vy*: x. gx. nx. *vāvr* (*vyāpāra-*) activity, business; s. gs. *vāgu*, x. nx. gx. *vāg* (*vyāghrā-*) tiger.

c) Sibilant + *y*:

(i) *śy*: s. gs. *nāstā* (*nāśyati*) curdles; *disuka*, x. gx. nx. *disumk* (*drśyāte*) to be seen;

(ii) *śy*: fut *-iśyasi* > MI-A. *-issihi* > *-śī*.

(iii) *śy*: s. gs. *kāśē* (*kāṁśya-*) bronze;

§ 132. In the groups *ry*, *hy*, *r* and *h* are assimilated and the resulting *yy*, *yyh* become *jj* and *jjh*.

ry: s. gs. *ājō*, *ājji*, x. gx. nx. *ājō*, *ājji* (*ārya-*, *ārya-kā*) grand-parent; x. gx. nx. *kāḷ* (*kāryā-*) act, deed;

hy: ?

yy: s. gs. *śējārṇi* (*śayyā*);

GROUPS WITH *r*

§ 133. In all groups containing *r* the *r* is assimilated; further in the group *mr* the voiced stop *b* developed between *m* and *r*, so that the resulting group became **mbr* > *mb* and converged with PI-A *mb*.

A. *r* is the second element of the group ;

kr : s. gs. *čāka*, x. gx. nx. (*cakrá-*) a round slice ; *tāka*, x. gx. nx. *tāk* (*takra-*) butter-milk ; *vākdē* (*vakrá-*) crooked, bent.

gr : s. gs. *gāṇṭi* (*granthi-*) knot ; *gāvu* (*grāma-*) village, city ; s. gs. *jāgi* (*jāgrt-*) awake.

ghr : s. gs. *vāgu*, x. gx. nx. *vāg* (*vyāghrá-*) tiger ; *ghāṇi* (*ghrāṇa-*) smell.

tr, *dr*, *dhr*, etc, see § 87.

pr : s. gs. *phāttōri* (*prastorá-*) stone.

br : Initially s. gs. *bāmmūṇu*, x. gx. nx. *bāmuṇ* (*brāhmaṇa-*).

bhr : initially *bhāu* (*bhrātṛ-*).

mr : s. gs. *āmbō* (*āmrā-*) mango ; *tāmbē* (*tāmrá-*) copper.

śr : x. gx. nx. *sāsu* (*śvaśrū*) mother-in-law.

sr : s. gs. *māuśi* < **māusāsī* < *māṭṛ-svasrikā* maternal aunt.

B. *r* is the first element of the group.

rk : s. gs. *māmkaḍa*, x. nx. gx. *māmkoḍ* (*markāṭa-*) a monkey ; *sākāra*, x. gx. nx. *sākōr* (*śárkarā*) sugar ; s. gs. *kākdī* (*karkāṭa-*).

rg : s. gs. *māgtā* (*mārgati*) x. gx. nx. *āgoḷ* (*argala-*) a bolt ; *gāgri* (*gargari*).

rgh : s. gs. *mhāraga*, x. gx. nx. *m^ahāg*, (*mahārga-*) costly, dear.

rc : s. gs. *kucci* (*kūrcā-*).

rj : s. gs. *māj̄jara-*, x. gx. nx. *māj̄ār* (*mārjāra-*) a cat ; s. gs. *bhāvaja*, x. gx. nx. *bhāvōj*, *bhāvjaṭ* (*bhrāturjāyā*) brother's ; s. gs. *gujāru* (*gurjara-*).

rt, *rth*, *rd*, *rdh*, see § 87.

rp : s. gs. *pāppaḍu*, *pāppōḍu*. x. gx. nx. *pāpōḍ* (*parpaṭa-*) ; *kāppaḍa* (*karpaṭa-*) ; s. gs. *khopperu* (*kūrpara-*) elbow.

rb : x. gx. nx. *dublo* (*durbaḷa-*) weak.

rbh : s. gs. *gābu*, x. *gāb* (*gārbha-*) embryo ; *cibbaḍa* (*cirbhaṭikā*)

rṇ : s. gs. *kānu*, x. gx. nx. *kān* (*kārṇa-*) ear ; s. gs. *pāna*, x. gx. nx. *pān* (*parṇá-*) leaf ; s. gs. *sonmāru* (*suvarṇa-*) ; *sūṇa*, (*curṇa-*), *uno* (*cūrṇaka-*) ; s. gs. *jūna* ; x. gx. nx. *jūn* (*jūrṇá-*) old, ripe.

rm : s. gs. *čāmdē* (*cārman-*) hide ; *kāma*, x. gx. nx. *kām* (*kārman-*) work ; s. gs. *ghāmsāṇi* (*gharmá-*) hot sweat ;

ry : see § 182.

rl : ?

rv : In this group the sonant *v* was first reduced to the voiced stop *b* and the resultant then converged with OI-A. *rb* : *čabṭā* (*carvati*) chews, bites ;

rś : s. gs. *pāsa*, x. gx. nx. *pās* (*pārśvā-*) side.

rṣ s. gs. *ghāstā* (*gharṣati*) rubs.

GROUPS WITH *l*

§ 134. *l* + stop or *m* : *l* is assimilated.

lk : ?

lg : ?

lp : s. gs. *kāptā* (*√kalp-*) cuts ; s. gs. *kāpni*, gs. *kāppani*, x. gx. nx. *kāpōṇ(i)* (*√kalp-*) hair-cut.

lm : ?

§ 135. *l* + *y*, *v* or *h* : *y*, *v*, *h* are assimilated.

ly : see § 131.

lv : s. gs. *belpatri* (*bilvā-*)

lh : s. gs. *kollo* (Deś. *kolhuo*) fox.

§ 136. *r* + *l* : see § 133.

l + *l* : s. gs. *pāḷlo*, x. gx. nx. g. *pālo* (*pallava-*).

GROUPS WITH *v*

§ 137. Stop + *v* :

(a) Guttural, palatal or cerebral stops + *v* : *v* is assimilated.

kv : s. gs. *piktā*, *pāṅku* (*pakv-*).

jv : s. gs. *jaḷtā* (*jvāḷati*) burns, *ḷaro* (*jvara-*) fever.

tv : gx. nx. *khāt* (*khaṭvā*) a bed-stead.

(b) Dental + *v* : The dental becomes assimilated, resulting in a double labial.

tv : s. gs. *-pana*, x. gx. nx. *pōṇ* < *-tvana*.

dv : Initially > *d* : s. gs. *dārvaṭē* (*dvāra-*) except in the numeral *dvā-*^o which regularly gives *bḍ-*^o ;

dhv : ns. gs. nx. *ubho* (*ūdhvā-*).

(c) *l + v*: *v* is assimilated, see § 135.

(d) Sibilant + *v*: *v* is assimilated:

śv: x. gx. nx. *pās* (*pārśvā-*) side.

śv: s. gs. *māuśi* (*māṭṛśvasrikā*) mother's sister.

ev: s. *soppāna* (*svāpna-*)

(e) *v + y* or *r + v*: *y* and *r* are assimilated. see §§ 131, 133.

(f) *h + v* > *-bbh-*: s. gs. *jība*, x. gx. nx. *jīb* (*jihvā*): MI-A. *jibbhā*) tongue.

GROUPS WITH A SIBILANT

§ 138. Sibilant + stop becomes double aspirated stop in MI-A and the aspiration is lost in Konkani.

śc: s. gs. *viṣṭu*, x. gx. nx. *viṣṭu* (*vrścika-*) scorpion.

śk: s. gs. *suktā* (*śuśkā-*) dries; *vikray^atā* (*viṣkirati*) scatters, spills.

śt: s. gs. *āṭa*, x. gx. nx. *āt* (*aṣṭa-*) eight. s. gs. *viṭti* (*piṣṭā-*), *mīṭa* (*mṛṣṭā-*) salt; s. gs. *mīthōi* (*miṣṭā*); gx. nx. *mūt* (*muṣṭi-*).

śtr¹: s. gs. *voṃṭe*, *ūṃṭa* (*ḷṣṭra-*) camel,

śth: s. gs. *koṭgē* (*koṣṭha-*), x. gx. nx. *gōṭ(h)* (*goṣṭhā-*) a cow-pen;

sk: s. gs. *khāmba* (*skambhā-*).

s. gs. *khāṇḍu* (*skandhā-*)

skh: ?

st: s. gs. *hātu* x. gx. nx. (*hāsta-*); x. gx. nx. *mūtē*, s. gs. *māttē* (*mastaka-*) heap; s. gs. *phāttaru*, *phattōru*, x. gx. *fālōr* (*prastarā-*) stone. Initially *thodē* (*stokā-*).

sth: s. gs. *ṭhāṇa* (*sthāna* > **sthāṇa-*); *thoru* (*sthavira-*).

sp: Initially: *phāsu* (*sparśā-*).

sph: Initially *phutṭūka*, x. gx. nx. g. *phuṭomk* (√ *sphuṭ-*).

§ 139. Stop + sibilant;

(α) *kṣ* > *kkh*:

(i) Initially: *khāru* (*kṣāra-*); s. gs. *khīri* (*kṣirā-*).

¹. But cf. s. gs. *bhaṣṭa*, x. gx. nx. *bhoṣṭ* Sk. (*bhrāṣṭra-*).

(ii) Medially: s. gs. *khūlko* (*kāksa-*, *kāksa-*); >gx. *ūkē* (*ākṣata-*) whole, unbroken; *pūka* (*pakṣā-*); s. gs. *śikā* (*śikṣati*), etc.

(β) *kṣ* > *cch*: s. gs. *mūsu*, x. gx. nx. *māsi* (*mākṣikā* > Amg. *macchiā*).

(γ) *t* or *p* + *s* > *cch*.

(i) *-t* + *s-* > *cch*: s. gs. *māslī* (*mātsya-*) fish, *vāsrū* (*vatsā-*)

(ii) *-p* + *s-* > *cch*: ?

§ 140. Sibilant + nasal.

(α) *ṣṇ*, *sn* > *nḥ*;

ṣṇ: s. gs. *hūna*, x. gx. nx. *hun* (*uṣṇā-*) heat, hot.

sn: Initially: *nhāttā* (*snāti*).

(β) *śm*, *ṣm*, *sm*:

śm: s. gs. *mīso* (*śmāśru-*, but cf. Kan *mīśe*).

ṣm: s. gs. *hūma* (*ūṣmán-*).

*sm*¹:

§ 141. α) Sibilant + *y*, *r* or *v*: *y*, *r*, *v* are assimilated, see §§ 131, 133, 137.

(β) *r* + sibilant: is assimilated; see § 133.

(γ) *śy*, *ṣy*, *sy*, see § 131.

(δ) *śr*, *ṣr* see § 133; *rś*, *rṣ*, *rs*, see § 133.

(ε) *śv*, *ṣv*, *sv* see § 137.

§ 142. *ḥk*, *ḥkh*, *hp* become respectively *kk*, *kkh*, *pp*.

TABLE OF KONKANĪ CONSONANTISM

k

§ 143. a) Initially:

K. *k* < MI-A. *k-* < PI-A. *k-*, see § 162

< MI-A. *k-* < PI-A. *kr-*: s. gs. *kōsu* (*krōśa-*); s. gs. *kollo* (*krośt-*).

< MI-A. *k-* < PI-A. *kl-*: ?

< MI-A. *k-* < PI-A. *kv-*: s. gs. *kaḍo* (*kvath-*).

¹ In groups like *vismarati* K. shows the -ss- treatment: s. gs *visartā*,

b) Medially :

K. *-k-* or *-kk-* < MI-A. *-kk-*

< PI-A. (1) *-*kn-* : s. gs. *moklo* (**mukna-*)

(2) *-tk-* : s. gs. *ukkalitā* (*ut-kr-*)

(3) *-km-* : s. gs. *rōkka* (*raukma-*)

(4) *-ky-* : see § 128.

(5) *-kr-* : § 133.

(6) *-rk-* : § 133.

(7) *-lk-* : § 134.

(8) *-kl-* : § 134.

(9) *-kv-* : s. gs. *piktā* (*pakvā-*)

(10) *-tl-* : § 122.

< MI-A. *-khh-* (see under *kh* below) by loss of aspiration.

kh

§ 144. (a) Initially :

K. *kh-* < MI-A. *kh-* < PI-A. *kh-*

< PI-A. *kṣ-*, see § 139.

< PI-A. *kr-* : s. gs. *kheḷu* (√*krīḍ-*)

< PI-A. *khy-* :

(b) Medially :

K. *-kh-* < MI-A. *-khh-* :

< PI-A. (1) *-kṣ-*, § 139.

(2) *-śk-*

(3) *-ṣk-*

(4) *-sk-*

(5) *-khy-* :

(6) *-kṣy-* :

(7) *-skh-* :

g

§ 145. (a) Initially :

K. *g-* < MI-A. *g-* < PI-A. *g-* § 102.

< PI-A. *gr-* : s. gs. *gāṁti* (*granthi-*) knot; *gāvu*
(*grāma-*) village.

< PI-A. *gl-* : ?

< PI-A. *gv* : ?

(b) Medially :

K. *-g-* or *-gg-* < MI-A. *-gg-* :

- < PI-A. (1) -dg- : s. gs. *mūgu* (*mudgá-*)
 (2) •gn-
 (3) -gn-
 (4) -gy- : § 129.
 (5) -gr-, § 133.
 (6) -rg-, § 133.
 (7) -lg-:
 (8) -gl-:
 (9) -dg-:

gh

§ 146. a) Initially :

K. *gh-* < MI-A. *gh-* < PI-A. *gh-*

< PI-A. *ghr-* : s. gs. *ghāṇi* (*ghrāṇa-*)

b) Medially :

K. -*g(h)-*, < -*gg(h)-* < MI-A. -*ggh-*:

< PIA. (1) -*dgh-* : s. gs. *ug(h)odtā* (*udghat-*)

(2) -*ghn-*:

(3) -*ghr-*, § 133

(4) -*rggh-*, § 133

c

§ 147. a) Initially :

K. *c-* < MI-A. *c-* < PI-A. *c-* § 102.

< PI-A. *cy-*:

< PI-A. *ty-*:

b) Medially :

K. -*cc-* or -*c-* < MI-A. -*cc-*:

< PI-A. (1) -*ty-*:

(2) *-*tc-* > -*cc-* already in Sk.

(3) -*cy-*

(4) -*rc-* :

ch

§ 148. Initially Konkani does not possess *ch*. In this position every MI-A. *ch-*, whatever its origin, has been regularly changed to *s-* or *ś-* depending upon the following vowel (*s-* with *ā*, *ū*, *ō* and *ś-* with *ē* or *ī*).

Medially -*ch-* is really -*cch-* even in PI-A. and MI-A., but is reduced in K. to -*s-* or -*ś-*.

j •

§ 149. (a) Initially :

K. $j^- < \text{MI-A. } j^- < \text{PI-A. } j^-$, § 102.
 $< \text{PI-A. } y^-$, § 106
 $< \text{PI-A. } jy^-$:
 $< \text{PI-A. } jv^-$:

(b) Medially :

K. $-j^-$ or $-jj^- < \text{MI-A. } -jj^-$:
 $< \text{PI-A. } (1) -dy^-$
 $(2) -dj^- > -jj^-$ already in Sk.
 $(3) -jy^-$
 $(4) -rj^-$,
 $(5) -jr^-$
 $(6) -jv^-$
 $(7) -bj^-$:
 $(8) -ry^-$, § 132
 $(9) -yy^-$, § 132

jh

§ 150. a) Initially :

K. $jh^- < \text{MI-A. } jh^-$ (see my "Initial jh^- in Indo-Aryan" in *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, II, pp. 97-105) :

$< \text{PI-A. } (1) jh^-$
 $(2) dhy^-$
 $(3) dhv^-$
 $(4) ks^-$
 $(5) ś^-$
 $(6) j^-$ by initial aspiration.

(b) Medially :

K. $jj(h)^- < \text{MI-A. } -jj^-$:
 $< \text{PI-A. } (1) -jjh^-$
 $(2) dhy^-$, § 129.
 $(3) -hy^-$, § 132.

t

§ 151. a) Initially :

K. $t^- < \text{MI-A. } t^- < \text{PI-A. } t^-$
 $< \text{PI-A. } tv^-$, cf. Sk. *ṭalati* : *talati*
 is disturbed.

< PI-A. (1) -*rdh-*, § 87

(2) -*qhy-*

(3) -*ṛddh-* : ?

(4) -**zdh-* > -*qh-* in Sk. already.

n

§ 155. a) Initially K. *n-* < PI-A. *n-* only in the numeral nine and its derivatives : s. gs. *ṇavva*, *ṇavva* (*náva-*); s. gs. *ṇavvada*, x. nx. gx. *ṇōy* (*ṇavat-*) ninety.

b) Medially :

K. -*n* < MI-A. -*n-* < PI-A. -*n-* § 112.

K. -*ṇṇ-* < MI-A. -*ṇṇ-* < PI-A. (1) -*ṇṇ-* §§ 87.

(2) -*ṇy-* : ?

(3) -*nv-* : ?

t

§ 156. a) Initially :

K. *t-* < MI-A. *t-* < PI-A. *t-* §§ 102

< PI-A. *tr-* : s. gs. *tini* (*trīṇi*)

< PI-A. *tv-* :

b) Medially :

K. -*t-* or -*tt-* < MI-A. -*tt-* :

< PIA. (1) -*tt-* :

(2) -*kt-* : § 122

(3) -*pt-*

(4) -*tn-*

(5) -*tm-* : ?

(6) -*tr-*

(7) -*t(t)va-* :

K. -*tt-* or -*t-* < MI-A. -*tt(h)-* by deaspiration, see below

th

§ 157. a) Initially :

K. *th-* < MI-A. *th-* < PI-A. *st-* :

< PI-A. *sth-* :

b) Medially :

K. -*tt(h)-*, -*t(h)-* < MI-A. -*tt(h)-* :

< PI-A. (1) -*tra-*

(2) -*rih-* :

(3) -*st-*

(4) -*sth-*

(5) -*kt(h)-* : s. gs. *śīta* (*śiktha-*) boiled rice.

d

§ 158. a) Initially :

K. $d^- < \text{MI-A. } d^- < \text{PI-A. } d^- :$
 $< \text{PI-A. } dv^- :$
 $< \text{PI-A. } dv^- :$

b) Medially :

K. $-dd-$ or $d- < \text{MI-A. } -dd- :$
 $< \text{PI-A. (1) } -dd-$
 $(2) -bd- :$
 $(3) -dr-$
 $(4) -rd-$
 $(5) -dv- :$

K. $-dd-$ or $-d < \text{MI-A. } -ddh-$ by deaspiration, see below

 dh

§ 159. a) Initially :

K. $dh^- < \text{MI-A. } dh^- < \text{PI-A. } dh^-$
 $< \text{PI-A. } dhr?$

b) Medially :

K. $-dd(h)-$ or $d(h)- < \text{MI-A. } -ddh- :$
 $< \text{PI-A. (1) } -gdh-$
 $(2) -bdh-$
 $(3) -bdh-$
 $(4) -dhv-$
 $(5) -ddh-$

72

§ 160. a) Initially :

K. $n- < \text{MI-A. } n- \text{ (or } n-) < \text{PI-A. } n- < \text{PI-A. } ny- : \text{ s. gs. } nistā \text{ (} nyasati \text{) puts}$
on a garment, dresses.

b) Medially :

$\propto$) K. $-n-$ or $-nv- < \text{MI-A. } -nn- :$
 $< \text{PI-A. (1) } -ny-$
 $(2) -rn-$
 $(3) -nv-$

β) K. -n- or -nn- < MI-A. -nh- :
 < PI-A. (1) -kʂn- : s. gs. *sānu*, x. gx. nx. *lān*,
lhān (*slaksná-*) loose.

- (2) $-\acute{s}n-$
- (3) $-\acute{s}n-$: s. g. *hūna* (*uṣṇá-*)
- (4) $-sn-$
- (5) $-hn-$:
- (6) $-hñ-$

- γ) K. $-n-$ or $-nn-$ < MI-A. $-n\pi-$ (written also $-n\eta-$)
 < PI-A. (1) $-jñ-$
 (2) $-mn-$
 (3) $-ny-$
 (4) $-nv-$
 (5) $-nn-$

nh

§ 161. This appears only initially as a result of the reduction of PI-A. $sn-$ < MI-A. $nh-$: s. gs. *nhāṇa* (*snāna-*).

p

§ 162. a) Initially:

- K. $p-$ < MI-A. $p-$ < PI-A. p .
 < PI-A. py : ?
 < PI-A. $pr-$:
 < PI-A. $pl-$: s. gs. *pōvtā* (*plávate*) swims.

b) Medially:

- K. $-pp-$ or $-p-$ < MI-A. $pp-$:
 < PI-A. (1) $-tp-$
 (2) $-tm-$: s. gs. *āppaṇa*, x. g. x. nx. *āpuṇ*
 (*ātman-*)
 (3) $-pr-$:
 (4) $-rp-$:
 (5) $-lp-$:
 (6) $-pl-$:
 (7) $-tv-$,
 (8) $-py-$

- K. $-pp-$ or $-p-$ < MI-A. $-pph-$ through deaspiration, see below.

ph

§ 163. a) Initially:

- K. $-ph-$ < MI-A. $ph-$ < PI-A. $ph-$
 < PI-A. $sp-$
 < PI-A. $sph-$

b) Medially :

K. $-pp(h)-$ or $-p(h)-$ < MI-A. $-pph-$:

- < PI-A. (1) $-sph-$
 (2) $-sph-$
 (3) $-sp-$
 (4) $-sph-$
 (5) $-hpa-$
 (6) $-hpha-$

b

§ 164. a) Initially :

K. $b-$ < MI-A. $b-$ < PI-A. $b-$ < PI-A. $dv-$: s. gs. $bārā$ ($dvā-daśa$) etc.< PI-A. $br-$:

b) Medially :

K. $-bb-$ or $-b-$ < MI-A. $-bb-$:

- < PI-A. (1) $br-$:
 (2) $ob-$:
 (3) $-rv-$:

K. $-bb-$ or $-b-$ < MI-A. $-bbh-$ through deaspiration see below bh

§ 165. a) Initially :

K. $bh-$ < MI-A. $bh-$ < PI-A. $bh-$ < $bha-$: s. gs. $hḥōvaru$ ($bhramara-$)

bumble bee.

b) Medially :

K. $-bb(h)-$ or $b(y)-$ < MI-A. $-bbh-$:

- < PI-A. (1) $-dbh-$
 (2) $-bhy-$
 (3) $-rbh-$
 (4) $-bhr-$
 (5) $-hv-$

m

§ 166. a) Initially :

K. $m-$ < MI-A. $m-$ < PI-A. $m-$ < PI-A. $mr-$:< PI-A. $ml-$:

K. $m-$ < PI-A. $l-$, see foot-note to § 104.

b) Medially :

α) K. $-mm-$ or $-m-$ < MI-A. $-mm-$:

< PI-A. (1) $-nm-$

(2) $-my-$

(3) $-rm-$

(4) $-lm-$

β) K. $-mm-$ or $-m-$ < MI-A. $-mh-$:

< PI-A. (1) $-sm-$: s. gs. *hūma* (*ūsmān-*)

(2) $-sm-$:

(3) $-śm-$:

4) $-kśm-$:

(5) $-hm-$: s. gs. *bāmmūnu*, x. gx. nx.

bāmon (*brāhmaṇa-*).

mh

§ 167. K. $mh-$ occurs only initially as a result of the reduction of PI-A. $sm-$ > MI-A. $mh-$ or of initial aspiration of PI-A. $m-$,

(α) PI-A. $śn-$ > K. $mh-$: s. gs. *mhasṇē* (*śmaśāna-*).

(β) Initial aspiration : s. gs. *mhāl-gaḍo*, *mhāllō* (*mahallaka-*)
s. gs. *mhaiśi*, *mhaiśi*, x. gx. nx; *mhōs* (*mahiśā-*, *māhiśi*).

(γ) In the root *mhaṇumk*, *mhōṇumk*, initial $mh-$ corresponds to Sk. *bh-*.

y

§ 168. a) Initially :

K. $y(e)-$ < MI-A. $e-$ < PI-A. (1) $e-$:

(2) $ai-$:

b) Medially :

K. $-y-$ replaces PI-A. $-k-$, $-g-$, $-c-$, $-j-$, $-t-$, $-d-$, $-p-$, lost in MI-A.

v

§ 169. a) Initially :

K. $v-$ < MI-A. $v-$ < PI-A. $v-$

< PI-A. $vy-$

< PI-A. $vr-$

b) Medially :

K. $-v-$ < MI-A. $-v-$ < PI-A. $-p-$

= as "hiatus-bridge", see § 49.

= MI-A. $-\tilde{v}-$ < PI-A. $-m-$: s. gs. *gāvu* (*grāma-*).
r

§ 170. a) Initially :

K. $r-$ < MI-A. $r-$ < PI-A. $r-$

K. $r-$ < PI-A. $l-$, § 96 (b).

K. $r-$ < MI-A. $r-$ < PI-A. $vu-$: s. gs. *rūku* (Sk. *vrkṣá* >
**vrukṣá-* > *rukṣá-* : MI-A. *rukha-*)

b). Medially :

K. $-r-$ < PI-A. $-r-$ }
 < PI-A. $-l-$ } § 96.
l

§ 171. a) Initially :

K. $l-$ = PI-A. }
 = PI-A. } $l-$ } see § 96.
 = PI-A. } $r-$ }

b) Medially :

K. $-ll-$ or $-l-$ < MI-A. $-ll-$:
 < PI-A. (1) $-ly-$
 (2) $-lv-$
 (3) $-ll-$
 (4) $-*dl-$ > $-ll-$ in PI-A. cf. *malla-* :
 madrá- : **madla-*
l

§ 172. Konkani l occurs only medially, either intervocally or in combination with cerebral stops.

K. $-l-$ < MI-A. $-l-$ < PI-A. $-r-$ or $-l-$

K. $-l-$ < MI-A. $-l/-ḍ-$ < PI-A. $-ṭ-$ or $-ḍ-$

In the word s. gs. *pālñē* (for **pālñē*) etc. l occurs in combination.

s

§ 173. Konkani has reduced all the PI-A. sibilants to *s*, but a secondary change depending upon the following vowel has given us *ś* and *ṣ* (*ś* before *i, e* and *s* before other vowels).

a) Initially :

- α) K. s- < MI-A. s- (Mg. *ś-*) < PI-A. *ś-*, *ṣ-*, s-
 < PI-A. *śr-* :
 < PI-A. *śy-* :
 < PI-A. *śl-* :
 < PI-A. *śv-* :
 < PI-A. *sy-* :
 < PI-A. *sr-* :
 < PI-A. *sv-* :
- β) K. s- < MI-A. *ch-* < PI-A. (1) *kṣ-* :
 (2) *ch-* :
 (3) *ps-* :
 (4) *ts-* : ?

b) Medially :

- α) K. -ss- or -s- < MI-A. -s- < PI-A. -s-, -š-, -s-: s. ga.
piisso x. *gx*, *nx*, *piiso* (*pišāca-*).

- β) K. -ss- or -s- MI-A. -ss-

- < PI-A. (1) $-r\dot{s}-$:
 (2) $-\dot{s}r-$:
 (3) $-\dot{s}y-$:
 (4) $-s\dot{y}-$:
 (5) $-sy-$:
 (6) $-sr-$:
 (7) $-\dot{s}l-$:
 (8) $-\dot{s}v-$:
 (9) $-s\dot{v}-$:
 (10) $-sv-$:
 (11) $-r\dot{s}-$:
 (12) $-t + s-$:

- r) K. ~~-ss-~~ or ~~-s-~~ < MI-A. ~~-(c)ch-~~ < PI-A. (1) ~~-ks-~~
(2) ~~-ps-~~ :
(3) ~~-ts-~~ :

九

§ 174. a) Initially:

- K. $h^- < \text{MI-A}$, $h^- < \text{PI-A}$ h^- : s. gs. *hanu* (*hānu-*).

- K,** *h-* by initial aspiration : *hūna* (*uṣṇā-*), *hūma* (*ūsmān-*) e.c.

b) Medially :

K. -h- < MI-A. -h- :

< PI-A. (1) -kh- :

(2) -gh- :

(3) -jh- :

(4) -lh- :

(5) -dh- :

(6) -ph- :

(7) -bh- :

SVARABHAKTI

§ 175. The insertion of a light vowel or Anaptyxis to break a combination of consonants is fairly common in MI-A. and has come down to the NI-A. stage in a good number of words. Koṇ-kaṇī is no exception to the generality of NI-A. languages. A few examples may be noticed here.

s. gs. *varasa* (*varṣa*-> **var^aṣa*) year ;x. nx. gx. g. *ārso* (*ādarṣa*-> **ādar^a(i)ṣa*) a mirror.s. gs. *dhūvōru* (*dhūmra*-> **dhūm^ara*) smoke.

INSERTION OF PLOSIVES

§ 176. When a group nasal + liquid occurs in PI-A. it sometimes happens that between the nasal *n* or *m* and the liquid a voiced plosive of the same class as the nasal is inserted. It was already mentioned in § 133 that PJ-A. -mr- > **mbr*-which converged with PI-A. -mb- in MI-A. There are a few cases not discussed there which deserve special mention here.

*-nr- > -nd^ar- : s. gs. *pand^arā*, x. gx. n . *pond^arā* (*pañca-daśa* : Ap. *panna-rasa* > **panrasa* or *pann rasa* : **pand^arasa*).

-mr- > -*mbr- > -mb-, § 133. But in a few learned borrowings the change -mbr- is retained ; s. gs. *ambrūta* (*amṛta*-) nectar, ambrosia.

-ml- > *-mbl- (through *-mb^al-) > -mb- : s. gs. *āmbaṭ*, x. gx. nx. *āmbaṭ* (*āmla*-) sour, acid ; but in a few cases -mbl- is retained : s. gs. *āmbli* (*āmlikā*) unripe mango.

INSERTION OF *r*

§ 177. Hemacandra in his Prakrit Grammar mentions (4. 399) the word *Vrāsu* < *Vyāsaḥ* in Apabhraṃśa under the gen-

eral rule *abhūtepi kvacit* which sanctions the insertion of *r* as the second member of a consonant group where the group is not historically related to a consonant group in M[-A. or PI-A. In such cases we have a real instance of insertion. Elsewhere Ap. optionally retains a *r* of a consonantal group. This insertion is possibly due to analogical formation or more likely to contamination. Thus s. gs. *drus̥tu*, *duṣ̥tu* (*duṣ̥ta-*) bad, evil is due to contamination with Sk. *dur-* giving us a possible **durus̥ta-* > **durus̥ta-* > **drus̥ta* which is then used as a loan word. Similarly in ns. ngs. *srāpu* (*śāpa-*) the insertion of *r* may be due to contamination with Sk. *śrápaṇam* cooking, boiling, *śrāpin-* mfn; etc.

PROTHESIS

§ 178. The instances of prothesis of *y-* and *v-* are quite common to all *Koṅkaṇī* dialects, and particularly characteristic of the lower grade of speech. *y* is often prefixed to *ṣ̥*, and *v* to *ṣ̣*.¹ Thus s. gs. *yēttu*, x. gx. nx. *yēttā* : s. gs. *ēttā* ; s. gs. *yēka* : *ēka*, etc ; s. gs. *vōkkada* (< *auṣadhā-*) medicine. For other examples reference may be made to the literature indicated under Dictionaries in § 2.

ELISION OF CONSONANTS

§ 179. *Aphaeresis*. In the lower grade of *Koṅkaṇī* dialects particularly of the x—variety the elision of initial *v-* is quite common. Thus we have x. gx. nx. *vikūh* : *ikūh* to sell ; *viskal* : *iskal* wide, scattered ; *visar-* : *isar* to forget ; *vepūr* : (*y*)*epūr* business.²

Aphaeresis of *h* is common to these rustic dialects : gx. *hāḷ* : *āḷ* (< *ahakam*)

INTERCHANGE OF CONSONANTS

§ 180. *n-* and *l-* often interchange, § 97.

l- and *n-* often interchange, § 97.

m- and *l-* interchange, § 104, f. n. 1.

¹ For other languages utilising prothesis of *y* and *v* see Grierson: *On the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*, § 294 (p. 143).

² *Op. cit.* § 299 (p. 145).

METATHESIS

§ 181. Metathesis is common to many words. Thus ns. *up^arātē*, s. *uppartē* : -gs. *urpātē* (*viparīta-*) contrary, opposite, inverse; s. gs. *halu*, x. nx. gx. *hōlu* (< *laghu-*, *laghuka-* : MI-A. *hahua-*). In this section we may also consider the case of initial aspiration as due to metathesis.¹

SANDHI

§ 182. The *sandhi* which is observable in the various dialects of Koṅkaṇi is not quite uniform within the same dialect. We shall note here the important changes due to vowel *-sandhi* and consonant *sandhi*.

VOWEL SANDHI

§ 183. We shall not consider here the vowel *sandhi* retained in Koṅkaṇi through PI-A. and MI-A.

(α) MI-A. -ao $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} < \text{PI-A. (1) -ako} \\ & (2) -ato \\ & (3) -ayo \\ & (4) -avo \end{array} \right\}$ K. -a, § 53.

(β) MI-A. -āo $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} < \text{PI-A. (1) -āko} \\ & (2) -āco \\ & (3) -āto \\ & (4) -ādo \end{array} \right\}$ K. -o, § 53.

(γ) MI-A. -ạ̄ + ạ̄-

(1) ā + a > K. ā, § 54 A.

(2) a + ā > K. ā § 54 B.

(3) a + a > K. e (rarely ā in recent loan-words) § 55.

§ 184. (α) The first vowel is ī or ē

(1) e + a > K. e, § 56

(2) i + a > K. e or i, § 59

(3) i + i > K. ī, § 56

(4) i + e > K. e, § 56

(5) e + i > K. e or a, § 56

(6) i + u > K. u, § 56

¹ Grierson, *op. cit.* § 369.

(β) The first vowel is $\check{u}$ or $\check{o}$.

(1) $\check{u} + a > K. o$ or u § 57

(2) $\check{u} + o > K. u$, § 57

(3) $\check{u} + \check{n} > K. \check{u}$, § 57

(4) $u + i > K. \bar{u}$, § 57

(5) $o + a > K. o$, § 57

CONSONANTAL SANDHI

§ 185. With the loss of $\check{a}$, $\check{i}$ or $\check{u}$ in the interior of a word through reduction to a and then to a) (§ 30) consonants come into contact with each other. In these circumstances the characteristic consonant *Sandhi* of Sanskrit comes into play, but not uniformly. Thus we have s. gs. *paḍtā* ($< *paḍ^a tā$: Sk. *pátati* but g. *paṭtā* (through $*paḍ-tā$). As opposed to this we have s. gs. *paḷlo* ($< *paḍ-lo$: $paḍ^a-lo$): gx. *gōḍgoḍ-lo*, *pōḍlo*, g. ngs. *paḍ-lo*. There are hundreds of such examples in each of the dialects herein discussed.

§ 186. That this *Sandhi* process is not uniform is seen in such strings of examples as s. gs. *paḍ-tā*: *paḷlo*, *kaḷ-tā*: *kaḷ-lē*; g. *paṭtā*: *paḍ-lo*, etc. It will be seen that practically all examples of this nature come under the general treatment of assimilation of dentals by cerebrals. The assimilation is of two degrees. In g. *paṭtā* $< *paḍ-tā$: $*paṭ-tā$, $*paṭ-tā$ there is only the devoicing of $-ḍ$ with cerebralization of t ; in s. gs. *paḷlo* there is first the cerebralization of t (of $*paḍ-lo$) which then assimilates the $-ḍ$. In g. *paḍ-lo* and s. gs. *paḍ-tā* the assimilation of $-t$ or $-t-$ is not initially carried out, and thus further assimilation is rendered impossible.

PART II: MORPHOLOGY

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

§ 187. The gradual simplification of PI-A. Morphology through MI-A has completely altered the grammar of modern I-A. vernaculars. For the general development of Morphology reference may be made to Jules Bloch's *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 99-300, where he discusses the evolution of the morphology of the nouns (pp. 105-204) and of the verbs (pp. 207-300).

§ 188. In PI-A. the system of noun and verb-inflection was very complex. It is especially in the case of verbs that we can

see the difference between Vedic and Classical Sanskrit ; here the different moods affect only the present system, whereas in Vedic Sanskrit they affect also the perfect and aorist systems. Similarly corresponding to Sk. *devaiḥ* we have in Vedic *priyāis* and *priyēbhis*; and to Sk. *devāḥ* we have Vedic *priyāsas* and *priyās*. Some of these forms have survived in MI-A. languages regularly, for the iustrumental plural ending *-(e)bhis* [i. e. *-(e)-bhis*] as applied to nouns ending in *-a* has survived as against the classical ending *-ais*; similarly in Pāli we have in the nom. pl. forms like *upāsakāse*, wherein the ending *-āse* reminds us of Vedic *-āsas*.¹ Again in verbal inflexion we have forms like *tappāmase*, *abhina-ndāmase*,² etc. reminding us of Vedic *bhāvā-masi* on the one hand and *bhāvā-mahe* on the other.

§ 189. The characteristic of PI-A. morphology may be said to consist in the theme or base on the one hand, of the ending or suffix on the other, giving us the full base from the root-form, and finally the elaborate system of terminations which modify the entire position of the central word, whether noun or verb. But the interplay of these is very complex, bringing in changes in the quality or quantity of the vowel in the syllable of the word, an aspect which is called vowel alternation.³ As regards nouns there are three genders, three numbers and seven cases (or eight if the Vocative is counted) affecting the different classes of words. In the case of verbs there are three numbers, three persons, five tenses and five moods, and three voices.

§ 190. This complexity is simplified to a great extent in MI-A. The three numbers have disappeared yielding place to two, singular and plural. The different classes of nouns ending in consonants have become identified with nouns ending in vowels due to loss of final consonants in MI-A. (see §§ 15, 76). The dative case has been supplanted by the genitive in most words, etc. In the case of verbs the middle voice has been gradually eliminated; the number of tenses and moods has also been lessened, and the different classes of verbs reduced to standard types.

(To be continued)

¹ Geiger, § 794.

² *Ibid.* § 122.

³ *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 99-101.

FRAGMENTS OF POEMS PERTAINING TO
KING ŚAMBHU, SON OF SHIVAJI

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

I published in the *Annals*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 287-295 the first instalment of the fragments of poems pertaining to the Maratha King Sambhaji, Son of Shivaji the great. The following fragments form the second instalment of these poems found in the records of the Rajopadhye family of Kolhapur. The circumstances under which copies of these fragments were kept at my disposal by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, Editor, Peshwa Daftar and Mr. K. N. Deshpande of Kolhapur have already been described by me in my introductory note to the first instalment of these fragments.

॥ कवाम्द्र उवाच ॥

इत्थं निगद्य धरणीपाले शिवसुते तदा
तूष्णींभूते सभास्ताराः परस्परमुखेक्षणाः ॥ १ ॥
छंदोगामात्यसहिताः सोपाध्यायाः सयोगिनः ।
शिवयोगिनमित्यर्थं पुरस्कृत्य तपोनिधिम् ॥ २ ॥
अब्रुवन्वचनैश्चारुचमत्कृतिविधायकैः ।
एकाचित्ताग्रतां गत्वा तच्छृण्वन्तु मनीषिणः ॥ ३ ॥

मंत्रिण ऊचुः ॥

भो राजन्यकुलश्रेष्ठ चिंतां मा कुरु सर्वथा ।
आराधयस्व तां कालीं योगनिद्रां हरेः पराम् ॥ ४ ॥
परावैरकसिद्धीनां दात्रीं पात्रीं सुखस्य च ।
दमिताशेषैर्दत्तेन्द्रमंडलां मंगलालयां ॥ ५ ॥ ॥
तडित्कोटिप्रतीकाशतेजोभरतरंगिणीम् ।
पंचाशद्वर्णसद्गुणां मुरूपं मदविह्वलाम् ॥ ६ ॥
मदधूर्णितरक्ताक्षीं योगियोगैकगोचराम् ।
चरांचरस्य निर्माणकारिणीं शंकरप्रियाम् ॥ ७ ॥
शक्तीनामपि सर्वासामायां वंद्यां विशेषतः ।
त्रेयां समस्त तंत्रोद्यैर्मन्त्रसंघप्रवर्तिनीम् ॥ ८ ॥

भवत्कुलैकवरदां द्रदां दनुजेष्वल(ला ?)म् ।
 ताटंकयुगलीभूतभानुराकेशमंडलाम् ॥ ९ ॥
 मुक्तामणिप्रघटितमायूरां कीरनासिकाम् ।
 कुचकुंभसमाकारतुहिनस्वर्णपर्वताम् ॥ १० ॥
 अशेषदोषदलिनीं सद्यां भक्तमंडले ।
 फरांगुलिनखोद्भूतनारायणदशाकृतिम् ॥ ११ ॥
 महाकालस्य रमणीं जननीमपि सर्वदा ।
 श्यामलां कोमलभुजां श्यामलास्त्रविलासिनीम् ॥ १२ ॥
 जितहंसगतिं शश्वत्कनकनककंकणां ।
 दाडिमीबीजंसदृशदन्तपंक्तिद्वयोज्ज्वलाम् ॥ १३ ॥
 गूढगुल्फां कूर्मपृष्ठजयिष्णुप्रपदद्वयां ।
 पादांगुलीनखज्योतिःपरिनिर्जितकौमुदीं ॥ १४ ॥
 कच्छपीध्वनिगंभीरगीताकर्णननिश्चलां ।
 भारत्याः सत्यनिलयां महितां सहितां श्रिया ॥ १५ ॥
 सदाशिवमहाभेतहृत्पद्मपरिसंस्थितां ।
 करिशुंडासमाकारचारुयुगभासुरां ॥ १६ ॥
 सुरासुरवधूबुंदसेवितां प्रिसरोरुहां ।
 दक्षयज्ञप्रमथिनीं त्रिलोकीजननीं परां ॥ १७ ॥
 सुस्निग्धाकुटिलात्यर्थचारुभ्रमरकावलि- ।
 मादीर्घवेणिकोद्भासिनानाभूषणमूषितां ॥ १८ ॥
 रत्नत्रयेयकां रत्नकांचीं रत्नैकमुद्रिकां ।
 सरत्नवल्यां रत्नकेयूरावालिराजितां ॥ १९ ॥
 लाक्षारागाधिकयोत्तरणां कविचांचिकां ।
 एनामाराध्य राजेन्द्र स्वाभिलाषं प्रपूरय ॥ २० ॥
 इत्युक्तः शंभुराजेन्द्रो योगिना शिवयोगिना ।
 सकेशवेन* सगणेशेन मंत्रिवैरः सह ॥ २१ ॥
 सोपाध्यायैर्द्विजश्रेष्ठैः सिद्धैः कैश्चिन्मुहुर्मुहुः ।
 आनंदसिंधुलहरीनिमग्नः समजायत ॥ २२ ॥
 अस्तुत्रीन् मनसा देवीं स्वोपासनपदं गतां ।
 शिवराजात्मजः शंभू राजराजसमः श्रिया ॥ २३ ॥

मनीषिण ऊचुः ॥

कवीन्द्र काली या प्रोक्ता सर्वशक्युत्तमोत्तमा ।
 तस्याः स्वरूपं किं ब्रह्मन् किं तेजस्तद् वदस्व नः ॥ २४ ॥

* This केशव may be the केशव पुराहित, author of Rajaram Carita ?

किं वीर्यं किं तपोध्यानं को मंत्रः को जपः परः ।
 का पूजा किंविधं मंत्रं कः कालो मंत्रसाधने ॥ २५ ॥
 तथैव सिद्धिं सर्वत्र परमां शिवयोगिनः ।
 स्थानजन्मभवां काचित्कथयस्व समासतः ॥ २६ ॥
 गणेशभट्टः को नाम तथा केशवभट्टकः ।
 एतेषां प्रकृतिं ब्रह्मन् प्रधानां वक्तुमर्हसि ॥ २७ ॥
 इति पृष्ठः कविश्रेष्ठः संप्रमेण मनीषिभिः ।
 रहस्यं सकलं हर्षाज्जगाद वदतां वरः ॥ २८ ॥

कवीन्द्र उ० ॥

मनीषिणः सावधानाः शृणुध्वं चरितं महत् ।
 पुण्यं पवित्रं परमं काल्याः श्रोत्रसुखावहम् ॥ २९ ॥
 आसीत्पुरा धरा सर्वा सलिलेन परिप्लुता ।
 योगनिद्रामयो विष्णुर्योगनिद्रामदीधरत् ॥ ३० ॥
 वटस्य पत्रस्य पुटे शयाने पुरुषोत्तमे ।
 तदा तत्कर्णमलजौ प्रभूतबलदर्पितौ ॥ ३१ ॥
 मधुकैटभनामानौ दानवौ साधुगर्हितौ ।
 दैवेनाविष्टहृदयौ कालयंत्रनियंत्रितौ ॥ ३२ ॥
 आस्फोटयंतौ स्वभुजौ तृणीकृत्य जगत्रयीं ।
 महामदभरोद्दामौ द्रोहोद्रेकसमर्पितौ ॥ ३३ ॥
 अकस्मादिव संवृद्धौ कालानलसमयुतौ ।
 प्रतीतौ विश्वविजये परस्परहितैषिणौ ॥ ३४ ॥
 एकांशाविव सर्वस्वभूतौ दनुकुलेश्वरौ ।
 उन्मत्तौ क्रोधरक्ताक्षौ विष्णुनाभिकृतालयौ ॥ ३५ ॥
 धातारमनुसुयुक्तौ स्ववीर्यभरशालिनौ ।
 महाकापय(द्य)भरितौ प्रबलौ बलिनां वरौ ॥ ३६ ॥
 ततो विधाता तौ वीक्ष्य भयाकुलितमानसः ।
 अस्तुवन्मनसा तत्र योगनिद्रामनुत्तमां ॥ ३७ ॥
 निद्रामुद्रागते त्रिणौ किं कार्यमिति चिंतयन् ।
 क्षणं तूष्णीं समास्थाय प्रविचार्य स्वके हृदि ॥ ३८ ॥

विधातोवाच ॥

पुष्टिस्त्वमेव भुवनाकलनं त्वमेव । सृष्टिस्त्वमेव हृदये मुनिपुंगवानां ॥
 तुष्टिस्त्वमेव सकलार्तिहरा त्वमेव । मातः प्रसीद परिपालय मामनाथम् ॥ ३९ ॥
 शंभुस्त्वया विनिहितो गुणगह्वरोऽस्मिन् । मायाभरैर्विरहितोऽप्यतिनिर्गुणोऽपि ।
 देवा इमे तव नुतं चरितं वदन्ति । मातः प्रसीद परिपालय मामनाथम् ॥ ४० ॥

त्रैलोक्यमेतदखिलं सहसा स्वैयव ग्रस्तं युगांतसमयेषु विनिर्मितं च ॥
 कल्याणदा त्वमासि सर्वजनस्य भूयो । मातः प्रसीद..... ॥ ४१ ॥
 यज्ञस्त्वमेव सुकृतं परमं त्वमेव । सिद्धिस्त्वमेव हृदये बत तापसानां ॥
 योगस्त्वमेव किल योगिजनैकवेद्या । मातः प्रसीद..... ॥ ४२ ॥
 त्वां ब्रह्मवेदांतविदः पठन्ति । विद्यां वदन्ति मुनयः परमार्थदात्री ।
 अर्थं वदन्ति सुजना विदितार्थध्याता । मातः प्रसीद..... ॥ ४३ ॥
 मन्वंतरं त्वमासि ये मनवस्त्वमेव । भानुःशशीवायुधराजलानि ॥
 त्वां व्योमवह्निरिति केपि भणन्ति धीरा । मातः प्रसीद..... ॥ ४४ ॥
 काव्यं त्वमेव कवितासि कवीश्वराणां । निर्दूषणा गुणवती रसपूरिता च ॥
 धैर्यं त्वमेव समरे विजयस्त्वमेव । मातः प्रसीद..... ॥ ४५ ॥
 शंभोस्त्वमेवार्थशरीरमूर्तिः । पूर्तिः समस्तजनतापरिचितितस्य ॥
 उन्मत्तदानवविनाशमयी त्वमेव । मातः प्रसीद..... ॥ ४६ ॥
 कालस्त्वमेव कलितार्थकला त्वमेव । बाला त्वमेव ललिता त्रिपुरा त्वमेव ॥
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 त्रैलोक्यपावनकरी त्रियुगी त्वमेव । सत्यं त्वमेव सकला कलनं त्वमेव ॥
 भूषा त्वमेव मणयो निधयस्त्वमेव । मातः प्रसीद..... ॥ ४८ ॥
 नाट्यं त्वमेव नटनं नटनायकानां । लास्यं त्वमेव निभृतं गणिकाजनानां ॥
 लज्जा त्वमेव सततं कुलसुंदरीणां । मातः प्रसीद..... ॥ ४९ ॥
 कान्तिस्त्वमेव किल कान्ति समूहभाजां । द्रव्यं त्वमेव बत दैवसमेधितानां ॥
 राज्यं त्वमेव बहुतप्ततपोव्रतानां । मातः प्रसीद..... ॥ ५० ॥
 लक्ष्मीस्त्वमेवासि सुलक्षणानां विद्यावतां ज्ञानवतां सतां च ॥
 उल्लासस्त्वमेवाद्भुतविस्मयो त्वं । मातः प्रसीद..... ॥ ५१ ॥
 विश्वेश्वरी त्वमासि विश्वविनोदशीला । दुःशीलदारणकरी शरणागतानां ॥
 नारायणी त्वमासि पालनचारुलीला । मातः प्रसीद..... ॥ ५२ ॥
 माया त्वमेव भुवनत्रयमोहिनी त्वं । विश्वावसानसमये भुवनानि भूयः ॥
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 देव्या त्वया ततमिदं प्रतिभाति सर्वम् । शर्वप्रिये नृत्यसि रौरूपा ॥
 एकाकिनी कल्पसमाप्तिकाले । मातः प्रसीद..... ॥ ५४ ॥
 यज्ञास्त्वमेव सकला यजनं त्वमेव । सौदामिनी वज्रधरी त्वमेव ॥
 कान्तस्त्वमेव सुमुखी रमणी त्वमेव । मातः प्रसीद..... ॥ ५५ ॥
 अस्त्राणि शस्त्राणि च ते स्वरूपं । शास्त्राणि नानार्थमतोन्नतानि ॥
 कीर्तिस्त्वमेव सुमतिः कुमतीस्त्वमेव । मातः प्रसीद..... ॥ ५६ ॥
 इत्थं स्तुता भगवता विधिना विधानैर्नानाविधैः सरभसं नमिता च भूयः ॥
 संप्रार्थिता भगवती वरदा तदानीं । प्रादुर्गभूव पुरतः करुणार्जचिन्ता ॥ ५७ ॥

मुक्तस्त्वया परमंतामसरूपयोच्चैर्विष्णुः प्रसन्नहृदयोदनुजालि जिष्णुः ॥
 बाह्यायुधेन युयुधे बत पंचदिव्यसाहस्रवर्षकममोघपराक्रमोपि ॥ ५८ ॥
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 तुष्टौ वयं मुररिपो वरमावृणीष्व युद्धेन तेष्यलभनेन विकल्पितेन ॥ ५९ ॥
 आकर्ण्य वाक्यमिदमाशुजनार्दनेन संयाचितौ मृत्युपथाय भूयः ॥
 तावुचतुस्तोयाविहीनभूमावावांजहित्वं मधुकैटभारे ॥ ६० ॥
 अंके स्वके श्रीरमणो गृहीत्वा तौ दानवौ स्वीयसुदर्शनेन ॥
 जहार तेषां हृदयस्थजीवं शिवं पदं प्रापयिषुः प्रकामम् ॥ ६१ ॥
 श्रीविष्णोः प्रभविष्णुतां हृदि समावीक्ष्योच्चकैर्भूजलं
 तेजो वातयुतं नभश्च सुषमां दधेधिकां कामपि ।
 चक्रुस्तोत्रशतैस्तुतिं विधियुतां कालयाः प्रकामोत्सवाः ।
 बध्वा हस्तसरोरुहावलिमथो नानाप्रणानानपि ॥ ६२ ॥
 विरचितशुभकीर्तिः कापि मूर्तिः शिवाया
 नलिनसदनचित्राकांक्षितं पूरयित्वा ।
 तदनु क्वाटिति लीलांतर्हिताभूत् प्रभूत-
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 ॥ इति अध्यायः ॥

श्री ॥ कवींद्र उवाच ॥

अथोभिधास्ये परमं मंत्रं सर्वोत्तमोत्तमम् ।
 यं जप्त्वा साधकश्रेष्ठो ब्रजेत्सिद्धिमनुत्तमाम् ॥ १ ॥
 ब्रह्मवह्निस्मारूढः कलायुक्चन्द्रशेखरः ।
 बीजमेतन्मनोहारि पठेदादौ त्रिवारतः ॥ २ ॥
 व्योमरक्षणयुक् चंद्रभूषितं द्विःप्रयोजयेत् ।
 बीजयुग्ममिदं प्रोक्तं भुक्तिमुक्तिफलप्रदम् ॥ ३ ॥
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 यो द्विर्जपति सिद्धीनां पारगः सुभगो भवेत् ॥ ४ ॥
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 आत्मादीर्घकृतावासो धरास्मरविराचिता ॥ ५ ॥
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 बीजसप्तकमत्युच्चैर्वाहिकांतां महोज्ज्वलां ॥ ६ ॥
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 अनंतपुष्पनिलयो योगिनामपि दुर्लभः ॥ ७ ॥
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 कुबेरो धनदामापद्म वद्विस्तेजस्विता गतः ॥ ८ ॥

आस्ते यमो नियमकुत् त्रिलोक्या लोकवन्दितः ।
 निर्ऋतिनैर्ऋतिः प्राज्यसाम्राज्यपदधीमगात् ॥ ९ ॥
 वारुणीकृतसंवासो वरुणस्तोयनाथताम् ।
 ईशान्यत्वमथेशान्या मन्वभूद्विरिजापतिः ॥ १० ॥
 पालनं कुरुते विष्णुः प्रभविष्णुः पदे पदे ।
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 सुधामधुरिमोद्गारानदधाच्छीतदीधितिः ॥ १२ ॥
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 गंधर्वाणामधिपतिर्विश्वावसुरथाभवत् ॥ १३ ॥
 शेषो विशेषप्रथिमा घराभारं बभार ह ।
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 रत्नाकरत्वमुदधिरवृणोद्भूतसंचयैः ॥ १६ ॥
 महाविक्रमसंयुक्तो भार्गवः क्षात्रमंडलं ।
 आजघान शरैरुग्रैरेकविंशतिसंख्यया ॥ १७ ॥
 शुक्रो महाक्रमं काव्यमकरोद्भव्यदायकं ।
 वज्रे कवीन्द्रपदवीं सुरासुरकदंबके ॥ १८ ॥
 अचिन्त्यरूपचरितौ नासत्यौ सत्यसंश्रयौ ।
 समीयतुः समगुणौ भिषग्वरमहापदम् ॥ १९ ॥
 प्रेष्ठोक्तोर्वाशिष्ठोपि विश्वामित्रपराक्रमं ।
 बभंज जनयन्हर्षं प्रकर्षं शिष्यमंडले ॥ २० ॥
 ब्रह्मर्षित्वं प्रकर्षेण ब्रह्मर्षिषु समावृणोत् ।
 विश्वामित्रः पवित्रातिचरितः साधुसंमतः ॥ २१ ॥
 गन्धर्वयक्षप्रवरकिन्नरैरभिज्ञोभितः ।
 अवाप पर्वतेन्द्रत्वं तुषाराद्रिः समुज्ज्वलः ॥ २२ ॥
 मेरुः सुवर्णप्राकारपरिखाशतभासुरः ।
 समस्तदेवजनतास्थानतां समनुग्रहात् ॥ २३ ॥
 मार्कण्डेयो महायोगी योगयोगांगमोचरः ।
 वीर्यायुरप्रतिहतबलवीर्याणिचावृणोत् ॥ २४ ॥
 सूर्ययो नारदाद्याः पुलस्त्याद्याः महर्षयः ।
 ब्रह्मर्षयः कश्यपाद्याः संप्रापुः स्वमजोरथात् ॥ २५ ॥

कामोनिकामं कुसुमशरोवैर्धनुषापि च ।
 अजयज्जगतीं तेजो वहन्किमपि सर्वदा ॥ २६ ॥
 इत्थं समस्तं माहात्म्यं मन्त्रस्य परिदर्शितं ।
 अथ यंत्रं केरलानां वच्मि चारु समासतः ॥ २७ ॥
 रभ्यं षट्कोणमालिख्य त्रिकोणत्रितयं लिखेत् ।
 वसुपत्रं धरागेहं पूजार्थं समीरितं ॥ २८ ॥
 पीठपूजां विधायादौ तत आवरणार्चनं ।
 प्रकुर्यात् साधकः श्रेष्ठः संपदामालयो भवेत् ॥ २९ ॥
 सजयां विजयां पश्चादजितामपराजितां ।
 नित्यां विलासिनीं दोध्रीमघोरामथमंगलाम् ॥ ३० ॥
 पीठशक्तीरिमाख्याता महावरणदेवताः ।
 समासेन प्रवक्ष्यामि सांगवरणपूर्विकाम् ॥ ३१ ॥
 महाप्रेतं शिवं ध्यात्वा हृदये तस्य सुस्थिरा ।
 महाकालरतां वेशवशां युक्तां शिवागणैः ॥ ३२ ॥
 स्मृत्वा पुष्पांजलिं दत्त्वा मूलमंत्रेण साधकः ।
 आरभ्य पूर्वामंगानि षडस्त्रे परिपूजयेत् ॥ ३३ ॥
 काली कपालिनिकुलां कुरकुलां विरोचिनीं ।
 विप्रचित्तामथ नवकोणे शक्तीर्न वार्चयेत् ॥ ३४ ॥
 उग्रामुग्रप्रथां दीप्तां नीलां पद्मप्रनामपि ।
 बलाकिकामथोमात्रां मुद्रां मित्रां प्रपूजयेत् ॥ ३५ ॥
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 माहेश्वरीं च चामुंडां कौमारीमपराजितां ॥ ३६ ॥
 वाराहीं नारसिंहीं च भूपुरेथार्चयेत्सुधीः ॥
 भैरवीं च प्र... .. ॥

संभाजीराजस्य जन्मांतरीयवृत्तम् ।

.....भक्तिभावभरितहृदयश्रीशिवभूषणपदराज्ञ्याः जातिस्मृति.....अपत्यासत्य-
 वगतं जन्मान्तरीयवृत्तान्तजातं विषदयामः

सा* किल सोमाच.....नाथ मण्डनायमानरत्नपुरेशमहामहीपालपुत्रिका
 ललामा कमनीयतररमणीयरूपे द्विजदेवतैकनिष्ठा कनिष्ठाकृतवामदेवादिवहार्थि-
 स्वरूपे नारदादिदेवर्षिदीधित्यनुरूपे कस्मिंश्चान्निजपुरोधः पुत्रे प्रेमातिशय-
 महिम्ना पुत्रभावनां कलयांचकार । सोऽपि पंचगौडांतर्गत-द्विजाग्रणीः गुणगारि-
 निविष्टहृदयः सहृदयः सुतरां स्वसौन्दर्यसौष्ठववशीकृतमुरमुंदरीम् अपरामिव

त्रिपुरसुंदरीं सुंदरीं मातृभावना(भवन)यामास । एवं निरतिशयानुपमेयाप्रमेयप्रेम-
संभारभरितमनसोस्तयोः कौशल्यारामयोरिव सर्वजनमनोरमः एकाहोरात्रनुटिका-
सहनशीलः सीताकुशीलवलयसमानं शिशिरीकृतसर्वशरीरावयवः कश्चिद्-
पूर्वस्नेहकलाकलापः शुद्धान्तकरणयोनिःप्रत्यूहं प्रतिफलति स्म । एवं स्नेहप्रस्फु-
रणादुत्तरोत्तरवर्धिष्णुतावलनाद्दैनंदिनदर्शनमापि नूतनमिवाकलनादुभयोर्भूय-
स्तरामतिदुःसहवियोगसहिष्णुता समजनि । तस्यातिशयितस्नेहासंगानुपंगमासक्त-
चेतसः का.....काळीविषक्त निगमागमप्रतिपादितोपासनामार्गप्रवि-
ष्टस्य पुरोहितपुत्रस्य अस्यामेवजन्म गृह्णीयां राजधर्माननुभवितुं इति भूयः कर्म-
मर्मसंपादयित्री जन्मान्तरीयशर्मसंपत्तिदात्री शोभनगात्री वर्मवशसंभवनिमित्त-
विधिनिर्मितैक—पात्री नानाविधपुण्यक्षेत्रपुरश्चर्या परंपरानुवासानासत्पात्री
वासना सत्पात्री सहैव प्रचचार । तमग्न्यजन्मानं ब्राह्मणमनुबंधननेकप्राकारिक-
पुण्यक्षेत्रं प्रचलनशीलोपि दुःशीलः सुशीलनामा परमप्रियां कश्चित् सदाशिव-
गणः (तपोविघ्नमाचरामीति निर्बंधप्रार्थनापुरःसरं प्रसारितशुद्धांजलिः)
श्रृङ्गाररसासक्तयोः नेत्रसंज्ञामात्रबलमवलम्ब्याविष्कृतवैरिभावं प्रकटीकुर्वन् बहु
प्रत्यूहपुंजयैः पीडयतिस्म । सोपि तमतिवंचयित्वैव कतिमयैरहोभिर्दर्शन-
मात्रेणैवानैकविधपापीजनसंघातसंभारसंभरितजगदुद्धारतापत्रयोन्मूलकान्वयीकृत-
जगन्नाथनामधेयदारुब्रह्मस्वरूपिपुरुषोत्तमसंनिधावुत्तिपुण्यतरपुच्छोत्तमक्षेत्रे
पुण्यनक्षेत्रे सुरलोकसोपानपरंपरासु सुखेनैव पदप्रक्षेपणं निधिनिक्षेपणमिव स्वयं
स्वीचकार । तद्द्वार्याश्रवणमात्रनिरसितसर्वांगवृत्तिनिश्चेष्टपुत्रिकेव राजपुत्रिका
तत्पुत्रपरिष्वंगसुखं लेलिहानेव तापाभिभूता त्रिगुणात्मिकां तनुं द्वित्रिदिनैरेव
तत्याज । इत्थं प्रदर्शित कथाकलापवृत्त्या शिवराजाभिधां प्राप्तस्य सुशील-
नाम्नः सतीतिनामनिविष्टाया हैहयवंशभू(षण)पतेरात्मजाया लन्यसंबंधः सुसिद्ध
एव । अंकुरितवैरीभावविभावितांतःकरणतया शंभुसंज्ञां प्रविष्टस्य पुरोहित-
सूनोः किंचिद् वक्रिमभावे विभाव्यते पितुः पुत्रस्य च । स्व स्ववासनानुबंधानु-
बद्धसंबद्धा अपि त्रया त्रिगुणात्मकां शरीरसंपदं प्रापुरेवं सूचनानामात्रप्रदर्शनं
विहितमत्र ग्रन्थविस्तरभयाद्विस्तरेणालं ॥

श्रीशंभोश्चरणानुसेवमरतौ तौ दंपती सर्वदा

यत्तत्काल उपागतान्बहुविधान्संपूजयन्तौ मुरान् ।

प्रेमोद्रेकमुपेयुषोरनुदिनं स्वल्पैरहोभिस्तयोः

शंभुः प्रादुरभूत्सुतः शुभतरः स्वामीकुमादप्रभः ॥ ५० ॥

राज्यं वृद्धिमुपागतं बहुतरं शौर्यं शिवेनार्चितं

कीर्तिर्दिक्षु... .. प्रसरिता प्रत्यक्षभूचंद्रिका ।

शंभोरद्भुतविक्रमस्य विशदं श्रीविक्रमाकर्णानुगं

विज्ञातं सकलैर्जनैरजनितन्माहात्म्यमन्यादृश ॥ ५१ ॥

॥ कवीन्द्र उवाच ॥

इत्थं कालया मया प्रोक्तो यंत्रस्य च मनोरपि ।
 महत्त्वमथ वक्ष्यामि परमं शिवयोगिनः ॥ १ ॥
 उत्तरस्यां पुण्यतमा राढा नाम महापुरी ।
 नाना तपोवनाकीर्णा नानामुनिसमाकुला ॥ २ ॥
 अनेकतीर्थैर्निचिता महापुण्यफलप्रदैः ।
 हंसाकारोद्यानकीर्णैश्चक्रवाकोपशोभितैः ॥ ३ ॥
 हंसैः परमहंसैश्च वालाखिल्यैः समावृता ।
 गतद्वेषैरभिवृता सिंहव्याघ्रमृगादिभिः ॥ ४ ॥
 गतदंशा गतक्रोधजनमंडलभासुरा ।
 कुलस्त्रीभिः परिवृत्ता नानापुष्पलताकुला ॥ ५ ॥
 सुमनामल्लिकाजातिजपाचंपकपाटलैः ।
 करवीराशोककुंदकणिकारैः स्वबंधुकैः ॥ ६ ॥
 पुंनागकेतकी झिंटी बकुलैर्भूमिचंपकैः ।
 सेवंतिकार्कजलजसरोजैः कंदुकैरपि ॥ ७ ॥
 आभ्रैराम्रातकेर्निबो निचुलैर्वंजुलैरपि ।
 कदंबैः कर्णिकारैश्च वटाश्वत्थार्जुनैरपि ॥ ८ ॥
 करकैर्बदरीवृन्दैः करीरैश्चारुपीलुकैः ।
 वधुलैश्चंदनै रक्तचंदनैः कृष्टचंदनैः ॥ ९ ॥
 वानस्पत्यैरनेकैश्च वनस्पतिगणैरपि ।
 पलाशैर्नव्यलतिका कलितैर्ललितैरलं ॥ १० ॥
 ववर्ति त्रिपथा तीरे मंदमारुतवीजिते ।
 तस्यां महासिद्धिधरः सर्वसिद्धजनप्रियः ॥ ११ ॥
 तेजसा भानुसदृशश्चतुर्मुख इवापरः ।
 दान्दन्वावदूकः सर्वशास्त्रार्थपारगः ॥ १२ ॥
 हागमरहस्यज्ञः प्रज्ञावान्प्राज्ञसंमतः ।
 जनयन्दोषमरणं जनानां स्वीयदर्शनैः ॥ १३ ॥
 ब्रह्मश्रियावृतो दाता शांतः क्षान्तो धृतव्रतः ।
 ऊर्ध्वरेता ब्रह्मचर्यचर्यावानार्यसंमतः ॥ १४ ॥
 आर्याभक्ताव्यक्तमतिर्मेंत्रयंत्रप्रवर्तकः ।
 महासत्त्वोतिगंभीरस्तत्त्ववित्तत्त्वदर्शकः ॥ १५ ॥
 अध्यात्मवक्ता साधूनां समतः सुजनप्रियः ।
 अष्टांगयोगकुशलो निःसंगो निर्ममःकृती ॥ १६ ॥

निर्वाण पदवीमिच्छन्बद्ध पद्मासनःसुधीः ।
 चतुःषष्टिकलाभिज्ञो ज्ञानविज्ञानपारगः ॥ १७ ॥
 शुक्लांबरधरः शुक्लचंदनेनानुलेपितः ।
 शिवयोः सामरस्यानि चित्ते समनुचिन्तयन् ॥ १८ ॥
 कृपाकटाक्षविभवैरुद्धरन् शिष्यमंडलं ।
 अनुग्रहाय जगतां विग्रही बत शंकरः ॥ १९ ॥
 भ्रमन्गुरुस्वरूपेण जगत्यां सत्यसंश्रयः ।
 सत्यव्रतः सत्यतपाः सत्यवाक्यपरायणः ॥ २० ॥
 अनंतकुलधर्माणां मर्मज्ञश्चारुकर्मकृत् ।
 जटिलः शंकर इव समदृष्टिर्मुकुन्दवत् ॥ २१ ॥
 वशिष्टवत् शिष्टतमो विशिष्टचरितेष्टदः ।
 भ्रष्टर्दुर्जनसंल्लापविवर्जनपरो यमी ॥ २२ ॥
 निरंजनोनिराकांक्षः सत्पक्षोभव्यलक्षणः ।
 अक्षोभ्यहृदयोमायाविमुक्तो विगतालसः ॥ २३ ॥
 हरन्सुदूरे विषयान् विश्वामित्र इवापरः ।
 मित्रामित्रौ समौ पश्यन्त्यशस्यः सिद्धसंमतः ॥ २४ ॥
 प्रातः प्रशान्त्यः प्रथितनामा कामप्रपूरकः ।
 साधकानां समुदिताल्हादः सादविनाशनः ॥ २५ ॥
 अनंतपुण्यफलदचरितव्रतमंडलः ।
 अत्रेर्विचित्रं चरित वहन्विगतसाध्वसः ॥ २६ ॥
 पिशंगचारुविलसज्जटाजूटो दृढाशयः ।
 मितवक्ता मिताहारो मितहासो मितोद्यमः ॥ २७ ॥
 मितश्रमिर्मिताकांक्षी मिततृट् मिततोषभृत् ।
 मिताकल्पचमत्कारो मितविस्मयहर्षुलः ॥ २८ ॥
 किंचिद्भूभंगविक्षेपपारिप्लुष्टो हितावालिः ।
 अहंतारहितोत्साही बाललीलां समावहन् ॥ २९ ॥
 वैराग्ययुक्तोपि महाभाग्यसौभाग्यदायकः ।
 दुर्भाग्यदमनोपायोदृढमार्गाद्वनिता हरन् ॥ ३० ॥
 कृतार्थः सिद्धिकामानां प्रकामनियमोज्ज्वलः ।
 कश्चित्सिद्धः श्रीः स.....सर्वेषां श्रुतिमागतः ॥ ३१ ॥
 महानिर्वाणपदवीं मृगयन्निजलीलया ।
 आसीदासीरुधरणीवलये लयपंडितः ॥ ३२ ॥
 शिवयोगी नाम कश्चिद् ब्राह्मणश्चित्तपावनः ।
 निश्चिन्त्य तस्य सिद्धस्य चरितं परमाद्भुतं ॥ ३३ ॥

हित्वा कौंकणकं देशं तं देशं समुपस्थितः ।
 गुरुत्वेनाशु तं सिद्धं वरयामास सुव्रतः ॥ ३४ ॥
 शिष्यत्वेनाथ सोप्येनमग्रहीद्रस्यविग्रहे ।
 शुभग्रहैः परिवृते कस्मिंश्चिदपि वासरे ॥ ३५ ॥
 उक्ते मासि तिथौ स्वर्तौ प्रवृत्तेश्चोत्तरायणे ।
 कृत्वांकुरार्पणं वास्तुपूजनं च यथाविधि ॥ ३६ ॥
 हुत्वाग्नौ ब्राह्मणां नत्वा स्तुत्वा स्वाभीष्टदेवतां ।
 ध्यात्वा स्मृत्वा स्वपितरावाचार्यकुलकामिनीः ॥ ३७ ॥
 नंदिनीप्रमुखा गावः कुलार्द्रान्तरगाधिपान् ।
 विधीन्ससागरान्कल्पवृक्षान्नदनीचयान् ॥ ३८ ॥
 अभिवन्द्य गणेशानं वंदुकं योगिनीगणं ।
 नरेशान्पुण्यचरितानाकीर्त्यमुरनायकान् ॥ ३९ ॥
 अध्वषट्कं विशोध्याशु ससिद्धः सिद्धसंमतः ।
 पुण्याहं वाचयित्वोच्चैर्वायषोषपुरःसरं ॥ ४० ॥
 कौशेयेन नवीनेन बंधयित्वा विलोचने ।
 शिवस्य स्वीयशिष्यस्य दीक्षाषट्कं विधाय च ॥ ४१ ॥
 तीव्रवेधमयीं दीक्षां सत्तमां पर्यकल्पयत् ।
 पूर्वाम्नायमथोच्चार्य पूर्वकुंभैः सुशोभनैः ॥ ४२ ॥
 स्नपयामास विधिवद्देवतामंत्रमुच्चरन् ।
 ससिद्धः सर्व सिद्धानां प्रथमो गोरखो यथा ॥ ४३ ॥
 आहृत्य दाक्षिणान्कुंभान्दाक्षिणाम्नायमुत्तमं ।
 स्नपयन्कथयामास दत्तात्रेय इवापरः ॥ ४४ ॥
 पाश्चिमान्कलशान्गृह्य पश्चिमांस्नायजान्मनून् ।
 अभिषिचन्नकथयत् तथा रैवतको यथा ॥ ४५ ॥
 नेति नेति नेतीति यत्परं श्रुतयो वदन् ।
 अनुत्तरं तथाम्नायं शिववाञ्छिजगाद सः ॥ ४६ ॥
 पूर्णदीक्षां विधायेत्थमागमोक्तेन वर्त्मना ।
 सांप्रदायं स्वकं प्रोच्य दृष्टिबन्धं विसृज्य च ॥ ४७ ॥
 निजक्रमागतं कंचिद्गुरुक्रममथादिशत् ।
 येन शिष्यस्य परमा सिद्धिर्भवाति सर्वतः ॥ ४८ ॥
 आर्यतद्धारनाथार्णं गृहीत्वाति मनोरमम् ।
 शिष्यस्य कल्पयामास ससिद्धोनामसंभ्रमात् ॥ ४९ ॥
 तेन दीक्षाप्रभावेण सशिवो ब्राह्मणाग्रणीः ।
 योगीतिख्यातिमगमत्सिद्धिपारमुपागतः ॥ ५० ॥

शिवयोगी ततस्तत्र बहुकालं गुरोर्गृहे ।
 तोषयामास विधिवत्तस्य प्रियतमान्परान् ॥ ५१ ॥
 प्रगल्भोदारसेवाभिराराध्यगुरुमादरात् ।
 अलभच्छिवयोगी सः सिद्धिकामपि सुव्रतः ॥ ५२ ॥
 प्रसन्नचेताः सततं स्तुवन्ध्यायन्जपन्नमन् ।
 सिद्धस्य चरितं किञ्चिच्छिवयोगी पपाठ सः ॥ ५३ ॥
 इत्थं भक्तिभरं ज्ञात्वा सासिद्धः शिवयोगिनः ।
 आज्ञापयामास चिरं ब्रह्मचर्यव्रतं चर ॥ ५४ ॥
 पाणिग्रहं क्वचिदपि मा कुरुष्व व्रतेच्छया ।
 शिष्यत्वेन नराधीशं योगिन्मा वृणु सर्वथा ॥ ५५ ॥
 योगी सुसिद्धसिद्धस्य वचो निशम्य... ..
 विद्योतद्ब्रह्मिवर्चाः परिचरिततपाः भावयन्मंत्रजातं
 पश्यन्क्षेत्राणि नानारसभरभरितः पर्यटन्तीर्थपंक्तीः ।
 प्रेम्णा शृंगारपुर्या व्यरचदथमडीं कोंकणे क्रूरदेशे
 वस्तुं योगी प्रसिद्धस्तदनुनुतगुणं सन्निवासं चकार ॥

 मदाज्ञया त्रिपुरजित् तव पुत्रो भविष्यति ।
 भूभारस्यापि संहारं करिष्यति न संशयः ॥ ७५ ॥
 तारयिष्यति भूदेवान् दुःखपंकादतंघ्नितः ।
 मर्दयिष्यति दुष्टौघान् निर्जरान्स्थापयिष्यति ॥ ७६ ॥
 रक्षयिष्यति धेनूनां गणान्यवनहस्ततः ।
 श्रीकृष्ण इव तेजस्वी वधूरानन्दयिष्यति ॥ ७७ ॥
 संस्थापयिष्यति सुदा धर्मं शर्मसमन्वितः ।
 आह्लादयिष्यति धनैः क्रूरकोंकणजान्नरान् ॥ ७८ ॥
 धुरंधरान्राजकृत्ये नवीनान्कल्पयिष्यति ।
 स्वपूजायां बताभक्तिं धरिष्यति न संशयः ॥ ७९ ॥
 सौरान् शाक्तान् गाणपत्यान् शैवानावर्जयिष्यति ।
 अर्चनं बालकृष्णस्य प्रेम्णा परिकरिष्यति ॥ ८० ॥
 ताग्रैः साम महासायो बहुकालं चरिष्यति ।
 आचरिष्यति सौम्यः सन्नेकछत्राधिपत्यतां ॥ ८१ ॥
 निरंतरं वनेतीव पापध्वर्थमटिष्यति ।
 स्वमतेनैव सर्वाणि कार्याण्यकल्पयिष्यति ॥ ८२ ॥
 महानंदभराविष्टः सदैव विहरिष्यति ।
 वारयिष्यत्यारिष्टानि दूरादेव गतस्पृहः ॥ ८३ ॥
 अतः सुतार्थं राजेन्द्र चितां मा कुरु कर्हिचित् ।

RĀMĀNUJĀCĀRYA-THE AUTHOR OF THE
NĀYAKARATNA

BY

PANDIT K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, ŚIROMANI

The author of the *Nāyakarātna*, the commentary on *Pārthasārathimīśra's Nyāyaratnamālā* is *Rāmānujācārya*. This *Rāmānujācārya* is to be distinguished from the celebrated *Rāmānujācārya*, the author of the *Śrībhāṣya* on the *Bādarāyaṇasūtras* and the founder of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* School of Philosophy. The author was a native of *Dharmapuri*, a town in the Southern India, now included in the territories of the H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad. He was a devotee of the deity *Nṛsiṃha* whose temple is situated at *Dharmapuri* on the banks of the river *Godavari*.¹ He was well-versed in all *Śāstras*, and was a follower of the *Prābhākara* system of *Karmamīmāṃsā*.² He seems to have received instruction on the *Prābhākara Mīmāṃsā* from one *Jātavedaguru*, himself an author and a reputed sacrificer.³ He believed in the religion and philosophy of the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* School of *Rāmānuja*, and studied the *Śrībhāṣya* under *Veṅkaṭādriguru*.⁴ He seems to have belonged to the reputed *Śrīvaiṣṇava* family which was respected throughout for piety from several generations. His

¹ पदयन् गोदावरीमग्रे प्राङ्मुखः पद्मकासनः ।
नगसिंहवपुर्विष्णुरव्याद्धर्मपुरे वसन् ॥
गोदावरीधिपतिं संनिविष्टा गरीयसी धर्मपुरी चकास्ति ।
तत्रावतीर्णस्य नृसिंहमूर्तेः विष्णोः पदे चेतोसि संस्मरामि ॥ *Tantrarahasya* (G. O. S. No. 24) p. 1.

अस्ति गोदावरी नाम नदी तत्तीरवासिनम् ।
नरसिंहं नमस्यामि शश्वद्धर्मपुरीश्वरम् ॥ *Nāyakarātna* (G. O. S. No. 75) P. 49.

² *Ibid*; verse 5.

³ भूसुराणां सुराणां च सभाजयति संसदम् । जातवेदगुरुर्गुञ्जा व्याख्यया च तथेज्यया ॥

Ibid; p. 49.

पदवाक्यप्रमाणेषु परां काष्ठामुपागतः । जातवेदगुरुर्गुञ्जा जयति क्षितिमण्डले ॥ *Tantrarahasya*. p. 47.

⁴ See p. 73 of the *Tantrarahasya*.

descendants seem to have migrated from the original place Dharmapurī to Tirupati where they are still held in high esteem in the Śrīvaiṣṇava temples as 'Dharmapurī Ācāryas'. The present descendant of the family now living at Tirupati can recollect his connection with the author of this commentary, and he was kind enough to explain his family traditions to the present writer.¹ Rāmānujācārya was a staunch follower of the Prābhākara system of Pūrvamīmāṃsā and as such, he had been able to supply us with a list of almost forgotten works of the Prābhākara School in the introductory verses of his *Tantrarahasya*. Rāmānujācārya himself being a Viśiṣṭādvaitin was probably driven by necessity to make an intensive study of the Prābhākara Mīmāṃsā since his School of philosophy derived many principles and tenets adumbrated in the Prābhākara School. The case was otherwise with the Śāṅkara School which mainly followed the guidance of the Bhāṭṭa School in such matters. The author, moreover, possessed equal mastery over the tenets of the Bhāṭṭa School of Mīmāṃsā, and had a special liking for the arguments advanced by Pārthasārathimiśra.² This seems to be the reason why he undertook to write a commentary on the polemical treatise of Pārthasārathi which condemns the theories established by Prābhākara and were favoured by him. He possessed a good knowledge of many important works of the Prābhākara system. Some of the titles mentioned by the author now exist only in name, and in all probability are irrevocably lost. The *Laghu* or *Vivaraṇa* of Prābhākara and the *Dīpaśikhā*, a commentary on it by Śālikanātha are no longer extant. Some of the other works, namely, the *Nibandhana* or *Bṛhatī* of Prābhākara, the *Ējuvimalā*, the *Prakaraṇa-Pañcikā* of Śālikanātha, the *Nayaviveka* of Bhavanātha, fortunately, are now available partly in Mss and partly in print.

Of the works, composed by Rāmānujācārya himself, two are known so far, and they are the *Nāyakarātna*, now published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series as No. 75 and the *Tantrarahasya*,

¹ This information has been supplied to me by my friend Pandit D. T. Tatacharya of Tirupati.

² श्रुतन्मनियन्त्रितोऽयं बहुमानविह पार्थसारथेः ।

विद्युषोमि मतान्तराश्रितां स्थिरभावां नयस्त्वमालिङ्गम् ॥ *Nāyakarātna* (G. O. S.) p. 1

already published in the same series as No 24. Out of these two, the first elucidates Bhaṭṭa Kumārila's theories while the second is devoted to establish the views of the Prābhākara with which the author is fully in agreement. Though several other works like the Rāmānujanavaratnamālikā, Śaṅkaraḥṛdayāvedanam, Śrīraṅgarājastavayākhyā, and the Bhāradvājasamhitavyākhyā are attributed to him by his descendants, this hardly appears to be true.¹ The titles of works such as Vimalāñjana, Nyāyaśuddhi etc., referred to in the Tantrarahasya, are not to be taken as separate works of his own, but they are merely the titles of the chapters of the Prakaraṇapāñcīkā of Śālikanātha which are quoted as an authority by the author.²

The style of the author in his Nāyakaratna is simple and his arguments are concise. While commenting on Parthasarathi's text the author rarely goes beyond the sphere of the topic taken up by him, and avoids unnecessary elaboration of the subject. In stating the view-points of the author of the text he is always true to him whether he personally liked them or not. Though a lover of the Prābhākara system, Rāmānuja had undertaken to comment upon a work which established the Bhāṭṭa system, and condemned the other because he had a special admiration for its author. Under these circumstances, one naturally expects that the author might give vent to his own feelings while commenting upon the portions of the text which ridiculed the Prābhākara theories with which he was in full accord. But on the contrary, it is a pleasure to see how he explains the views of Prābhākara and shows faithfully how they are considered futile from the Bhāṭṭa stand-point. Thus, this commentary supplies a very valuable lacuna, particularly to students making a comparative study of both the systems, by elucidating the obscure theories of the Prābhākara system and by contrasting them with those of the other school of Mīmāṃsā.

The Tantrarahasya seems to be the second work of our author since the Nāyakaratna is quoted in it,³ and appears to have been

¹ This information also has been supplied to us by the present incumbent of the family.

² See Tantrarahasya pp. 27-28 and also p. 145 of the introduction of the Tattvabindu edited at Appāmalai University. The 7th and 9th chapters of the Prakaraṇapāñcīkā are known as निमैलाञ्जन and न्यायशुद्धि.

³ अयं शास्त्रार्थसंक्षेपः । इत्थमेव न्याय (रत्न) मालाख्याख्येन नायकरत्नेऽस्माभिरामिहितः ।

Tantrarahasya, p. 60.

written by him in an advanced age. According to a statement contained in his *Tantrarahasya*,¹ the motive in composing this work seems to be to record whatever he knew of the system of Prabhākara as otherwise his knowledge was likely to perish along with him. The *Tantrarahasya*, comprising in five chapters, is a complete work in itself, and its purpose is to elucidate the doctrines of Māna, Meva and Miti according to the Prābhākara system.² It is not to be taken merely as an introduction to a voluminous work in twelve chapters projected by the author as is supposed by its learned editor in his introduction.³ In the five chapters of this work, the author deals with the same subjects treated of by Pārthasārathi in his *Nyāyaratnamālā*, excepting the *Aṅganirṇaya*, and he has shown here how the Prābhākara system stands to reason. He has answered all the criticisms made by Pārthasārathi on those subjects following the system of Prabhākara, and has established the views of Prabhākara on the theory of knowledge, verbal testimony, authority of the Vedas, necessity of the *Mīmāṃsāsāstra* and other cognate problems.

As regards the time in which Rāmānujācārya flourished, nothing seems to have been so far settled. The editor of the *Tantrarahasya* in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series is inclined to take the 18th century as his date and probably this statement is made by him on the strength of his simple style, which according to him, was a common factor in the 18th century compositions.⁴ Rāmānujācārya does not quote any author or work whose dates fall after the time of Pārthasārathimīśra or about 10th century A. D., nor is he referred to by any of the later writers of the same period. This fact, in addition to his simplicity of style alone, cannot be considered sufficient to place his date so late as the 18th century. Following in the footsteps of the editor of the *Tantrarahasya*, the editor of the *Tattvabindu* of Vācaspati in the Anpāmalai University Sanskrit Series, has fixed his date as *cir.* 1750 A. D. without assigning any further reasons.

¹ करणकलेवरमनसां शैथिल्यं सहजमसकृदालोच्य ।

तन्त्ररहस्यं कृतवान् रामावरजः परोपकारार्थम् ॥ *Ibid*; p. 47.

² पूर्वपूर्वकृतिषु प्रपञ्चितं मानमेयमितितत्त्वनिर्णयम् ।

संक्षिप्तानि गुरुतन्त्रनीतिभिः प्रीतयेऽत्र विदुषां मितक्षरम् ॥

Ibid; p. 1.

³ See p. 5 of the Introduction of the *Tantrarahasya*.

⁴ *Ibid*; p. 8.

This date is evidently wrong, since it is possible for us to obtain genealogical details of the author from the existing member of this ancient family at Tirupati. The gentleman from whom the information regarding the family of Rāmānujācārya is obtained seems to be the 15th in descent from the first known ancestor. From him we learn that the name of the first ancestor was Vādihaṁsāmbuvāha *alias* Rāmānujācārya, who was the uncle and preceptor of the famous Venkaṭanātha or Vedānta Deśika who flourished in the 14th century A. D. The fourth in descent from him was known as Rāmānuja, and the eighth was Dharmapurīśa. This Dharmapurīśa or literally the Lord of Dharmapuri is traditionally identified with our author—Rāmānujācārya because he was known as the greatest scholar in that family. There is, however, one difficulty in accepting this identification, as, from the genealogical account, the name of the teacher of Dharmapurīśa is known as Nṛsiṁha¹ instead of Jātaveda or Venkaṭādri as mentioned by Rāmānuja in his works. Besides this, the difference in the name of the author Rāmānuja and Dharmapurīśa stands in the way of accepting the proposed identification. One Vātsya Venkaṭa, of course, is mentioned in that list of genealogy as the preceptor of the brother of Dharmapurīśa called Raṅgarāja² but not of Dharmapurīśa. Under these circumstances, our author may, as an alternative, be identified with the first or fourth descendant of this family who was known by the name of Rāmānuja, in case we are sure of our grounds to identify him as a member of this house. The fact, that our author belonged to this house and to the Ātreya Gotra, itself is open to question, and it has no definite proof except a tradition that the author of the Nāyakaratna was a member of that house. So long as we do not come across any reliable material regarding the descent of the author, this may be taken as a good working hypothesis on which undue reliance should not be placed.

Rāmānuja can, however, be placed as early as the 16th century A. D. on the strength of a date found in one of the Mss of the Nāya-

¹ See the verse traditionally preserved by the descendants :

श्रीनृसिंहगुरोः शिष्यं सत्पुत्रं सद्गुणाश्रयम् ।

वन्दे धर्मपुरीशानमात्रेयकुलपुष्पणम् ॥

² श्रीमन्मृत्सिंहगुरुवर्यपदाब्जभृङ्गं श्रीवात्स्यवेङ्कटगुरोः कलिनात्मबोधम् ।

आत्रेयवंशजगदीशतनुजवर्यं श्रीरङ्गराजगुरुवर्यमहं प्रपद्ये ॥

9 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

karatna. The Ms of the Nāyakaratna preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona and numbered 65/1872-73, contains a post-colophon remark showing that the Ms was copied at Benares in Saṁvat year 1651. The method of writing, palaeographical peculiarities and the appearance of the paper material also corroborate the same statement. The above Saṁvat year corresponds to the year 1595 A. D. We can, therefore, safely fix the lower limit of the date of Rāmānuja at the same year.

Regarding the upper limit of his date, we have no other clue except the name of his spiritual preceptor Venkaṭādiri. We learn from the introductory verse of the 5th chapter of the Tantrarahasya that Rāmānujācārya studied the Śrībhāṣya under his preceptor Venkaṭādiri who was very sympathetic towards his disciple.¹ We can fix the upper limit of his date only when the identity of this Venkaṭādiri is made certain. The other preceptor whom he names probably for the Prābhākaramīmāṃsā is Jātaveda-guru about whom nothing whatever is known. Between the 11th and the 16th centuries A. D., there were three persons who might be identified with the Venkaṭādiri of our author. They are Venkaṭanātha-Vedāntadeśika, Venkaṭādhvarin, the author of the Mīmāṃsāmakaranda, and Venkaṭādiri, the brother of Somanātha, the author of the Mayūkhamālikā, a commentary on the Śāstradīpikā.

Let us examine the known facts regarding them and make an attempt to identify our Venkaṭādiri with one of them as the teacher of Rāmānuja. The first Venkaṭanātha was a great scholar of the Viśiṣṭādvaita system after the celebrated Rāmānujācārya and was known as *Vedāntadeśika* and *Kavīrṅkikasīmha*. He was highly respected as one of the greatest Ācāryas of the Viśiṣṭādvaita system, and was sometimes considered as an incarnation of the bell of the deity Venkaṭeśvara of Tirupati. He flourished in a

¹ The verse in question is as follows :—

रामानुजार्यरचिते निगमान्तभाष्ये

जीवेश्वरप्रकृतिभेदपरे विनीतः ।

श्रीचिङ्कटाद्रियुक्ता करुणावशेन

रामानुजो व्यधितं तन्मरहस्याशिक्षाम् ॥

period between *cir* 1269–1369 A. D. ¹ It is quite possible to identify the preceptor of our author with this Veṅkaṭanātha as both of them were scholars of Viśiṣṭādvaita which was studied by our author. One argument that may go against this identification, is that though Veṅkaṭanātha is often called as Veṅkaṭeśa he was never known by the name of Veṅkaṭādri as stated in the Tantrarāhasya. Moreover, Rāmānuja's name does not appear in the Ācārya-Vaṁśāvali, in which the names of all disciples of Vedāntadeśika are supposed to have been recorded. It may, however, be argued that our Rāmānujācārya, who was an Āndhraite and a native of Dharmapuri, a town in Āndhra country, must have gone to Kāñcī in the Tamil country, where the celebrated Vedāntadeśika stayed, to study the Vedānta after having learnt the Mīmāṃsā from Jātavedaguru in his own country. Veṅkaṭanātha, being very compassionate towards this new Āndhra disciple, may have taught him the Śribhāṣya in his old age, and that may be a reason why Rāmānuja's name does not occur in the list of the famous disciples of Veṅkaṭanātha.

It is also quite possible that the name Veṅkaṭanātha may have been mis-spelt by our author as Veṅkaṭādri, because being an Āndhraite it is reasonable that he should not be able to distinguish it from the other, as also because it makes a very little difference in understanding. In case this identification is approved, we can fix the date of our author as 1350 A. D. or 245 years before the date of the Ms. of the Nāyakarātna now preserved in Poona.

The second Veṅkaṭādhvarin and the third Veṅkaṭādri both flourished at the end of the 16th century or at the same time when the Ms dated as 1595 A. D. was copied. Veṅkaṭādhvarin was a native of Kāñcī in South India and was a great poet, Mīmāṃsaka and a follower of the Viśiṣṭādvaita system. But, as he is known only as Veṅkaṭa ² and not as Veṅkaṭādri, this identification also becomes doubtful. The third Veṅkaṭādri was born in Niṭṭilakula in the Āndhra country. He was well versed in all Śāstras and was a preceptor of his brother Somanāthayaṅjan³, who was the

¹ For further information about his life see pp. 77–79 of the introduction of the Tattvabindu edited at the Annāmalai University.

² 'Adhvarin' is only a designation as he had performed some Soma sacrifices.

³ आधिगत्य कलामखिलामग्रभवाद्देङ्कुटाद्रियज्वगुरोः ।

वचनैरनातिप्रचुरैर्व्याकुर्वे शास्त्रद्विपिकां विशदाम् ॥ Mayūkhamālikā, p. 1.

celebrated author of the *Mayūkhamālikā*, a commentary on the *Śāstradīpikā* of Pārthasārathimīśra. He must have flourished somewhere at the end of 16th century since Somanātha is also placed in the same period.¹ He cannot be identified as a teacher of our Rāmānuja because he does not seem to be a follower of the Viśiṣṭādvaita system which our author learnt from his Guru Venkaṭātri. Both the brothers Venkaṭātri and Somanāthamakhin seem to be the followers of Advaita Philosophy and the Bhāṭṭa school of Mīmāṃsā. Under these circumstances, it seems reasonable to identify our author's preceptor Venkaṭātri with Venkaṭanāthadeśika, and place him somewhere in the middle of the 14th century A. D. In any case he cannot be later than 1595 A. D. the date of the Poona Ms already referred to. If Rāmānuja is placed in this period, he will have to be taken as a disciple either of Venkaṭādhvarin or Venkaṭātri.

This date 1595 A. D., recorded in the Poona Ms, cannot be doubted as a copyist's error because there is no clear proof to bring the author down to a later period than the 16th century. Regarding the simplicity of style on which Dr. Shama Shastri places a great reliance, it may be remarked that this style is a common feature almost of every age. The author cannot be brought down to a period so late as the 18th century, because he is not quoted by any other writer; on the other hand, he cannot be taken to a very early period because he does not quote any other author. Under the circumstances it would be convenient to place him in a period ranging between 1350 and 1575 A. D. on the strength of the arguments above advanced.

¹ Venkaṭādhvarin and Venkaṭātri are respectively placed on *cir* A. D. 1590-1660 and 1600. See pp. 124 and 128 of the introduction of the *Tattva-bindu* edited at Annāmalai University.

SOME MINOR PURĀṆAS

BY

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I

GARUDA-PURĀṆA. The title of the present *Garuḍa-Purāṇa*¹ is due to the story that Garuḍa once worshipped Viṣṇu and received a boon from the latter that he would become the author of a Purāṇa-saṃhitā. Consequently, Garuḍa spoke out the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* to Kaśyapa. Viṣṇu, who received it in a way unknown to us, then imparted it to Rudra, Brahmā and other gods; Brahmā

1. Vaṅgavāsī edition. Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition of the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* differs much from the Vaṅgavāsī edition. The corresponding chapters in the Pūrva-khaṇḍas of the two editions are the following :

Jivānanda's edition		Vaṅgavāsī edition		Jivānanda's edition		Vaṅgavāsī edition
I, 1-132	=	I, 1-132		I, 192-204	=	I, 198-210
		respectively,				respectively,
133	=	133-134,		205-221	=	217-233
						respectively,
134	=	135,		222	=	234-235
135	=	136-139,		223-228	=	236-241
						respectively,
136-191	=	140-195,		229	=	242-243
		respectively,				

Chapters 196-197 and 211-216 of the Vaṅga. ed. are not found in Jivānanda's ed. There are also numerous variations in readings and numbers of verses in the corresponding chapters. The Uttara-khaṇḍa of this Purāṇa varies so hopelessly in the two editions that it is impossible to note the variations here.

The difference between the Vaṅgavāsī and Venkateśvara Press editions is also not negligible ; for *Garuḍa* I, 235 (on the glories of Viṣṇu) of the Vaṅga. ed. is not found in the Venkaṭ. ed., and *Garuḍa* I, 239-240 (on Brahma-gītā) of the latter ed. are not found in the former. As regards the remaining chapters of the Pūrva-khaṇḍas in the two editions, there are occasional variations in readings and verses.

The differences between the Uttara-khaṇḍas in the the two editions are too numerous to be noted here.

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to Vyāsa, Dakṣa and others; Vyāsa to Sūta; and Sūta to the sages Śaunaka and others in the Naimiṣa forest.¹

This Purāṇa, which consists of two Khaṇḍas,—Pūrva and Uttara, is a work of cyclopaedic character containing everything of general interest. Thus in the Pūrva-khaṇḍa there are chapters on almost all the five themes of a Purāṇa as well as on astronomy, astrology, testing of gems (ratna-parīkṣā), omīna and portenta, chiromancy, medicine, metrics, grammar, politics (nīti), various smṛti-topics, details of the worship of different deities, vows (vrata), initiation, holy places, yoga, knowledge of the supreme Brahma, and the stories of the Rāmāyana, Mahābhārata and Harivaṃśa. The Uttara-khaṇḍa is a voluminous but quite unsystematic work and 'treats of everything connected with death, the dead and the beyond. In motley confusion and with many repetitions, we find doctrines on the fate of the soul after death, karman, rebirth and release from birth, on desire as the cause of saṃsāra, on omens of death, the path of Yama, the fate of the pretas....., the torments of the hells, and the pretas as causing evil omens and dreams.' Of these two Khaṇḍas the first consists mainly of the incorporation of entire chapters and isolated verses of some of the standard works on the different branches of learning. It also gives summaries of some other works. Of these different sources used by the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* some have already been pointed out by scholars. These are the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, *Manu-smṛti*, *Parāśara-smṛti*, *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, *Kalāpa-Vyākaraṇa* with Kātyāyana's additional chapter on verbal derivations, *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya-saṃhitā* of Vāgbhaṭa II, *Aśva-cikitsā* of Nakula, and *Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra* of Bhoja.² Besides these, the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* is found to have chapters and verses in common with the other Purāṇas also; viz.,

Garuḍa I, 1, 14-34^a, in which the 21 incarnations of Vāsudeva have been enumerated, agree almost literally with *Bhāgavata* I, 3, 6-26^a; *Garuḍa* I, 49, 2-30, I, 50, 1-79 (except 50^a and 66^b) and I, 51, 1 to the end are all found in *Kūrma* I, 2, II, 18 and II, 26 respectively; *Garuḍa* I, 50, 81-82 = *Kūrma* II, 23, 1

¹ *Garuḍa* I, 2.

² *Indian Historical, Quarterly*, Vol. VI, 1930, pp. 555-558. Haraprasad Shastri, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss*, ASB, Vol. V, Preface, pp. cxcii-cxciii. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, pp. 175 and 191.

and 13; *Garuḍa* I, 51, 3 = *Kūrma* II, 25, 2; *Garuḍa* I, 52 (except 2^b) = *Kūrma* II, 30 and 32-33; *Garuḍa* I, 227, 14-20 = *Kūrma* I, 1, 12-20; a few verses are common to *Garuḍa* I, 82-86 and *Vāyu* 105f (on *Gayā-māhātmya*); *Garuḍa* I, 88-90 = *Mārkaṇḍeya* 95-98.

That, as regards these common portions, the *Garuḍa* is the borrower can be little doubted. Its late origin, its careless omission of numerous verses from the incorporated chapters, and its summarisation of chapters which come from early dates—all go against its originality.

The contents of the present *Garuḍa* do not conform to the description of the '*Garuḍa*' given in the *Matsya*, the *Skanda* and the *Agni-Purāṇa*, according to which the *Garuḍa* was declared by Kṛṣṇa (or Viṣṇu according to the *Agni*) in connection with the origin of *Garuḍa* from the cosmic egg (*viśvāṇḍa*) in the *Gāruḍa Kalpa*.¹ In the extant *Garuḍa*, though Viṣṇu is the narrator, there is no mention of the *Gāruḍa Kalpa* or of the origin of *Garuḍa* from the cosmic egg. This disagreement, and the absence of the verses quoted by the early authors like Ānandatīrtha Madhva, Devanabhaṭṭa, Mādhavācārya and Śūlapāṇi, show that the present *Garuḍa* is not the earlier one noticed by the *Matsya*, *Skanda* and *Agni Purāṇas* and drawn upon by the said authors.

The date of the extant *Garuḍa* can be ascertained within narrow limits. Rūpa Gosvāmin, a disciple of Caitanya of Navadvīpa, quotes a verse from *Garuḍa* I, 232 in his *Haribhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*;² Gopālabhaṭṭa quotes a good number of verses from *Garuḍa* I, 66, 221, 231, 232, 235 and 239 in his *Haribhaktivilāsa*;³ Gadādhara from *Garuḍa* I, 52, 127 and 133 in his *Kālasāra* (Bibl. Ind. ed.); Govindānanda from *Garuḍa* I, 31, 84 (*Gayā-māhātmya*), 123-125,

¹ Cf. yadā ca gāruḍe kalpe viśvāṇḍād garuḍodbhavaṃ |
adhikṛtyābravīt kṛṣṇo gāruḍaṃ tad ihocyate ||

Matsya 53, 52 and *Skanda* VII, i, 2, 72. The latter reads 'vā' for 'ca' and 'garuḍo' 'bhavat' for 'garuḍodbhavaṃ' in the first line.

gāruḍaṃ cāṣṭasāhasraṃ viṣṇukṛtaṃ tārksya-kalpake |
viśvāṇḍād garuḍotpattiṃ tad dadyāddhema-hamsavat ||

Agni-P. 272, 21b-22a.

² Edited by Gosvāmi-dāmodara Shāstri, Acyuta-granthamālā, Benares.

³ Edited by Shyāma-carāṇa Kāvīratna and published by Gurudās Chatterjee & Sons, Calcutta.

127-129, 131, 140, 217, 222 and 224 in his *Varṣakriyā-kaumudī*, *Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī* and *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī*¹; Raghunandana from *Garuḍa* I, 68 (ratna-parīkṣā) 110 (nīti-sāra), 124, 129, 131, 133, 172 (āyurveda), 173 (āyurveda) 217 and 221 in his *Smṛti-tattva*²; and Vācaspatimiśra from *Garuḍa* I, 82 (Gayā-māhātmya) and 84 (Gayā-māhātmya) in his *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi*³ (see Appendix I). These quotations show that the present *Garuḍa-P.* came into being earlier than 1400 A. D. Ballālasena gives in his *Dānasāgara*⁴ the names of those Purāṇas, or parts thereof, which he rejected as unauthoritative, devoid of dāna-topics or influenced by Tantricism and names in this connection a few spurious Purāṇas including the 'Tārksya' and the 'Āgneya'. The contents of these spurious Purāṇas, as enumerated by Ballālasena, show definitely that the spurious 'Tārksya' and 'Āgneya' are the same as our extant *Garuḍa* and *Agni*.⁵ So, the present *Garuḍa* cannot be later than 1100 A. D. P. V. Kane compares the text of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* preserved in the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* with those

1 These works were published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

2 Edited by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta.

3 Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

4 Mss Nos. 719-720, India Office Library, London.

5 Cf. 'tārksyaṃ purāṇam aparaṃ brāhman āgneyam eva ca |
trayovimpāsati-sāhasryaṃ purāṇam api vaiṣṇavaṃ ||
ṣaṭśāhasra-mitaṃ līṅgaṃ purāṇam aparaṃ tathā |
dīkṣā-pratiṣṭhā-pāṣaṇḍa-mukti-ratna-parīkṣaṇaiḥ ||
mṛṣā-vamśānucaritaiḥ koṣa-vyākaraṇādibhiḥ |
asaṃgatakathābandha-parasparavirodhitaiḥ ||
tan mīna-ketanādīnāṃ bhaṇḍa-pāṣaṇḍa-līṅgināṃ |
loka-vañcanam ālokyā sarvaṃ evāvarī (? dhī) ritam ||

Dānasāgara, fcl. 3b-4a.

In the above quotation the readings of the Ms have been given without any correction.

It is to be noted that though Ballālasena says that he rejected the spurious Purāṇas named in the above verses, he is found to draw upon the *Brahma*, *Agni* and *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* in his *Dānasāgara*. So, it cannot be denied that Ballālasena knew and used another set of Purāṇas which he considered genuine. The word 'apara' is noteworthy in this connection.

Regarding the *Līṅga-P.* mentioned here, see our note in our essay on the *Līṅga-Purāṇa* to be published shortly in *Indian Culture*. As to the *Brahma* we are not sure whether it is the same as our present apocryphal *Brahma-Purāṇa*. We have also not yet been able to discover any spurious work named *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*. So, the spurious *Viṣṇu* known to Ballālasena seems to have been lost.

used by Viśvarūpa and Vijñāneśvara and comes to the conclusion that 'the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* represents a stage intermediate between Viśvarūpa and Vijñāneśvara.'¹ Therefore the date of the *Garuḍa* falls between 800 and 1000 A. D. Again, as the *Garuḍa* has verses from those portions of the *Kūrma-P.* which were added by the Pāsupatas between 700 and 800 A. D., and as Vāgbhaṭa II, the author of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya-saṃhitā*, lived between the eighth and ninth centuries A. D.,² the *Garuḍa-P.* cannot be earlier than about the middle of the ninth century. It is therefore highly probable that the extant *Garuḍa* was compiled between 850 and 1000 A. D. A comparison between the *Garuḍa* and the extant *Agni* tends to show that the former was modelled on the latter. So the *Garuḍa* should be dated in the tenth century A. D. This date is not, however, applicable to all the chapters of the *Garuḍa*. The Uttara-khaṇḍa, in spite of its having Viṣṇu and Garuḍa as interlocutors, is undoubtedly a later addition. It is a distinct work by itself, having a fresh beginning. In the enumeration of contents given in *Garuḍa* I, 3, there is no mention of the topics dealt with in the Uttara-khaṇḍa. Moreover, no Nibandha-writer has been found to draw upon this Khaṇḍa. In the *Haribhakti-vilāsa* (p. 940) there is mention of an interlocution between the Bhagavat and Garuḍa, but the verse, which is ascribed to them, is not found in the Uttara-khaṇḍa. The other verses³, also in which Garuḍa has been addressed as 'khaga', 'paksīndra' etc., are not found in this Khaṇḍa. Hence the spurious character of this Khaṇḍa is undeniable. Besides this Khaṇḍa, there are also chapters in the Pūrva-khaṇḍa which appear to be spurious. These are especially chaps. 146-149 and 202. Of these the former deal with the incarnations of Viṣṇu and, in connection with them, narrate the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Harivaṃśa*, none of which has been referred to in the synopsis of contents given in *Garuḍa* I, 3. The number of incarnations named in these chapters is only ten, and 'Vāmana' is replaced

¹ Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I. p. 175.

² Hoernle, *Medicine of Ancient India*, Part 1, pp. 11-13. JRAS, 1909, p. 882.

³ Viz., those in *Madana-pārijāta*, pp. 302-303; *Smṛti-tattva*, Vol. I, p. 147; *Haribhaktivilāsa*, pp. 333, 334, 362, 460, 465 and so on.

by 'Dhanvantari' which is assigned the third place. This number is in entire disagreement with that given in chap. 1, wherein twentyone incarnations are named and which was certainly not added later. Again, in chap. 202 the number of Viṣṇu's incarnations named is seventeen, and among them there are four names, viz., Rāma, Hayagrīva, Makaradhvaja and Nāga, which are not found in chap. 1. These varying lists of incarnations cannot be ascribed to one hand. Hence the chapters under discussion cannot but be spurious. Beside these chapters there are possibly others which are spurious, but it is very difficult to detect them.

The results of the above analysis are as follows :

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| (1) Original chapters in the
Pūrva-khaṇḍa | } — tenth century A. D. |
| (2) Later interpolations. | |
| (a) Especially chaps. 146-149
and 202 in the Pūrva-kh. | } — much later. |
| (b) Chaps. 1 to the end in the
Uttara-khaṇḍa. | |

The extant *Garuda P.*, though a comparatively late work, does not seem to have come down to us in its original form. Many chapters and verses, which once occurred in this apocryphal *Garuḍa*, are not found in it at present. In the synopsis of contents in *Garuḍa* I, 3 there is mention of 'Vyavahāra', but in the present form of the Purāṇa there is no chapter on this topic. This Vyavahāra section, which is now missing, was taken most probably from the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, because, though the *Garuḍa* appropriates a large number of sections from the first and third chapters of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, the chapter on Vyavahāra is remarkably absent from the Purāṇa. The *Haribhaktivilāsa* mentions the interlocutions between (1) Nārada and king Dhundhumāra,¹ (2) Śuka and king Ambarīṣa,² and (3) Nārada and Indra.³ The occasional occurrence of the words 'narādhipa,' 'viśāmpati' etc. in the vocative case⁴ in the verses quoted by other Nibandha-writers also shows that the above-mentioned interlocutions were not unknown to them. None of these interlocutions are, how-

¹ *Haribhaktivilāsa*, p. 322.

² *Ibid.*, p. 678.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 882.

⁴ See, for example, *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 148 and II, pp. 567-569.

ever, found in the present *Garuḍa*. Besides these, a large number of verses quoted by those Nibandhakāras who used the apocryphal *Garuḍa* are not found in our present *Garuḍa*.

The extant *Garuḍa* is avowedly a Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa. It was compiled with a view to glorifying Viṣṇu and preaching his worship.¹ It is for this reason that in numerous places in the Purāṇa Viṣṇu, and not any other god, is identified with the supreme Brahma, and more attention is paid to the worship of Viṣṇu. The methods of the worship of Śiva, Durgā, Gaṇeśa and Sūrya also are found in this Purāṇa, but these deities are never given so much importance as Viṣṇu. On the other hand, they are said to be Viṣṇu's attendant deities.² It is perhaps for this reason that the details of their worship have been included in this Purāṇa.

From the evidences given by the Nibandha-writers we understand that the *Garuḍa-P.* was also sometimes called '*Tārksya*' and '*Sauparna*'. Among the Mahāpurāṇas mentioned in the *Dānasāgara* we find the name '*Tārksya*' and not '*Garuḍa*'. The quotations made by the Nibandha-writers under the names '*Tārksya*' and '*Sauparna*' are not, however, found in the extant *Garuḍa*.

II

BRAHMAVAIVARTA-PURĀṆA. This voluminous work,³ which consists of four parts, viz., (1) Brahma-khaṇḍa, (2) Prakṛti-khaṇḍa, (3) Gaṇapati-khaṇḍa and (4) Kṛṣṇajanma-khaṇḍa, glorifies Kṛṣṇa and identifies him with the supreme Brahma. It seems to have been meant for preaching the worship of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. It contains, besides numerous legends and glorifications, a good number of chapters on Smṛti matter; viz., *Brahma-v.* I, 10 on the mixed castes; II, 9 on gifts; II, 10, 22-23, 39, 43-46, 55 and 65 and III, 13, 19 and 32 on worship; II, 24-27, 29-33 and 52 on hells and the results of actions done; II, 54 and IV, 21 on the worship and glorification of Brāhmins; III, 3-4 and IV, 8, 16, 26 and 27 on vratas; and IV, 83-84 on Varṇāśrama-dharma and duties of women.

¹ Cf. *Garuḍa* I, 1, 11a-purāṇaṁ gāruḍaṁ vakṣye sārāṁ viṣṇukathāśrayaṁ.

² *Garuḍa* I, 6, 70 - sūryādi-parivāreṇa manvādya ījire hariṁ. This line is introductory to chaps. 7f on the worship of Śiva, Durgā and others.

³ Edited by Jyānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta.

A perusal of the *Brahmavaivarta-P.* shows that it is one of the latest of the extant Purāṇa works. Jogesh Chandra Roy has carefully examined this Purāṇa and come to the conclusion that it was first composed most probably in the eighth century A. D.; from about the tenth century it began to be changed by the interfering hands of the Bengal authors who recast it to its present form and contents in the sixteenth century; but in spite of this late recast, there are portions which have been retained from an earlier form of the Purāṇa.¹

The above view of J. C. Roy is supported by the quotations made by the Nibandha-writers from the '*Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa*' or '*Brahma-vaivarta.*' Of about 550 lines quoted from this Purāṇa in the *Smṛti-candrikā*,² *Prāyaścitta-khaṇḍa* (ascribed to Hemādri),³ *Kālanirṇaya* (of Mādhavācārya),⁴ *Vratākāla-viveka* (Ms No. 1578C, Dacca University Mss Library), *Rāsayātrā-viveka* (Ms No. 3350, D. U. Mss Lib.), *Smṛti-tattva*, *Kālasāra*, *Varṣakriyā-kaumudī* and *Haribhaktivilāsa*, only about 30 (except the repeated ones) are found in *Brahma-v.* IV, 8 and 26 dealing with the Janmāṣṭamī-vrata and the Ekādaśī-vrata respectively (see Appendix II). The absence of the remaining verses from the present *Brahmavaivarta* shows that the Purāṇa with its present contents was not known to the writers of even the sixteenth century A. D., and that all the Smṛti-chapters, except IV, 8 and 26, are very late additions.

The fact that none of the early Nibandha-writers, except Devanabhaṭṭa, are found to draw upon the '*Brahmavaivarta-P.*', which, as the quotations made by the comparatively late Nibandha-writers show, was a rich store of Smṛti materials mainly religious, proves the comparative unpopularity of the Purāṇa with these early authors.

The statement that the present *Brahmavaivarta* was first composed most probably in the eighth century A. D., should not be taken to mean that there was no Purāṇa named *Brahmavaivarta* before that century. From the consideration of the oldness of the dictum that there were eighteen Mahāpurāṇas it seems highly probable that before 700 A. D. there existed a *Brahmavaivarta* which is now lost.

¹ *Bhāratavarṣa* (a Bengali journal), 1337 B. S., Āṣāḍha, pp. 94-104.

² In this work the Purāṇa is named *Brahma-kaivarta*. This Purāṇa seems to be different from the *Brahmakāivarta-P.* current in Southern India.

³ Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

⁴ Pub. by ASB, Calcutta.

APPENDIX

I

Verses quoted from the 'Garuḍa-P.' or 'Gāruḍa' in

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. <i>Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi Garuḍa-P.</i>
 of
 Vācaspatimiśra,
 pp. 268-270 = I, 82, 1 to the end
 (except 6^b).
 p. 319 = I, 84, 20.</p> <p>2. <i>Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī</i>
 of
 Govindānanda,
 p. 53 = I, 222, 1^b-2.
 p. 54 = I, 222, 2^b.
 p. 83 = I, 222, 1^b.
 p. 119 = I, 222, 9 (partly) and 10.
 p. 123 = I, 222, 9-10.
 p. 124 = I, 222, 9 (last part).
 p. 129 = I, 222, 11.
 p. 138 = I, 222, 21 (last part).
 p. 141 = I, 222, 16 (latter half).
 p. 148 = I, 222, 23 (former half).
 p. 155 = I, 222, 23 (latter half).
 p. 157 = I, 222, 30 (first part).
 p. 162 = I, 222, 25.
 p. 173 = I, 222, 33.
 p. 178 = I, 222, 35-37.
 p. 180 = I, 222, 38.
 p. 184 = I, 222, 40.
 p. 191 = I, 222, 39 (last part) to
 41 (first part).
 p. 192 = I, 222, 40.
 p. 193 = I, 222, 41 (latter half)
 to 42 (former half).
 p. 199 = I, 222, 42 (last part) to
 43.
 p. 204 = I, 222, 45-46 (former
 half).</p> | <p style="text-align: right;"><i>Garuḍa-P.</i></p> <p>p. 206 = I, 222, 47.
 p. 210 = I, 222, 51 (former half).
 p. 319 = I, 224, 1^a and 2.
 p. 346 = I, 224, 1^a and 2.
 p. 389 = I, 222, 19.
 p. 560 = I, 222, 57-58^a.</p> <p>3. <i>Suddhikriyā-kaumudī</i>
 of
 Govindānanda,
 p. 126 = I, 84, 5^a</p> <p>4. <i>Varṣakriyā-kaumudī</i>
 of
 Govindānanda,
 pp. 42-43 = I, 125, 1 to the end.
 p. 62 = I, 128, 5.
 p. 68-69 = I, 128, 18-19. The
 last verse is not found.
 p. 175 = I, 31, 23.
 p. 295 = I, 129, 23^b-24^a.
 pp. 313-314 = I, 131, 11-20.
 The line 'prapadye'ham
 etc.' is not found.
 p. 319 = I, 131, 1-2
 (except 2^b).
 p. 321 = I, 140, 4-5
 (except 4c).
 p. 322 = I, 140, 6 to the end.
 pp. 456-7 = I, 123, 1-2.
 p. 494 = I, 217, 127.
 pp. 504-5 = I, 127, verses 1-2,
 3^b, 9, 8^b, 10^b-17^a and 18-
 20^a.
 p. 508 = I, 124, 11^b-18
 and 21.</p> |
|--|---|

Garuḍa-P.

The line 'bilvapatra-yutam etc.' and the verse 'visarjayet pare-dyus etc.' are not found.

5. *Smṛti-tattva*
of

Raghunandana

Vol. I, p. 33 = I, 129, 25-26.

p. 42 = I, 131, 3^a.

pp. 44-45 = I, 131, 11-15 and 17-20.

The verse 'tam evopavāset kalam etc.', three lines beginning with 'prapadye'ham sadā etc.', and two lines 'sarvalokeśvara etc.' and 'trāhi mām sarva-duḥkhaghna etc.' are not found. Three lines 'sūryaḥ somo yamaḥ etc.' also are not found.

pp. 58-9 = I, 133, 1-2.

p. 127 (twice) = I, 124, 13.

I, 124, 16^b-19^a.

p. 206 = I, 221, 2.

p. 346 = I, 110, 24.

p. 347 = I, 217, 78-79.

These verses greatly resemble *Garuḍa* I, 98, 14 and 16 also.

p. 349 = I, 217, 83.

p. 351 = I, 110, 1.

p. 429 = I, 68, 8-10.

p. 430 = I, 217, 153.

p. 439 = I, 172, 18-19^a,
20^a and 21^b

p. 440 (twice) = I, 173, 62,
56^b, 63 and 5; the lines
'grāhi śītaḥ etc.' and

Garuḍa-P.

'vātanut pittalo etc.'
are not found.

I, 173, 8^a;

(the other 8 lines are
not found.)

p. 752 = I, 217, 127.

Vol. II, p. 437 = I, 129, 25-26.

6. *Kālasāra*
of

Gadādhara,

p. 89 = I, 133, 1.

p. 146 = I, 127, 1-3^a.

p. 329 = I, 52, 23.

The line 'etad eva
param etc.' is not found.

7. *Haribhaktivilāsa*
of
Gopālabhaṭṭa,

p. 28 = I, 232, 8.

p. 103 = I, 221, 2.

The other verse 'yady
apy upahataḥ pāpaiḥ
etc.' is not found.

p. 110 = I, 231, 2.

p. 113 = I, 239, 58.

p. 279 = cf. I, 66, 4^b.

p. 505 = I, 231, 8.

p. 512 = 231, 14b-c.

p. 530 = I, 231, 13-14^a.

The line 'vaiṣṇavānām
sahasrebhyaḥ etc.' is
not found.

p. 653 = I, 235, 8.

The first three verses
are not found.

p. 689 = I, 232, 18.

8. *Haribhaktīrasāmṛtāsindhu*
of

Rūpa Gosvāmin,

p. 63 = I, 232, 18.

APPENDIX

II

Verses quoted from the 'Brahmavāivarta-P.' or 'Brahmavāivarta' in

1. <i>Kālanirṇaya</i> <i>Brahmavāivarta-P.</i> of Mādhavācārya, pp. 222-3 = IV, 8, 54-55 ^a . p. 226 = IV, 8, 67-68. p. 227 = IV, 8, 57 ^b -58 ^a .	<i>Brahmavāivarta-P.</i> Vol. II, p. 37 = IV, 26, 39. p. 52(thrice) = IV, 8, 72. The other verses are not found. p. 87 = IV, 8, 84-85 p. 99 = IV, 8, 84-85
2. <i>Vratākāla-viveka</i> of Sūlapāṇi, fol. 5 ^b = IV, 8, 67-68.	4. <i>Haribhakti-vilāsa</i> of Gopālabhaṭṭa, p. 794 = IV, 8, 72. The verse 'catasro ghaṭikāḥ etc.' is not found. p. 979 = IV, 8, 54. p. 985 = IV, 8, 67-68.
3. <i>Smṛti-tattva</i> of Raghunandana, Vol. I, p. 38 = IV, 8, 72. The verse 'catasro ghaṭikāḥ etc.' is not found. p. 42 = IV, 8, 6. p. 44 = IV, 8, 64-66 p. 48(twice) = IV, 8, 62-63 ^a . IV, 8, 62 ^a . p. 49 = IV, 8, 54-55 ^a . p. 51(twice) = IV, 8, 67-68 The verse 'kṛṣṇāṣṭami etc.' is not found. p. 53 = IV, 8, 72. p. 54 = IV, 8, 57 ^b -58 ^a p. 104 = IV, 26, 39. p. 109 = IV, 8, 84-85. p. 326 = IV, 8, 72.	5. <i>Kālasāra</i> of Gadādhara, p. 55 = IV, 8, 57 ^b -58 ^a . p. 87 = IV, 8, 72 The verse 'catasro ghaṭikāḥ etc.' is not found. p. 97 = IV, 8, 54 ^b . p. 100 = IV, 8, 67-68. p. 130 = IV, 26, 39. p. 140-141 = IV, 8, 72. The other verses are not found.

(To be continued)

MISCELLANEA

A TAMIL COMMENTARY ON PRAVACANASĀRA

A Tamil commentary on *Pañcāstikāya*, *Pravacanasāra* and *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda has been recently brought to light by Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. KUPPUSVAMI SASTRI in his 'A Triennial Catalogue of Manuscripts' Vol. VI, part i. Sanskrit, R. No. 5346 and p. 7377 (Madras 1935). All the three books are in one and the same bundle; so naturally the extract (not quite accurate in its readings) given contains a few opening gāthās of *Pañcāstikāya* and some concluding gāthās of *Samayasāra*.

The opening maṅgala, which is to be attributed to the Tamil commentator, runs thus :

नन्वार्हत्सिद्धसूरीक्षुदितगुणगणान् पाठकान् सर्वसाधून्

कौण्डेशः प्राभृतोक्तत्रितयमतिशयात्यन्तगम्भीरवाक्यम् ।

विस्तीर्णार्थं सुखेन द्रमिडजनपरिज्ञानमुद्दिश्य साक्षाद्

वक्ष्येऽहं द्रामिडोक्त्या युरुवचनसमभ्यस्तशास्त्रार्थसारः ॥

From this verse it is inferred that Kaundeśa is the name of the author of the Tamil commentary. As I understand the verse, I have doubts about the reading *Kaundeśaḥ* etc. I expect the reading to be *Kaundeśa-prābhṛtokta* etc. Thus the commentator does not give his name but merely refers to Kaundeśa, the same as Kundakunda, who is the author of the three Prābhṛtas that are being explained here in Tamil for the benefit of Dramiḍa people. That the Tamil tradition takes Kundakunda and Kaundeśa or Kundeśa as synonyms is clear from the foot-note No. 2 on p. vi of my Introduction to *Pravacanasāra* (Ed. Rāyachandra Jaina Śāstramālā, Bombay 1935). To settle this point definitely, it is necessary that the original Manuscript should be consulted.

The Ms. gives the name of the scribe and the date of transcription of the original Ms: 'Sixth day (i. e. Thursday [?]) of the month of Āśāḍha in the year Virodhikṛt, at Ponnūr in the San-nidhi of Ālvār in Kanakamalai, by Padumannaṅgaḷ, disciple of Ajitasenadevāraiya.'

A. N. Upadhye.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

1 VAPPAGHOṢAVĀṬAKA GRANT OF JAYANĀGA

The above copperplate charter has been published by Dr. Barnett, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, p. 60. It was found in a village called Mallia by some indigo factory servants. As the editor could not locate the village, he named the grant according to the name of the donated village. There is a village named Malia in the Singur Police station of the Hughli district (*Village Directory*, 1884). It contained an indigo factory (Hughli District Gazetteer, 1912, p. 179). This Singur is identified with Simhapura, the capital of king Simhavāhu, the father of Vijayasimha, who conquered Ceylon. This identification of Malia also goes to confirm that Karpasuvārṇa was in Rādha.

2 CLASSIFICATION OF HINDU PAINTING

The *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* (Part III. Ch. 41) has classified painting into four kinds, as,

“ *Satyam Vainikam caiva Nāgaram Miśram-eva ca* !
Citraṁ caturvidhaṁ proktaṁ tasya vakṣyāmi lakṣaṇaṁ || ”

Of the four kinds viz., Satya, Vainika, Nāgara and Miśra, we have grave doubts as to whether the second name Vainika has been correctly given in the Venkateswar Press edition of the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*. This is the only printed edition we know of. Both Dr. Kramrisch and A. K. Coomaraswamy have accepted this nomenclature and translated it as ‘ Lyrical ’. We are at a loss to understand what relation or bearing can *vīṇā* or lyre have with painting. *Na* and *śa* in the Nāgarī script are so similar that one can be mistaken for the other. We think that the correct word is *Vaiśika* i. e. relating to the courtezans. *Vaiśika* is the name of a chapter of Vātsyāyana’s *Kāmasūtra*, which also deals with the prostitutes. We think the *Vaiśika* painting represents the erotic pictures. Our view is also supported by one of the principle characteristics of this class of pictures i. e. ‘ it should be rich in poses ’ (*sthānalambhāḍhyaṁ*).

Another corrupt reading seems to have crept in the following verse, defining the *Nāgara* painting :—

“ *Dr̥ḥopacitasarvāṅgaṁ vartulaṁ nadyanolvāṇam* !

citraṁ taṁ Nāgaraṁ jñeyaṁ svalpa-nūlya-vibhūṣaṇam || 4 || (*Ibid*)

Nadya in *Nadyanolvāṇam* of the first line is meaningless. We think the correct reading as *Navyamolvaṇam*.

3 HARYAṆKA-KULA

Bimbisāra, according to the *Purāṇas*, belonged to the dynasty of Śīśunāga, who supplanted the Pradyotas, and became king of Magadha. On the other hand Aśvaghoṣa, in his *Buddhacarita* (XI. 2), says that Śreṇya, i. e. Bimbisāra was a scion of the Haryaṅka-kula. Dr. Ray Chaudhuri has shown that the *Purāṇas*, in their present form, are self-contradictory (*P. H. A. I.* 3rd edn. p. 81). If Śīśunāga, as pointed out by Dr. Ray Chaudhuri, is later than Bimbisāra, he cannot belong to the former's family. This being so, we shall have to reject the Pauranic lineage of Bimbisāra, and fall back on the lineage given by Aśvaghoṣa, i. e. Haryaṅka-kula. But what is meant by Haryaṅka-kula? It must be either his *gotra*-name, or the name of one of his illustrious forefathers. We are not aware of any *gotra* of the name of Haryaṅka. Then it must be the name of a predecessor of his. Let us see if we can trace any such name. The *Purāṇas* say of the Aṅga dynasty :—

“ *Campasya tu purī Campā yā Mālīny-abhavat purā* !

Pūrṇabhadra-prasādena Haryaṅgo'asya suto' bhavat || ”

(*Harvaṁśa*, P. ch. 32, V. 49 ; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ch. 94, Vs. 105-7). i. e. Campa's capital was Campā, which was formerly named Mālīnī. His son was Haryaṅga, through the favour of Pūrṇa-bhadra. This Haryaṅga seems to be the same as Haryaṅka. So it appears that Bimbisāra was a scion of the royal family of the neighbouring kingdom of Aṅga, which is not at all improbable.

4 THE PARIVRĀJAKA AND THE KĀNVĀYANA KINGS

The Betul (C.P.) plates of the *Mahārāja* Saṁkhobha of the Nṛpati-Parivrājaka family, issued in 199 of the Gupta era, say that the king was born in the family of king-ascetic Suśarman of the Bharadvāja *gotra* (*E. I.* Vol. VIII, pp. 284ff). Who could have been this Suśarman? The *Purāṇas* make mention of a king named Suśarman in the Kānvāyana dynasty, which replaced the Śuṅgas. This Suśarman was the last of this family. Can this Suśarman be the ascetic-king Suśarman, whose descendants, the Parivrājaka kings claim to be? There appears to be some difficulty about this identification. Their *gotras* are different, one is Bhāradvāja and the other is Kānvāyana. But this difficulty is more apparent than real. According to the *Baudhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra* (Bib. Ind., Vol. III. P. 435), the Kāṇvas belong to the Aṅgira-gaṇa but Bharadvāja is not one of their *pravaras*. We are, therefore, not sure if they were descendants of Bharadvāja. But the *Purāṇas* say that the king Bharata adopted Bharadvāja, and Kaṇva is a descendant of this Bharadvāja. (*Matsya P.* ch. 49). This *Purāṇa* (ch. 196) further says that the Kānvāyana *gotra* has got five *pravaras*, viz., Aṅgirā, Bṛhaspati, Bhāradvāja, Garga and Śainya. So according to this, the Kānvāyanas can also go by the name of Bhāradvāja. This being so, there can be no objection to the identification of Kānvāyana Suśarman with the king Suśarman, the forefather of the Parivrājaka kings.

5 BHATRYAJŌA AND THE NĀGARAKHAṆḌA
OF THE SKANDAPURĀNA

Prof. Baladeva Upadhyaya has written an interesting paper on Bhatryajña, the oldest commentator of *Pāraskara-Gr̥hyasūtras* of the *Śukla yajurveda*, in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Vol. XIII, p. 503ff.). Medhātithi on Manu (VIII. 3) makes a reference to Bhatryajña. Kane in his *History of Dharmaśāstra* (P. 275.) assigned Madhātithi to the ninth century A. D. Prof. Upadhyaya, on the strength of this evidence, places Bhatryajña in the latter half of the 8th century.

In the Nāgarakhanda (ch. 115) of the *Skandapurāṇa*, we find mention of a Bhatṛyajña. He was a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa. His name was Prabhāva-Datta and he belonged to the Sāṅkṛtya *gotra*. His proficiency in the Vedas and sacrificial rituals obtained for him the name of Bhatṛyajña. It was through his instrumentality, the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas could reoccupy Camatkārapura by driving away the Nāgas (chs. 113 and 114). It is said that king Camatkāra of Ānarta settled these Brāhmaṇas in the city named after him with houses and with a wall round it (chs. 11 and 113). The city came to be known as Nagara and its inhabitants as Nāgara Brāhmaṇas from the time of their reoccupation of it (ch. 114). The place in ancient times was also known as Ānartapura or Ānandapura. The modern name is Vadanagara. Bhatṛyajña is said to have introduced some social rules for the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, which are observed even today (chs. 199-203). He appears to have been well-versed in *Dharmaśāstra* also. He is called the *guru* of these Brāhmaṇas (ch. 115).

Prominent mention of these Brāhmaṇas of Ānandapura is found in the inscriptions of the Valabhi kings of the sixth century (*An. Bhand. Inst.*, Vol. IV. pp. 38ff.; *I. A.*, Vol. VII., pp. 71ff.). But this name as 'Nāgara Brāhmaṇa' first appears in epigraphy in the ninth century (*E. I.* Vol. I., p. 156). That this portion of the Nāgarakhanda is not later than the twelfth century A. D. is apparent from the fact that the king Kumārapāla repaired the walls of Vadanagara in V. S. 1208 (*E. I.* Vol. I., pp. 296ff.). So this Nāgara Brāhmaṇa Bhatṛyajña must have flourished before the twelfth century, possibly some time between the sixth and the ninth century.

Taking into consideration all these points, we are tempted to identify this Nāgara Bhatṛyajña with Bhatṛyajña, the oldest commentator of the *Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtra*.

6 NOTE ON RĀVAṆA'S LĀNKĀ LOCATED IN CENTRAL INDIA

In this *Journal* (Vol. XVII., pp. 371ff.). Mr. M. V. Kibe has thrown some further light on this theory, locating Rāvaṇa's Lānkā in Central India, supported by quotation from the *Rāmāyāṇa*. Some eight years ago we pointed out that a

Gond King, Saṅgrāma-Sāhi-Deva by name, ruling in C. P. for about 50 years from 1493 to 1543 A. D., styled himself as of 'Paulastya-Vaṁśa,' in his coins. (*I. H. Q.* Vol. V., pp. 355-6). In the same issue of the same journal (pp. 281-299), Mr. G. Rāmdās has shown how the Kui-Gonds of the Eastern Ghats still preserve some very striking similarities with the Rākṣasas, as are depicted in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Today we are going to adduce another evidence to show that there existed on the border (*paccanta*) of Madhyadeśa, a country, named Laṅkā, as far back as the third century B. C. Fleet, in his paper entitled 'Mahiṣamaṇḍala and Māhiṣmatī,' in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1910 (pp. 425-447), has shown by reference to the *Dīpavaṁśa*, the *Mahāvāṁśa* and the *Samanta-Pāsādikā* of Buddhaghosa, that Moggaliputta had sent missionaries in 247 B. C. to the following nine countries, lying on the border of the Buddhist Madhyadeśa :—

Name	Identification
1 Kasmīra and Gandhāra	1 Modern Peshāwar and Rāwal-pindi Districts.
2 Mahiṣamaṇḍala	2 Ancient Māhiṣmatī, Modern Omkāra-Māndhātā, Nimar Dist., C. P.
3 Vanavāsa	3 Vaijayantī.
4 Aparāntaka	4 Kohkan, with northern Gujarāt, Kathiāwāḍa, Cutch, and Sind.
5 Mahārāṭṭha	5 Mahārāṣṭra, the Dekkan.
6 Yonalōka	6 Greek settlements in the Panjāb and its western neighbourhood.
7 Himavantapadisaka	7 The Himālayan region.
8 Suvannabhūmi	8 Kārnasuvarṇa in Bengal, or the country along the river Śōṇa.
9 Laṅkāḍīpa	9 Ceylon.

Fleet's identifications of these countries are given in column 2 above. He has located the first eight countries about Madhyadeśa, but as regards the ninth, Laṅkāḍīpa, he has gone out of the way to identify it with Ceylon, outside India. He has tried to justify it by saying :—

"Now, No. 9, Ceylon, is distinctly not a border land of any Indian middle country. But it was hardly possible to avoid including the mission to Ceylon along with the others. Though, however, that was the most important of all the missions, it is mentioned last, which tends to exclude it from the same category with the others."

This argument is not very convincing. It is an argument, which is the outcome of his inability to find out a country, more or less adjacent to the Buddhist middle country, answering to the name of Laṅkādvīpa. Mr. Kibe's theory helps us to locate a Laṅkā on the border of or adjacent to Madhyadeśa of the Buddhists. Portion of Orissa was known as Laṅkā (E. I. Vol. XII. pp. 237-42, and B. C. Majumdar's *Orissa in the making*, pp. 179-80, 234). The Gonds also used to live in the province to such an extent that the land came to be known as Gondama or Gondrama (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II, pp. 406ff., 410ff. and 418ff. Vol. VI., pp. 288ff.). So a country named Laṅkā, with Rāvaṇa-vaiṃsa or Gonds was not at all unlikely in central India.

7 PUSPADANTA OF THE MAHIMNAHSTAVA

Dr. Keith, while noticing the *Mahimnahstava*, ascribed to Puṣpadanta, in the *History of Sanskrit Literature* (pp. 220-221), remarks that the work can not be later than the ninth century, because it seems to have been known to the *Nyāyamañjarī* of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa. This is, no doubt, based on the following quotation by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa in the *Nyāyamañjarī* (p. 426, viz. Ed., 1895) :—

"*Puṣpadanto apyāhu* |

Bhraṣṭaḥ śāpena devyāḥ Śivapura-vasater-vandyaḥ mandabhāgyo

Bhāvyaṃ vā janmanā me yaśi mala-kalite martyaloke saśoke |

Smigdhābhṛt-dugdha-dhārāmala-madhura-sudhā-binduniṣyan-dinibhiḥ

Kāmaṃ jāyeya Vaiyākaraṇa-bhaṇitibhis-tūrṇam-āpūrṇa-kārṇaḥ ||

Evam Vyākaraṇābhīyoga-sulabha-prauḍh-oktibhiḥ-paṇḍitaiḥ |

Akleśena vicitra-vaidika-pada-vyutpattir-āsādyate |

Anyair-apy-upavṛṇhite dr̥ḍhatarūsangair-Nirūktāḍibhiḥ

Vede svārthadhiyaṃ vitanvati kutaḥ prāmāṇya-bhaṅgo bhavet ||

It is clear from the above that this Puṣpadanta is quite a different person from the Puṣpadanta, the author of the *Mahimnaḥstava*, who lost his power of flying by treading on Śiva-nirmālya, while stealthily plucking flowers from a garden, and regained it by reciting the *stava* in praise of god Śiva. The Puṣpadanta quoted above is the attendant of Śiva, who was cursed by Devī, for overhearing the story told by god to Devī, and reciting the same to his wife. He was cursed to come down to this earth and incarnate as Vararuci-Kātyāyana, the grammarian. The story told by the god formed the subject matter of the *Bṛhatkathā*.

This being so, the date of *Nyāyamañjarī* has no bearing on the date of the *Mahimnaḥstava*. This, however, gives us the information that there existed a Sanskrit version of the *Bṛhatkathā* in Kashmir, earlier than the *Nyāyamañjarī* of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (C. 900 A. D.) and which probably is the source of the *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī* of Kṣemendra, and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva in the tenth-eleventh century.

Dr. Keith further says in the foot-note that the *Mahimnaḥstava* has been cited by Rājaśekhara. This does not appear to be strictly accurate. All that we find is that Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* has cited the following, as an illustration of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* mode of argumentation :—

“ *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikīyaḥ-sa kiṃ sāmāgrīka Īśvara kartā ? iti pūrva-pakṣaḥ । Niratiśay-aśvaryaśya tasya kartṛtvam-iti siddhāntaḥ ।*
Atra—

“ *Kimīhaḥ kiṃ-kāyaḥ sa khalu Kim-upāyas-tribhuvanaḥ kim-ādharo dhātā sṛjati kim-upādāna iti ca ।*

Atarky-aśvarye tvayy-anavasara-dustho hataadhiyaḥ ku-tar'ko' yaṃ-kāñścin-mukharayati-mohāya jagataḥ ॥ ”

He makes no mention of *Mahimnaḥstava* of Puṣpadanta, but the above verse occurs in the *Mahimnaḥstotra*. How can we then say that Rājaśekhara quoted from Puṣpadanta's *Mahimnaḥ-stotra*. It may be that the source of both is the same.

J. C. Ghosh

A NOTE ON THE WORD गोपीथ

The word गोपीथ occurs in Rg. I : 19. 1

प्रति त्वं चारुमध्वरं

गोपीथाय प्रहूयसे

मरुद्भिरग्न आ गहि ।

The word गोपीथ here is translated as सोमपान by यास्क (निरुक्त X. 36 where he explains this Rk.) and सायण follows him. सायण quotes the authority of the उणादिसूत्र (II. 9), निशीथगोपीथावगथाः, for the formation of this word. The उणादिसूत्र mentions the termination of थक् in connection with three words in it. भट्टोजी's gloss on it reads as follows थक्प्रत्ययान्तो निपातितः । निशीथोऽर्धरात्रः रात्रिमात्रं च । गोपीथं तीर्थम् । अवगथः प्रातःस्नातः. ज्ञानेन्द्रसरस्वती, while commenting on भट्टोजी in his तत्त्वबोधिनी, clearly derives the word from √ पा (I. P.) to drink (निशीथ-पा पाने गोपूर्वः) and accounts for the ईत्व in it on the authority of अष्टाध्यायी VI. 4. 66. (धुमास्थागापाजहातीनां हालि इति ईत्वम्).

Keeping the literal significance of the word Max Müller translates it by ' a draught of milk ' just in the same way as ज्ञानेन्द्रसरस्वती, on the analogy of सोमपीथ (Rg. I. 5 1. 7), which means a draught of सोम. He also suggests another sense of the expression—i. e. the sense of protection, probably trying to trace it to √ युष् which is unwarranted by grammar. उज्ज्वलदत्त takes the word in the same sense as भट्टोजी दीक्षित.

Evidently, Max Müller's allusion is to Dr. Roth, who says there are two words गोपीथ—one meaning protection and the other meaning draught of milk. Roth quotes Rg. V. 65. 6, X. 35. 14, X. 77. 7 etc. for the former sense and refers to Rg. I. 19. 1 for the latter sense where he quotes सोमपीथ with it.

Now we think (a) that the sense of सोमपान assigned by सायण (following यास्क) to गोपीथ on the authority of the उणादिसूत्र (II 9) is not correct; and (b) that the sense of a draught of milk assigned to it by Max Müller and Roth on the false analogy of सोमपीथ is also चिन्त्य.

The word पीथ is derived from √ पा. पाने alone according to उणादि II. 7. (पाठुतुदिवचिरिचिसिचिभ्यस्थक्. अट्टोजी on this :— पीथो रविः, घृतं पीथम् etc.). As to the ईत्व here, which is absolutely impossible in the case of पा रक्षणे (2. P.), much less of पे शोषणे, we refer to the अष्टाध्यायी VI. 4. 66 quoted above. That the √ पा in the उणादि II. 7 is 'पाने' is clear from the fact that the termination थक् which is made कित् and which is suffixed to पा among other roots in the सूत्र is due *only* to the former सूत्र VI. 4. 66 घुमास्ता etc., which mentions पा पाने *alone*.

But it appears to us that the पीथ in गोपीथ cannot be from पा पाने as in सोमपीथ, for the obvious reason that the author of the उणादिसूत्राणि who has first given the structure and formation of पीथ in II. 7 would never give a separate सूत्र (II. 9) for the wholesale expression गोपीथ which like सोमपीथ is clearly a षष्ठीतत्पुरुष. Thus it will be seen that the पीथ in गोपीथ is different from the पीथ in सोमपीथ and that, therefore, the root in गोपीथ is different from that in सोमपीथ which contains पा पाने. That is to say, it must be some other पा in गोपीथ and not पा पाने as in सोमपीथ. By the law of elimination, then, the root appears to us to be पा रक्षणे. The whole expression would, therefore, mean "protection of cows, गोरक्षण."

It will be remembered here that the word गोपीथ is cited as one of the निपातनानि—the coinage of which, if not the sense, in all probability was obscure to the author of उणादिसूत्राणि, who therefore has to mention it immediately in II. 9 (उणादि), as पाणिनि nowhere mentions ईत्व of पा रक्षणे in his अष्टाध्यायी, which is closely followed by the उणादिसूत्राणि for the purpose of every कार्य like चुण, वृद्धि, संप्रसारण, अनुनासिक, लोप etc.

The foregoing remarks show in clear and unmistakable terms that the word गोपीथ contains "पा रक्षणे", which must have been current in the sense of गोरक्षण since long—even since the Rgvedic times. It is strange how it failed to attract the attention of पाणिनि who would, otherwise, surely have mentioned ई of पा रक्षणे as well. The उणादिकार must have stumbled at this expression for want of Pāṇinian authority—the sole authority to him—with the result that he classed the expression separately along with निङ्गीथ-अवगथ (in II. 9).

V. N. Gokhale.

MIND IN THE DHAMMAPADA

BY

Dr. B. C. LAW, M. A., B. L., Ph. D.

Citta, *mana*, and *viññāṇa* are the three words that occur in the Dhammapada and denote mind in its different phases. The Buddhist doctrine of *Karman* is wholly based upon the teaching of the first two stanzas of the Dhammapada containing, as they do, the following famous dictum :

Manopubbaṅgamā dhammā manoseṭṭhā manomayā ¹

Here *mana*, as explained in the commentary, is the volitional factor (*cetanā*) in consciousness, and the *dhamma*'s are the mental states or complexes that arise because of *mana*, and are led and inhibited by it.

In these two stanzas the two phases of mind are thrown in contrast in their bearings upon self-expression and action. In one phase mind is represented as *paduṭṭha*, tinged, coloured, tarnished or contaminated with influxes of sin that are alien or foreign to its nature (*āgantukadosehi*) ². In the other phase mind is represented as *passanna*, pure, purified, untarnished with such influxes. Thus purity and impurity are both within the possibilities of mind.

A complete group of verses, called *Cittavagga*, has been devoted to the consideration of the nature of *citta* or mind in so far as it has a bearing upon the Buddhist religious life and moral self-culture. The delineation of mind, as met with in these stanzas, is, upon the whole, a popular one, and similar thoughts expressed in similar words are to be found also in the Bhagavadgītā and other Indian books of high authority. A corresponding group of verses is contained also in other recensions of the *Dhammapada*, such as the Prākṛit, the Sanskrit *Udānavarga* and the *Dharma-samuccaya*. The main trend of thought in the particular chapter is to inculcate the immediate and urgent need of keeping *citta*

¹ Dhammapada, verse, I.

² Dhammapada - Aṭṭhakathā, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 23.

under one's control, and keeping it steady in its course towards the goal. The need arises from the unsteady nature of mind which is well expressed in the opening stanza of the chapter :

*Phandanam capalam cittam, dūrakkham, dunnivārayam
ujum karoti medhāvī usukāro va tejanam*

This is, of course, a popular reading of the nature of mind, which is adopted verbatim in Buddhism for developing its teaching. This is the first but one-sided reading, to complete which another stanza is needed and supplied, and it reads :

*Vārijo va thale khitto okamokata ubbhato
pariphandati¹dam cittam Māradheyyam pahātave.*

The commentary suggests a twofold interpretation of this stanza, the first in keeping with the thought of the opening verse, and the second bringing out a somewhat different idea. According to the first interpretation, "Just as a fish flutters when it is lifted out of its watery abode and thrown on a dry ground, even so mind that delights in the sphere of five pleasures of the senses flutters when it is drawn out of that sphere to leave the domain of Māra, and it is enabled to bear the restraint of religious effort." And according to the second interpretation, "Just because mind flutters, so long as it remains not out of touch with the domain of Māra, the realm of sin, like a fish out of water, that domain of Māra should be abandoned."¹

Following the first interpretation, Neumann takes water as a symbol of the world of desire or death, the world of Māra. 'Whilst living in this world of desire, the world of Māra, the uninstructed soul trembles in fear at the prospect of death.'

Following in some respects the second interpretation, Max Müller offers the following rendering of the stanza :

"As a fish taken from his watery home and thrown on the dry ground, our thought trembles all over in order to escape the dominion of Māra (the tempter.)"

I need not quote Woodward and others who have virtually followed Max Müller in their rendering of the verse. The expression 'thought trembles' in Max Müller's translation may not be a happy one, but the sense struck is just what it should be.

¹ Prākṛit Dhammapada, p. 146.

Barua and Mitra in their *Prākṛit Dhammapada* suggest that in this stanza one has but a striking description of the innate striving of the mind to get away from the realm of *Māra*.¹ Whether *Māra* here stands for 'Tempter' or 'Death' or for both, the purport of the verse remains the same. I do not think there is any corruption in the text, the stanza being happily worded. The verbal form *pahātave* is undoubtedly and appropriately a Vedic infinitive, and whether it is taken to mean 'to escape from' or 'to give up, to relinquish' it cannot make any material difference to the main thought of the verse. Nor do I think the verse is misplaced. Immediately after the opening verse, a verse such as this is needed either to elucidate the burden of teaching in the chapter or to complete the theme by bringing out another aspect of mind which generally escapes attention. The new aspect sought to be brought out is that the inner and real trend of mind, that is, of human nature, is to get away from or to get rid of all that is alien to the nature of mind, that which is not its own element. Mind becomes otherwise obsessed when it is not in its own place, when it is not in its own element. The contrast of the two ideas, one embodied in the opening verse and the other in the verse under consideration, is clearly brought out in the two concluding verses of the chapter. Whether the mind is harmful or helpful depends on whether it is ill-directed (*micchā-panihita*) or well-directed (*sammā-panihita*).

Now the happiest result obtained by mind when it is well-directed is fittingly expressed in the utterance :

*Visaṅkhāragataṃ cittaṃ taṇhānaṃ khayam ajjhugā.*²

"Now my mind has experienced the uncompounded state of Nirvāṇa, and I have made an end of all desires."

¹ *Prākṛit Dhammapada*, p. 146.

² *Jarāvagga*, V. 8.

NOTES: ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

No. XXXVII

APPAYADIKṢITA'S CRITICISM OF ĀRYABHATA'S THEORY OF THE DIURNAL MOTION OF THE EARTH (BHŪBHRAMAVĀDA)

Appayadikṣita, who is assigned to "the third and fourth quarters of the 16th century"¹ refers in the following passage² to Āryabhaṭa and his theory regarding the earth's motion:—

“स्वर्गपृथिव्योः परस्परमुपजीव्योपजीवकभावस्य तुल्यतया स्वर्गो न प्रतिष्ठा पृथिवी प्रतिष्ठेति व्यवस्थितोक्त्ययोगात् । किं तु निश्चलत्वमिह प्रतिष्ठाशब्दार्थः । तत्तु ज्योतिश्चक्रान्तर्गतत्वेन भ्रमति स्वर्गे नास्ति अस्ति तु पृथिव्यां पृथिवी प्रतिष्ठेति श्रुत्यन्तरात् । आर्यभटाद्यभिमतभूभ्रमणादिवादानां श्रुतिन्यायविरोधेन हेयत्वात् ”

¹ Dr. S. K. De : *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, p. 266. According to Dr. De, the extreme limits of Appaya's literary activity are 1549 and 1613 A. D. "Venkaṭa, author of the *Viśvagunādarśa* and a grandson of Appaya tells us that he hailed from Kāñcī (or Conjeveram)." Compare the following reference to Kāñcī in the *Vedāntakalpataruparimāla* :—"काञ्च्याः को मार्ग इति प्रश्ने मार्गग्रहणोपायतया तत्तत्प्रदेशस्थितागिरिनिदीकाननादि सद्भावस्यापि सहवचनदर्शनात् etc."

² Vide p. 201, of the *Vedāntakalpataruparimāla*, edited by Rāmaśāstri Tailaṅgaṇa (Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1895). Appaya wrote this commentary on the *Vedāntakalpataru* of Amalānanda who flourished c. 1250 (Vide J. N. Farquhar : *Outlines of Religious Literature of India*, Oxford, 1920, pp. 368, 222). Amalānanda resided at Nasik-Tryambak as will be seen from the description of the place in the following verse occurring in the *Vedāntakalpataru* :—

“अस्ति किल ब्रह्मागिरिनामा गिरिवरः

त्रैयम्बकजटाजूटकलनाय विनिर्मिता ।

पाण्डुरेव पटी भाति यत्र गोदावरी नदी ॥

सकुसुमफलचूतरुद्धधर्मद्युतिकरपातवनालिषूपजाते ।

तमसि हरकिरीटचन्द्रबुद्धे धवलनिशा इव भान्ति वासराणि ॥

Appaya Dikṣita comments on these verses as follows in his commentary *Parimāla* (P. 147, lines 11-12) :— “नासिकात्रयम्बकस्थाने निवसाद्भिः आचार्यैः अयं ग्रन्थः कृतः इति प्रसिद्धिः । अतस्तत्रत्यगिरिनिदीवर्णनं कृतम् ” [Vide p. 20 of *Intro. to Vedāntakalpataru*, Part I, (Vizia. San. Series, Benares, 1895)].

Evidently Appayadikṣita was a firm believer in the stability (pratiṣṭhā) of the earth and rejects categorically the theory of the only Indian astronomer who believed in the diurnal motion of the earth,¹ which is mentioned in the following verse quoted by Mr. S. B. Dikshit :—

“अनुलोमगतिनोऽस्थः पश्यत्यचलं विलोमगं यद्वत् ।

अचलानि भानि तद्वत् समपश्चिसगानि लंकायाम् ॥” (गोलपाद)

Mr. Dikshit further states that this verse regarding the theory of Āryabhaṭa pertaining to the diurnal motion of the earth has been wrongly interpreted by his commentator in his work called *Bhaṭṭaparakāśikā* as follows :—

“भानि कर्तृभूतानि अचलानि भूमिगतानि वस्तूनि कर्मभूतानि विलोमगानीव प्राचीं दिशं गच्छन्तीव पश्यन्ति”

Mr. Dikshit records that the date of Sūryadevayajvan, the author of the commentary *Bhaṭṭaparakāśikā* is not known but he is likely to be later than Bhaṭṭotpala² (A. D. 966).³ Brahmagupta, however, in his *Brahmasiddhānta* or *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta* (composed in Śaka 550 = A. D. 628) has found fault with Āryabhaṭa's theory about the diurnal motion of the earth in the following verse :—

“प्राणेनैति⁴ कलां भूर्यदि तर्हि कुतो व्रजेत् कमध्वानं ।

आवर्तनमुद्गर्षाश्चेन्न पतन्ति समुच्छ्रयाः कस्मात् ॥”

(*Brahmasiddhānta*, Chapter XI).

According to Mr. Dikshit Āryabhaṭa believed in the diurnal motion of the earth only. It does not seem from his works that he believed in the earth's revolution round the Sun.⁵ Āryabhaṭa was born in Śake 398 (= A. D. 476) and it is creditable that he anticipated the theory of the diurnal motion of the earth about 1500

¹ Vide *History of Indian Astronomy* (in Marāṭhī) by S. B. Dikshit (Poona, 1896) p. 195.

² Ibid, p. 95.

³ Ibid, p. 234—Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhajjātaka* of Varāhamihira records its date as under :—

“चैत्रमासस्य पंचम्यां सितायां गुरुवासरे ।

वस्वष्टाष्टमिने शाके कृत्यं विवृतिर्मया ॥” (ccc)

⁴प्राण = $\frac{1}{6}$ of a pala.

⁵ Copernicus (1473-1543 A. D.) a Polish astronomer, propounded the theory that earth and other planets revolve round the Sun. This theory though now a truism gave rise to a keen controversy among the Roman clergy of the time.

years ago in spite of carping critics like Brahmagupta,¹ who were then ignorant of the law of gravity, later discovered by Sir Isaac Newton in A. D. 1665, and hence tries to ridicule Āryabhaṭa in the line “आवर्तनमुर्ध्वंश्चेत् न पतति सृष्टयः कस्मात्.” Appayadikṣita's grounds for rejecting the *भ्रमवाद* of Āryabhaṭa have no astronomical tinge whatsoever. A staunch believer as he was in the *श्रुतिप्रामाण्य* he rejects the *भ्रमवाद* because it is opposed to *श्रुति*. Copernicus (1473-1543 A. D.) apparently preceded Appayadikṣita (c. 1550 to 1600 A. D.) while Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727 A. D.) followed him. The great Vedāntin, however, was compelled to dismiss the *भ्रमवाद* of Āryabhaṭa and others in a summary manner because it was opposed to the statement of the *श्रुति* viz. ‘*पृथिवी प्रतिष्ठा.*’

Śrīpati, the author of the *Siddhāntaśekhara*, wrote his work *Dhruvamānasam* in Śaka 978² = A. D. 1056. Makkibhaṭṭa wrote a commentary on the *Siddhāntaśekhara* in Śaka 1299³ = A. D. 1377. Makkibhaṭṭa follows Āryabhaṭa in his theory about the diurnal motion of the earth in commenting on verse 39 of *Sūthanādhyāya* of the *Siddhāntaśekhara*.⁴ We are informed by the learned editor of the *Siddhāntaśekhara* that Varāhamihira, Brahmagupta, Lalla as also Śrīpati had no respect for the theory of Āryabhaṭa about *भ्रमण* or the diurnal motion of the earth. It seems, therefore, that Makkibhaṭṭa, the commentator of Śrīpati's *Siddhāntaśekhara*, was the only writer of repute to uphold Āryabhaṭa's view.⁵

¹ Dikshit : *History of Indian Astronomy*, p. 197—Brahmagupta had no good word for Āryabhaṭa:—“जानात्येकमपि यतो नार्यभटो गणितकालगोलानां । न मया प्रोक्तानि ततः पृथक् पृथक् दूषणान्येषां ॥ ४३ ॥ आर्यभटदूषणानां संख्या वक्तुं न शक्यते ”

(*Brahmasiddhānta*, Chap. XI).

² Vide p. 11 of Intro. to *Siddhāntaśekhara*, Cal. University, 1932.

³ Ibid. p. 25.

⁴ Ibid. p. 26.

⁵ As contrasted with this dogmatic view of Appaya the following statement of Śaṅkarācārya reflects the correct attitude of a philosopher to matters within the ken of our senses:—“न श्रुतिशतमपि शीतोऽग्निरप्रकाशो वेति ब्रुवन् प्रामाण्यमुपैति ” (Vide p. 5 of *Indian Culture and its Claims*, a paper read by Pandit Srikrishna Joshi at the Foundation Ceremony of the Benares Hindu University, 1916—I am indebted to Mr. Chandra Shekhar Pant, M. A. of Lucknow for this reference). Aufrecht records a work called “*भ्रमवादखण्डननिर्णयः*” by Scholars in Sihar (C. C. I, p. 415^a).

REVIEWS

LINGUISTICA

Mélanges de linguistique et philologie offerts à Jacq. Van Ginneken à l'occasion du soixantième anniversaire de sa naissance (21 Avril 1931). Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1937. Prix fr. 75. Pp. li + 364.

The name of Rev. Father Jacq. van Ginneken is quite familiar to all students of Linguistics through his fundamental work *Principes de linguistique psychologique*, which appeared in 1907 as his thesis for the Doctorate. It is therefore quite proper that a volume dealing with all aspects of Linguistics should be offered by the friends, pupils and admirers of Van Ginneken on the occasion of his 60th birthday. The volume begins with a beautiful reproduction of the scholar's photograph, followed by a chronological bibliography, covering about 586 papers, articles, brochures or books of van Ginneken. Père van Ginneken has been Professor of Linguistics at the University of Nimègue for a considerable number of years, and among the contributors we find names of scholars who have directly or indirectly been influenced by the Professor.

Among the contributions may be mentioned V. Bröndal's *Définition de la morphologie* (p. 43), L. Hjelmslev: *La nature du pronom* (p. 51), A. Debrunner: *Dissimilation ganzer Wörter* (p. 67), A. Bèlic: "*Substantivum adverbiale*" (p. 73), J. Vendryes: *Sur l'emploi de l'auxiliaire "avoir" pour marquer le passé* (p. 85) J. Vachek: *Can the phoneme be defined in terms of time?* (p. 101), J. J. Mikkola: *Finnisch-Ugrisch und Indo-europäisch* (p. 185), W. Koppers: *Das magische Welterschöpfungsmysterium bei den Indogermanen* (p. 149), E. Benveniste: *Form indo-européenne de gr.* (p. 193), J. Kuryl'owicz: *L'indo-européenne connaissait-il A à côté de O?* (p. 199), A. H. Gardiner: *On proper names* (p. 307) and R. H. Stetson: *The Phoneme and the grapheme* (p. 353).

The list given above is sufficiently indicative of the variety and usefulness of the articles. Prof. Père van Ginneken is to be congratulated on having evoked such a vast series of contributions on such different aspects of both special and general Linguistics. The firm of C. Klincksieck have executed their work in a manner befitting the occasion and we have no hesitation in recommending this volume to all linguisticians in India as one worthy of perusal.

2° *A study of the Gujarāṭī Language in the 16th Century* (V. S.) with special reference to the Ms. *Bālāvabodha to Upadeśamālā* by Trimbaklal N. Dave, M. A., B. T., Ph. D.—The Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1935. James G. Forlong Fund, vol. XIV. Pp. X + 197.

This work was offered by the author as a thesis for the Ph. D. Degree in the year 1931 at the University of London, and deals with the specimen of Gujarāṭī language as preserved in a single Ms. named *Upadeśamālā-bālāvabodha*, lying in the British Museum (No. OR. 2114 B. foll. 40-95); this work is an Old Gujarāṭī commentary on the Prakrit verses entitled *Upadeśamālā*, and is by a Jaina ascetic named Nanna-Sūri. The date of composition is A. D. 1487 (i. e. Vikrama Samvat 1543).

Dr. Dave has divided his thesis into three sections. The first deals with the Grammar of the language; the second gives the transliterated text of the commentary, while the last one gives an index of all words occurring in the text with comparative, etymological equations. There is a photoplate of the last page of the Ms. as frontispiece. The Grammar deals with the phonology of the vowels, nouns, adjectives, pronouns and numerals, verbs, participles, adverbs and postpositions, and finally word-order. Thus Dr. Dave follows the linguistic division of phonology, morphology, syntax and lastly semantics and vocabulary together in the etymological index. The entire work bears the impress of a deep study under the able guidance of Professor Turner. The real work of the author is in the grammatical analysis of the language and the etymological index; he has utilised for this purpose all the available linguistic work preceding his in the Indo-Aryan field. But one misses reference to Wackernagel's *chef-d'œuvre*, though there is reference to Meillet's *Introduction*, which is all the more surprising. One would expect to make greater use of Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik* in Indo-Aryan studies than Meillet's work on Indo-European. In the giving of other references the author has not been quite accurate. Suniti Kumār Chatterji's work is called *Origin and Development of Bengali*, and not *Origin and History of B.* Similarly "Extracts from *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* (apart from the wrong title) is by Alsdorf and not by Ludwig, though this scholar is Ludwig Alsdorf. These are, however, minor faults, and do not detract from the otherwise good qualities of the work.

In the index the author has listed almost all the words found in the Ms. with some of their most important forms in declension

or conjugation ; each word is referred to the passage where it occurs, and its meaning is also given ; then follows the Sanskrit equivalent and its Prakrit derivatives ; reference is then given to Turner's *Nepali Dictionary* or Bloch's *Formation de la langue marathe* for cognates in Marāṭhi or other NI-A. vernaculars. In some cases further investigation seems to be necessary, as in the word *saghalauṁ* "the whole" ; here the author gives us Sk. *ślāghya*:- Pk. *saggha*-with the extension in *lauṁ*, giving the parallel in English as "a good number" = a large number. But consideration of the forms like Mar. *sakaḷ* (dial.), *sagaḷ*, Koṅkaṇi *sagḷo*, *sagḷē*, would show that we have to deal with Sk. *sakala* in a learned borrowing with unexplained aspiration in OG. rather than to Sk. *ślāghya*-with the forced comparison. In equating OG. *taṇau* "of", a postposition, with Sk. *tanaya* he has overlooked the more plausible explanation of the Vedic *tmān* giving rise to *taṇa* in MI-A. In this he is followed by other scholars also, see e. g. Alsdorf, *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*, glossary, s. v. *taṇau*.

Though it is possible to offer alternative explanations in some such instances, the amount of work and scholarship brought to bear upon this text is worthy of our highest praise. For a study of Gujarāṭi from the historical stand-point, Dr. Dave's work will be a land-mark for the purpose of consultation and reference. It should prove a precursor to many other works in a similar field. The Royal Asiatic Society and the James G. Forlong Fund have contrived to give this work a permanent and beautiful shape with the assistance of Stephen Austin and Sons.

3° *A Hittite Glossary* by Edgar H. Sturtevant (2nd Edition), Linguistic Society of America, Philadelphia, 1936. pp. 192.

This is the second edition of Professor Sturtevant's well-known work, included in the Special Publications of the Linguistic Society of America under the William Dwight Whitney Linguistic Series. It deals with "Words of Known or Conjectured Meaning with Sumerian and Akkadian Words occurring in Hittite Texts" as the sub-title reads. Prof. Sturtevant has already given us the first comprehensive comparative grammar of Hittite and although he represents an extreme and independent scholar having other views than the majority of European scholars, his views deserve the careful consideration of all true students.

The study of Hittite is quite important for the new approach which is now being developed by Kurylowicz in Poland and Benveniste in France in the recent advance in the field of Indo-European Linguistics. We are thankful to Prof. Sturtevant for giving us a Chrestomathy, Comparative Grammar and a Glossary which will help all interested in Hittite to make their acquaintance with the language.

The book under review treats of H. words whose meaning is known or for which a probable meaning can be suggested, and in this sense we have at one place a vocabulary of all or most of the definitely understood words. It will therefore be indispensable as a reference book while reading new Hittite texts. In India particularly, where the study of Hittite has not at all proceeded in the way it ought to, Prof. Sturtevant's book will be found along with his other works in the same field to be a proper introduction to this fascinating field.

4° *Influence of Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages.* Translated from the Portuguese Original of Mgr. S. Rodolfo Dalgado by A. X. Soares. Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1936. Pp. cxxv+520. Price Rs. 12-0-0;

Forming Volume No. LXXXIV of the well-known Gaekwad's Oriental Series, this work proposes to supplement from Portuguese sources the interesting incursion of Portuguese words in the vocabulary of Asiatic languages. The original author of the work, Mgr. Dalgado was a scholar from Goa, who, having mastered European languages, devoted himself to the intensive study primarily of his own mother tongue Konkani and secondarily of other Indian and Asiatic languages. His contributions to Konkani lexicography are well-known the world over; the large number of Portuguese words in his own language may have started his enquiry in this direction with reference to all Asiatic Languages; there was also the *Hobson-Jobson* of Yule and Burnell as a model piece of work though its scope was the contrary.

Mgr. Dalgado gave us very near the end of his career the immortal *Glossario Luso-Asiatico*. The translator of the present work, the late Prof. A. X. Soares of the Baroda College, undertook to give to the non-Portuguese scholars the material collected by Mgr. Dalgado in his *Vocabulario* and published in 1913. In giving us the translation he added largely to the material from his own collections along the lines suggested by the original author.

This work is prefaced by the Translator with a welcome sketch of the Author's life, followed by a complete translation of the Author's Introduction and major work. The vocabulary is given in the alphabetical order of Portuguese and covers a wide number of Indian and Asiatic Languages. Among the distinct families of languages herein utilised may be mentioned the Iranian, Indic, Dravidian, Kolarian, Tibeto-Burman and Malayo-Polynesian; besides this, he has included Eastern Arabic, Anglo-Indian and Indo-French for the purposes of his study.

The Supplement (pp. 371-402) gives vocables, citations and information which were noticed by the Editor and Translator rather too late to be inserted in the body of the book. Finally, at the end are given the words of each Asiatic language with the original Port. word from which it is derived. This is a necessary form of index made famous by Prof. Turner in his *Nepali Dictionary*.

The patience, insight and research ability of Mgr. Dalgado speak for themselves in this monumental work. Though we may at times differ from the learned author as regards the origin of some Asiatic words, the value of this kind of documented work cannot be overestimated. For a history of words we should have dated records wherein the usage can be clearly seen; it is especially in the case of the Indo-Aryan language that we feel the keen absence of historical records of the usage of words. Unless a historical dictionary of all I-A. languages is investigated properly on the basis of Mss. which exist today, no good work of a permanent value can be achieved. Mgr. Dalgado shows us in this work what may be achieved with patience in the field of historical lexicography with reference to dated usages.

By the side of his *Glossario* and Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, this work stands as the lasting monument testifying to the scholarship of the generation of scholars which is now fast disappearing. The work is without parallel in the whole field of Indian Linguistics, and we are thankful to His Highness's Government for including it in their famous series. The printing is excellent and the price is in keeping with this excellence. It should be at the right hand side of every true Linguist interested in the gradual incursion of foreign vocables in indigenous languages.

S. M. Katre

Vol. XIX]

[PART II

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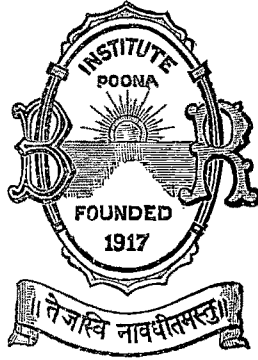
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[PART II

TODA CULTURE THIRTY-FIVE YEARS AFTER : AN ACCULTURATION STUDY ¹

BY

M. B. EMENEAU

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The Todas of the Nilgiri Hills in South India have long been an object of interest to anthropologists. They became known to Europeans early in the 19th century when the hills were visited by Sullivan (1813), and since then they have been written about by many officials as well as by more casual visitors. Finally, in 1901-2 a close study was made of their institutions by W. H. R. Rivers, and his treatise *The Todas*, published in 1906, has been since then an anthropological classic, describing as it does a tribe of pastoralists with a culture very aberrant as compared with that of the rest of India. Centred upon the buffalo,

¹ My work on the Todas was done with the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935-6 and of the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936-7. Dr. D. G. Mandelbaum has read over the paper and given me the benefit of his suggestions and criticisms.

Bibliographical details of the publications referred to in the paper are :

W. E. R. Rivers, *The Todas*; London, Macmillan and Co., 1906.

M. B. Emeneau, *The Songs of the Todas*, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 77. 543-560.

id., *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, Journal of the American Oriental Society 57. 277-289.

(Continued on next page)

the care of which forms a very complex ritual, and containing within itself such an unusual feature as polyandry, this culture was bound to attract attention as a thing *sui generis* in the field of knowledge of anthropologists. Work on the language of the tribe in 1935-7 has given me an opportunity to study the culture as well. The present paper attempts to assess the amount and nature of such changes as the culture has suffered in the thirty-five years since Rivers' visit.

In 1901-2, the Todas were already exposed to outside influences of several different kinds. Leaving aside their immemorial connexion with the Kotas and the Kurumbas, these three tribes regarding themselves as being the aboriginal inhabitants of the hills and as having been created there together, and their more recent but still ancient connexion with the immigrant Badagas, two other strong influences had been in a position to affect Toda culture from the time that the Nilgiris became accessible early in the 19th century. The English, who created three hill-stations, Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Kotagiri, and a military station Wellington, provided one of these influences, and their Indian servants, minor officials, and tradespeople, an even stronger influence. Since Rivers' time conditions in the hills have changed so that outside influences have become potentially much stronger. A railway now connects Ootacamund and Coonoor with the Tamilian plains to the south and motorbuses connect the whole area with the Mysore plains. The possibilities of the Nilgiris as a suitable ground for growing vegetable produce and tea have been exploited to a high degree. Their attractions as holiday grounds for Europeans and a place of retirement at the end of official life have been certainly not more widely appreciated, but perhaps more widely used by Europeans from all parts of India. The climax of this tendency of the English to invade the Nilgiris

id., *Personal names of the Todas*, *American Anthropologist*, April 1938.

id., *An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (not yet published).

Census of India, 1931, vol. 14 (Madras), part 1 (report by M. W. M. Yeatts), 387-392.

[M. B. Emeneau, *Toda Marriage Regulations and Taboos*, *American Anthropologist* 39, 103-112. This completes the list of my papers on the Todas up to date, but is not referred to in this paper.]

for short or longer periods has however been passed and with changed political conditions it is evident that the European population will suffer a decline. Well-to-do Indians have also felt the attractions, climatic or other, of the Nilgiri hill-stations: whether the climax of their migration has been reached it is difficult to say. The specific differences between the influences of Rivers' time and those of today are to be seen, not so much in the influence exerted on the hill cultures by the Europeans, as in the ever-increasing numbers of Indians from the plains, mostly low-caste Tamil and Kannada speakers who are agricultural laborers, but also Mohammedans from various areas, including Pashto-speaking money-lenders from the far north, as well as traders, especially Marwaris from the Bombay Presidency and Chettis from the Tamil area.

It will throw some light on the nature of Toda culture if an attempt is made to assess the effects of these various influences on the life of the Todas, insofar as there has been an effect. A general examination of changes that have taken place in Toda culture since Rivers' time will also be of value, both in itself and as providing evidence by which some of Rivers' hypotheses may be evaluated. The treatment may be divided into three major sections—economic life, social organization, and religion. At some points a comparison may usefully be made between the state of Toda culture at the present time and the state of the Kota and the Badaga cultures in the corresponding departments.

The economic life of the Todas is that department which has felt the impact of outside influences most strongly. The basis on which the economic life is founded is the herds of buffaloes. A great part of the diet of the tribe is made up of milk, buttermilk, and ghee. In this respect incidentally they offer a marked contrast to most of the south Indian communities, among whom cattle-products are too frequently neglected as a source of nourishing food. Besides this, the Todas require grain-food and of these rice and millet are the chief. In the days before the hills were opened up, grain was acquired from the Badagas chiefly, and the method, still followed, was for a Toda to go to the Badaga village with which his sib was connected and levy contributions, so much from each house. Rice seems to have been obtained

from the plains on the Tamilian side of the hills, either directly or through Kurumba middlemen. The details of these last transactions have been almost entirely forgotten through disuse. At the present time rice is obtained in the bazaars of Ootacamund and probably Kotagiri, chiefly from the Chettis, who also supply all the cloaks worn by the Todas and the waistcloths put on corpses at funerals, as well as many other articles. These articles are paid for chiefly with milk and ghee. While the milk of sacred buffaloes is too sacred to be thus profaned, the sanctity has been removed by the time it reaches the ghee-stage, and ghee may be sold, irrespective of its origin. The transactions with the Chettis are not allowed by them to be profitable to the Todas. If a Toda has only a few buffaloes, he is always in debt. And even a Toda with a fair number of buffaloes will usually be in debt. This starts during the dry season when the buffaloes give little milk and ghee is scarce. The Chetti is usually asked for credit and once this begins, the Toda can seldom free himself even if he suffers no accidental misfortune such as the death of a buffalo. The complicated transfers of buffaloes at ceremonies undoubtedly play a large part in the impoverishment of many Todas, as well as the slaughter of buffaloes at funerals, and certain ceremonies involving feasts complete the process. Under this system of traffic in the bazaar the Todas as a tribe are never free of debt. When the Toda Amelioration Scheme was initiated some years ago under the aegis of Government, it was considered that the first step to be taken was the paying off of the Todas' debts and this was done by Government. The Scheme was unsuccessful (see below) and the debts have grown again.

The Badagas, as has been said above, still continue their contributions to the Todas, while the Todas supply them with a small amount of produce and make various other small returns. The economic interchange between Kotas and Todas continues. This takes the form chiefly of a supply of tools and pots and the playing of music at funerals by the Kotas, and in return they acquire the carcasses and hides of the buffaloes slaughtered at funerals, a certain amount of ghee, and occasionally other articles. In both cases it seems probable that the Todas are the gainers in the total of transactions. The continuance of these interchanges

is remarkable when we consider that the interchange between Badagas and Kotas has broken down almost entirely. This latter break-down however is primarily due to religious changes in the Badaga community. One of the main services supplied by Kotas to Badagas was music at funerals. The majority of the Badagas have reformed their customs in this respect and no longer requiring music and having a convenient source of tools and pots at hand in the bazaars, this section of the Badagas has repudiated with some heat all connexions with the Kota community, especially as the Kotas by expanding their agricultural activities and aspiring to a higher status in the hierarchy of the tribes of the hills have come into quarrelsome conflict with the Badagas. That the Todas have not broken off relations with the Kotas is probably due primarily to their adherence to the old system of acquiring tools and pots and to their desire for the Kota music at funerals. Even this latter item may arise in the future as a source of conflict, since the anti-music tendency of the Badagas has begun to infect the Kotas, or at least one of their most articulate reformers. He is however at present an object of great suspicion to the conservative members of the Kota community and it is improbable that the Todas will be deprived of their funeral music until a fairly remote future. The two tribes do not come into economic conflict, as do the Badagas and the Kotas, nor do Kota caste-aspirations bring them into conflict with the Todas, who as the highest ranking aboriginal community of the hills are immeasurably above the Kotas in their own estimation and look upon the Kota aspirations, if they pay any attention to them at all, with a lordly disdain. My Kota informant, the above-mentioned reformer, has also observed to me rather pathetically that the Todas are a friendly people while the Kotas are quarrelsome, and it is probable that this lordly condescension of the Todas keeps the Kotas on friendly terms with them, while the pushing, *nouveau riche* attitude easily observed in the Badagas antagonizes a caste like the Kotas who having a relatively low position yet do not feel themselves much inferior to the Badagas and certainly will not openly admit any inferiority.

The land basis of Toda economic life is pasturage for the herds. This has been affected adversely by the influx of immi-

grants, both Indian and European, in the last century, and by the expansion of Badaga agricultural activity. Curtailment of the pasturage areas must have been appreciable even in the days when only the Badagas were agriculturalists in the hills. It is difficult to make out how serious a matter this had become by the beginning of the 19th century. Since then the matter has become serious indeed. First settlement by the English at Ootacamund, Coonoor, and Wellington necessitated purchase of land from the Todas. The sib of the unkitjo? (Rivers' Pām; for details see p. 658) thus lost its chief village and of course the pasture-lands there. So also the two sibs of the ka:šo:ʔ and melga:šo:ʔ lost a number of villages and the surrounding pastures where Ootacamund now stands, and the two villages from which these sibs take their names are now actually within the area of the municipality with restricted pastures. In other directions pasturages have been alienated, either to the Badagas when they were vigorously extending their fields for the production of vegetables for the markets or to Europeans who bought land for tea-plantations or for other purposes, the most recent of which has been the construction of a dam on the Pykara river and an electric power line over the hills. Most frequently these sales involved land in the lower margins of the plateau, and the high downs to the west of Ootacamund where villages cluster most thickly have not been seriously affected. Alienation can take place only with the consent of Government and this is charily given if it vitally affects the Todas' best interests. It is of some importance also that the hunting of jackals with horses and hounds has been a favorite sport of the English in the Nilgiris and has influenced them in preserving the downs as open country. Two separate major alienations have taken place within the last fifty years. In one case the lands belonging to two associated dairies of the highest grade (the ti-dairies), one of the ka:šo:ʔ sib, the other of the mō:ro:ʔ sib, which had not been used for a number of years, were disposed of to the Church of England Zenana Mission for cultivation by the Toda Christian Colony. In the other case two pasturages of the ti: of the ka:šo:ʔ sib were sold to Government and are now incorporated in a forest reserve; these were sold when the sib of the ka:šo:ʔ were in need of a large sum of money to settle paṛkumṣ's liability in the suicide of nōṛnmṣ. In general,

the impression is gained that if Government did not keep a close watch on Toda land, either from a concern for Toda welfare or from a desire to preserve the amenities of the Nilgiris, and prevent the free play of economic pressure, the pastures would soon all be alienated, or at any rate to such an extent that the economic life of the Todas would be severely prejudiced. Toda economic life is to this important extent artificially hedged off from the interference of outside influences and preserved from total disruption. Sir Athelstane Baines' remark that the Todas are "stall-fed aborigines" is in this respect entirely justified.¹

The Toda Amelioration Scheme was mentioned above in connexion with the payment of Toda debts. The other chief feature of the plan was to induce the Todas to grow potatoes and to work this agricultural enterprise and the sale of their ghee through two cooperative societies. The advantages of the Scheme appealed to a number of the chief men, and some of the superficial benefits made a remarkable appeal to less responsible Todas as a method of getting something for nothing. The scheme broke down on its really vulnerable point. The Todas are pastoralists with no tradition of agriculture and the continuous back-breaking labor it demands, and the attempt to make agriculturalists of them while their own pastoral occupation was still in full working order could not with any confidence have been expected to succeed.² Those few who personally engaged themselves in the work found that it went so against their habits that two years of it were more than enough. The majority merely hired outsiders to do the manual labor for them, or sold the seed-potatoes and tools that were advanced to them by the societies. No trace of the Scheme now remains.

Casual employment as beaters for English sportsmen brings in a small, irregular income to a few Todas. The Maharaja of Mysore each year engages fifteen men of the tribe to act as an ornamental bodyguard at his palace in Ootacamund. Some few

¹ Sir Athelstane Baines *Ethnography (Castes and Tribes)* [Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunda II. 5], 125.

² See also the Census officer in 1931 (reference in note 1) for the same judgment on the scheme.

Todas who have no buffaloes and no means of making a sufficient living within the tribal structure find employment on tea-estates. Others who live near Ooracamund make their living by tending cattle, an occupation congenial to pastoralists. In most cases they live in their own villages and do not find their participation in the communal life of the tribe too much restricted by their extra-tribal economic activities.

In matters of social organization no change of any great importance can be found since Rivers made his investigations. The marriage system seems to work quite as it did then, fraternal polyandry modified by polygyny. Rivers' prediction that in time monogamy would prevail is not yet fulfilled. Though it is impossible without a statistical study of Rivers' genealogies brought up to date to make any valid statement concerning the decrease or otherwise of polyandry, I have got no information that would lead me to believe that the institution is a dying one.

In conjunction with the normal marriage system, in which each of the moieties of the tribe is endogamous, there is another institution, whereby a man from one moiety lives with a woman of the other moiety, each member of the couple having as well his or her legal spouse. Any children resulting from this union are reckoned for all purposes as children of the woman by her husband within her own moiety. In fact, if a man resembles closely his mother's lover (called *moxθo:tjfojo:ʔ*), this fact may be thrown up to him as an insult ("son of so-and-so [the mother's lover]!"). Rivers' described (p. 534) how the headman *kuw:sjaʔf* made an innovation by taking a wife from the moiety not his own, or rather by taking a woman, as he was entitled to do, by the *moxθo:tjfoj* institution but insisting on giving compensation for her to her husband as if she were a woman of his own moiety, i. e. by treating her as his legal wife. This innovation made a great impact on Toda consciousness and is still spoken of and referred to in any songs about *kuw:sjaʔf* or the children of this union. The example was followed in *kuw:sjaʔf*'s lifetime by several men, but all these unions have been dissolved by death, and since *kuw:sjaʔf*'s death no fresh example has been allowed by the chief men of the tribe. The innovation, which if continued would probably

have had far-reaching social consequences,¹ has been stamped out, and almost the only trace remains in the persons of *kuu:s-jaʒf*'s children by this union, who are still spoken of as his children though legally they belong to the other moiety. *kuu:sjaʒf*, who was a man of great force and influence, was able to go against the long-established custom of the tribe, but as soon as his influence was removed, conservatism prevailed.

• One Toda interest of high rating is the catching of buffaloes at funerals. The men who are to catch the buffaloes line up at a spot which is fixed for each funeral-place and at a given signal all drop their garments and sprint for the swamp where the buffaloes have been stationed. Great honor attaches to the man who wins in this race and reaches the buffaloes first, and honor also goes to those who handle the buffaloes most skilfully when they are caught and being brought to the spot where they are to be killed. Women are inclined to grant sexual favors more often and more readily to young men who are known for their prowess in this matter. Even old men who can no longer compete with the young ones in running demand an opportunity to catch buffaloes. Arrangements are usually made to give them their chance. Certain buffaloes are assigned to certain old men, who then take their seats near these buffaloes and catch them while the young men are running for and catching the others. Quarrels frequently arise on this account, since the young men grudge the

¹ While it is futile to speculate on what might have been, yet it is interesting to trace in a mechanical manner the primary results if this innovation had been carried through so that it became the only allowable type of marriage, no other change taking place and all the present rules of paternity and of residence remaining in force. Organization would have been as follows. The tribe would consist of two exogamous moieties. A man would be legally the son, not of his mother's husband, but of her male cross-cousin within her own moiety, since at present cross-cousin marriage is the preferred type for a woman's first marriage. Since a woman of the *touʃli* moiety may not live at, or even enter, a village of the *to:rθaʃ* moiety and no woman has any ceremonial function in connexion with the buffaloes and the dairy cult, the present villages of the *to:rθaʃ* moiety would be abandoned as dwelling places but would be ceremonially and economically important as the places where the dairy operations and rituals of certain herds were carried on. Ownership in these herds as well as in the herds of the most sacred grade of dairies, the *ti*:-dairies, which now belong to the *to:rθaʃ* moiety, would descend to a man of this moiety from his mother's male cross-cousin within her moiety. All of which is complicated, but not impossible.

old ones this opportunity and sometimes catch the old men's assigned animals before the latter can reach them. Old men retaliate sometimes by stepping in when the young men are unable to control a buffalo that has been caught. In the latter case the old man is inclined to boast inordinately of his prowess. Great speed in running and skill in catching buffaloes is celebrated in the songs. Adventitious rewards are occasionally given to the winner in the race for the buffaloes. E. g. about twenty years ago at the funeral of kanm̥s (Rivers' genealogical table 63), kuw̥s:jaʃf, the headman of the tribe, offered a fine cloak to the winner in the race. It was won by kenodz (21), who still dwells on this proof of his former prowess. If this interest needs any buttressing, it has recently been provided by the Ootacamund Hunt, which initiated in 1936 at the point-to-point race meet a cross-country running race for Todas. In that year and in 1937 the race was of about a mile and a quarter over rolling downs. It was won both years in remarkably fast time by a young man, who was said at the time to have gone to the Kurumbas beforehand for charms to help him to win. This innovation, which will no doubt last as long as the Ootacamund Hunt, merely adds another small item to a highly-developed interest and fits well into the Toda pattern.

Toda men's costume has been affected to a slight extent by the influence of the immigrant plainspeople. I have already described the proper Toda clothes in my paper *Toda Garments and Embroidery*. In addition to these most men nowadays wear a shirt under the cloak in the manner made familiar to them by the Indians in the bazaar. A turban of bright-colored cloth or silk is also affected, by headmen usually and by all others who can afford it for festal occasions. That this is a borrowing is easily seen from the clumsy efforts that the men make in tying the turban and from the lack of any uniform style in the result. Some young men also wear a bright-colored neckerchief knotted in front as a fairly regular part of their costume; this is a very recent innovation and seems to be an independent invention. None of these new garments may be worn when the men go inside the walls surrounding the dairies. The waistcloth, though it seems to be an innovation of about a century ago, is worn near

the dairy; this contrasts with the rule of the Kotas that the waistcloth must be discarded on going within the Kota temple areas.

Other sociological phenomena need not be touched upon in detail; accounts that I have been given of various of them agree entirely with River's accounts.

Since Rivers' time one sib of the *to:roaſ* moiety has come near extinction, viz. the *nirjo:ʔ* found in Rivers' genealogical tables 40-43. The family in table 41 has been extinguished entirely by the death of its last male members. The only male member still surviving of the family in table 42 is a Christian, and this family is regarded as extinguished. In 40 and 43 each family is represented now by a male infant and a Christian male. It is unlikely that the three Christians originally of this sib will return to the tribe since they were very young when they became members of the Christian community. The sib must be carried on by the two infants and if they should survive and have sons, the organization of the sib into the divisions called *kum:r* (pp. 542-4) will remain as it is now; otherwise, a new division will be necessary, as will in any case a new *po:lm* division (pp. 544-6), or the sib may be wholly extinguished.

In the matter of religious institutions, I can again find no change, though my more intimate, linguistic approach enables me to place the emphasis in some cases at different points from those which Rivers stressed and to present an amplified and better balanced picture of the religious system as a whole than that of Rivers. I shall not here go into much detail, merely presenting a sketchy outline of the religious picture as my material yields it and touching on some points where Rivers thought that he could observe tendencies to change.

The religion of the Todas is a highly ritualized buffalo-cult. Every important operation connected with the buffaloes is conducted according to rule, the milking and converting the milk successively into butter and ghee, giving salt to the buffaloes, taking them on migration to fresh pastures, burning over the pastures, giving a buffalo a name when it has calved for

the first time,¹ introducing new utensils into the dairy and preparing new coagulant for the milk, rebuilding and rethatching the dairy, consecrating dairymen, and even drinking buttermilk from the dairy. All the rules apply to the sacred buffaloes; ordinary ones are treated with much less ceremony. Infractions of the rules involve pollution, and most of the precautions surrounding the cult seem designed to prevent pollution of the milk by contact with profane persons or utensils. The milk, as the primary product, is most liable to pollution and the successive operations finally result in ghee, which possesses so little sanctity that it can be sold to outsiders.

Rivers (pp. 447-9) dealt with the various elements of the dairy-cult which might conceivably be regarded as divinities, the dairy, the bell, the buffaloes, and the *poʒo:ʒ*, the priest of the most sacred grade of dairy, the *ti*. He rightly rejected all these as being divinities for the Todas. Finally, in a paragraph on p. 449, he attempted to grapple with the problem of the Toda divinities. He said: "Each clan is believed to have its *nódrodchi*, or ruling deity, but I could not learn what he is supposed to do. In general the *nódrodchi* of a clan is a god dwelling on a hill near the chief village of the clan, and two clans living near one another may have the same ruler..... Little can be said about the nature of these connexions between gods and clans, but it is possible that when a clan or a member of a clan is said to incur the anger of the gods it is the *nódrodchi* who is chiefly offended and inflicts punishment in the form of death or disease to man or buffalo." This neglects one very important set of divinities. Rivers failed to discriminate between two different classes of divinities, the *tóuθut* and the *tóuno:r*. The Todas are not very articulate on the distinction when pressed for information in general terms, but the distinction is implicit in all that is said on the subject and becomes very explicit in the language of the songs.

¹ This ceremony, the *wɾfo:lfust*, is performed for a sacred buffalo only and only at its first calving; Rivers (p. 172) is to be corrected on this point. The essential part of the ceremony is the name-giving. When the calf is released from the calf-shed and allowed to go to its mother to be suckled, the dairyman says the name, e. g. *ka:ʒum*, and then strikes the buffalo three times with the wand, saying *hō:* at each stroke (p. 173 top). Before this ceremony the buffalo is classed as *no : x*, after it as *wɾ*,

Most of the deities who are named and of whom stories are told are the *tōuθwɿ* and it is about these that Rivers acquired much information. They are "the mountains (*tɿ*) which are gods (*tōu*)," and with them we may include the river deities. They are very real to the Todas; for details I refer to Rivers, since little that is new on these gods has come to me. But they are not the gods of the sibs. They have connexions with the villages of the sibs (the villages are called *mod*, Englished as "mund"), e. g. *tō:kiʃ* created most of the Toda institutions at the *mund-no:ʃ* and this connexion is kept very much in mind. They may also be offended against, and diviners may and do sometimes say that such and such misfortunes have come to a man because he has so offended, especially against the river gods by breaking the regulations concerning the crossing of rivers. But these *tōuθwɿ* are not the most important gods to the Todas.

The *tōuno:r* are by all odds the most present divinities in Toda consciousness. These are the gods of the munds, or rather of the dairy-complexes localized at munds. Most munds consist of one or more dairies, buffalo-pens, and other appurtenances of the dairy-cult, together with several houses in which the people live. The dairy section of the mund is the *tōuno:r* and it is clear from the song-phraseology and the prayers that it is not only the dairies that are denoted by this term, but the whole dairy-complex associated with the dairies. The prayers are made up of names of everything connected with the complex, dairies, sacred buffaloes, pens, calf-sheds, bells, utensils and tools used in the dairies, and coagulant. The dairyman in that he is the servant of the complex is to this extent connected with it. The complex may suffer pollution in any of its parts, and for this reason women, who are the chief source of pollution, are rigorously separated from the complex and not allowed to approach it from the house across a line that is marked by a stone or stones. The houses in fact are designated as *a:ʃ* as opposed to the dairy section of the mund which is *no:r* "sacred place." Within the *no:r* it cannot be discovered that any element is the local seat of the divinity. The linguistic evidence shows that the *no:r* itself is the god. Both songs and ordinary speech refer to the sacred part of the mund as *tōu* "god" or *no:r* "sacred place" or *tōuno:r*, a compound of the two words denoting "the sacred place which

is a god." Likewise *mod* "mund" and *noṛ* "sacred place" may be used as equivalent terms in songs. We must conclude that the "sacred place" and the "god" are the same thing, the localized dairy-complex. Examples of song-phraseology are as follows: ¹

<i>no:ro:selm</i>	<i>ku:tjuθno:ṛ</i>
sacred places-all	to which she gathered-sacred place
<i>töuo:selm</i>	"
gods-all	"

i. e. "(*no:s*), the sacred place to which the goddess *tö:kišj* gathered all the sacred places, all the gods."

<i>moxeθarm</i>	<i>kuuṛtuθno:ṛ</i>
children-charity	which gave-sacred place
<i>uṛeθarm</i>	"
buffaloes-charity	"

i. e. "the place (or, *ḡod*) which gave children and buffaloes in abundance."

<i>no:rexu:dtk</i>	<i>pi:uθno:ṛ</i>
sacred places-meeting-to	which went-sacred place
<i>töueno:ṛtk</i>	"
gods-meeting-to	"

i. e. "the sacred place (or, god) which went to the assembly of the sacred places, of the gods." The assembly to which the gods go is held in the dairy of the mund *my:nj* to settle disputes and matters of interest to the gods. Here all the gods, the *töuθuṭ*, the *töuno:ṛ*, and the gods of the Hindu pantheon, assemble and they are said to be 1600 or 1800 in number. ² From this the *töuno:ṛ* are clearly seen to be anthropomorphic, as is also evident since it is said that a *töuno:ṛ* may become angry and visit misfortune on anyone guilty of polluting that particular dairy-complex.

¹ See *The Songs of the Todas*, reference given in note 1.

² The two numbers make the song-pair; *pa:rnu:rθöu*, *pu:tqu:rθöu* "1600 gods, 1800 gods." That the conception is of fairly ancient standing with the Todas seems clear from the Toda interpretation of the first "holy name (*kuaṣm*)" of the mund *my:nj*, which is *pa:rnus*, said to mean "the standing-place (*nus*) of the 1600 gods (represented by *par* for *pa:rnu:r*)." For further discussion of this sacred name, see *Personal names of the Todas* §11.

The dwelling houses form no part of the complex, and so there are *tōunoṛ* without houses, as is preeminently the case with the highest grade of dairies, the *ti*:. There may also be munds without dairies, and these are not *tōunoṛ*. Some munds also which have dairies are not *tōunoṛ*. They were founded in comparatively recent times because the herds tended at a *tōunoṛ* became too large and new dairy accommodation had to be built. Their comparative lack of sanctity is indicated by the fragmentary nature of the prayers used at them and by the fact that a dairyman-priest may not be ordained for them but must be ordained for one of the *tōunoṛ* of the sib and after serving there for a short time must go on to the less sacred place. This type of mund as well as those without dairies are known as *maxmoḍ*, as opposed to the *tōunoṛ*, which are *utuṃḍmoḍ* "important or chief mund." In each case a *tōunoṛ* is said to have been founded in the beginning by the *tōuθuṭ* associated with the sib, a *maxmoḍ* to have been a human creation.

When a *tōunoṛ* is entirely abandoned and its dairy no longer used, the Todas may revive it after a period of as long as fifty years or even longer. This usually happens because the diviners so order it when misfortune has overtaken the sib or because a buffalo wanders to the abandoned site and the diviners interpret its actions as directed by the *tōunoṛ* who wishes the people to cease their neglect. The Todas in their religious thinking have not found it necessary to speculate about the fate of a *tōunoṛ* when a mund is never revived. Nor are they troubled by the question of the relationship between the sacred buffaloes of a sib and the various dairy-complexes at which they are tended. Each sib operates a number of complexes and the same buffaloes may be kept at any of them in turn.

When Rivers said that each sib has a "ruling deity," he referred to the *tōuθuṭ*. The Toda phrase which he gave, *nódrodchi*, i. e. *noṛoḍci*-, means "(the deity, i. e. the *tōuθuṭ*) ruled, or owned, the sacred place," or as one informant translated "used the mund." For each "chief mund" (*utuṃḍmoḍ* or *tōunoṛ*) was created, as we have said, by a *tōuθuṭ* who founded the dairy operations there and carried them on in the beginning.

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Rivers says (p. 452): "The present state of the Toda religion seems to be one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at the bottom of the ritual have largely disappeared." By "beliefs" he referred to the stories of those gods, such as tö:kişj and the rest, whom we have shown above to be the töuθut. Since they are distinct from the töunor, it is clear that the ritual of the dairy-complex has no connexion with the beliefs about the töuθut. It is true that the dairy-complexes are of much greater interest to the Toda than the other gods, but these latter have quite as much power to cause misfortune as the former, opportunities only arising less frequently. We may probably see in the highly developed ritual of the dairies a product of long accretion, starting originally no doubt from the fairly general Indian belief in the sanctity of cattle. The steps by which this grew into the present cult cannot be discovered. But if this is the origin of the Toda ritualized dairy-practice, we need not expect anything more in the way of beliefs than we actually find, viz. anecdotes to explain anomalies of various dairy-complexes. Long origin stories are lacking, everything being referred either to these anecdotes for a few abnormal details or to creation in general terms by tö:kişj and the other töuθut for the general scheme of things. It is possible that tö:kişj and the gods associated with her represent an older layer of belief than the dairy-complex gods, but no evidence is forthcoming other than the chronology given in the Toda myths. About the former gods, the töuθut, stories are still told in the vague way of which Rivers complained (p. 452 middle). But this vagueness is really merely a sketchiness of detail that I have found in all Toda story-telling, arising from a lack of interest in the story-telling technique, not from a lack of interest in the stories (see my paper *An Echo-word Motif in Dravidian Folk-tales*). There is no reason to suppose that the stories of the old gods will ever be forgotten while the tribe survives.

Into the close-knit nexus of the Toda dairy-complex no change is likely to come except in matters of detail, and no such change since Rivers' time is known to me. Short of complete abandonment of the system it is hard to conceive of any radical alteration. But, as was already noted by Rivers (pp. 457-8



worship of Hindu deities can go on "side by side with the proper religion of the Todas." Vows are made to temples for increase of the buffaloes, for speedy completion of the rebuilding of a dairy, for children or for other objects. If the boon asked for is obtained, the promised vow is fulfilled; otherwise, not. In most cases a man when paying the vow goes to the temple to which it has been made, shaves his hair and beard, bathes, and hands over to the temple the gift he has promised, a small silver image of a buffalo or a dairy or a sum of money. Fashions change in temples, according as reputation for power rises or falls. Certain temples very near the hills have been visited in paying vows for a very long time. Visits to Nanjangud in Mysore State began according to my informants less than a century ago. Vows to Mariamma's temple in Ootacamund have been made only in very recent times. Most curious is the making of vows to the mosque at Nagore, on the coast east of Tanjore. This holy-place was learned of from Mohammedan ghee-merchants in Ootacamund. The first vow by a Toda to this place was made by *nōrnms* (Rivers' genealogical table 20) and paid after his death by his classificatory son *sirjār*; this was before Rivers' time. One of my informants went there in 1929 by train and gave a silver buffalo in payment of his vow. Such offerings of images are apparently accepted and no doubt sold at a yearly auction of offerings, as in Hindu temples. Toda vows to a Mohammedan shrine are an excellent illustration of the syncretistic tendencies of unlettered peoples in India. The Todas, who know well enough that the place of worship in Nagore is a Mohammedan mosque, do not regard it as any different from a Hindu temple that has shown itself to be powerful in granting boons. They call the deity there a *tōu* and it seems that it is really a Mohammedan saint buried at the mosque who is supposed to be the god of the place.

Apart from the outside influence just discussed, the only other influence that I have been able to find shows itself in a theological belief already mentioned by Rivers (p. 456). This is to the effect that the supreme god is *so:mj* (indirectly borrowed from Sanskrit *svāmin*), and all the other gods are his servants. So it was phrased by *kimms* (Rivers' genealogical table 26; one

of the oldest men in the tribe and now dead; see *Toda Garments and Embroidery*, note 2) when theology was once being discussed in my presence. This belief has no influence on the formulas of Toda ritual, and is clearly quite extraneous to the proper cult. It is undoubtedly a borrowing from other Hindu communities, as is the frequent use of the vocative *so:mi:* as an expletive of surprise and wonder. Christian missionary teaching seems to have had no influence at all on Toda belief and practices.

It is of some interest to enquire why the Todas have not set up in their villages shrines of Hindu deities. It might seem that the nature of the munds, explained above, consisting of a sacred part which is itself a god and a profane part where carriers of pollution, especially women, live, would preclude the admission of a Hindu deity. Such an argument however is quite irrelevant, and would undoubtedly have no weight if the occasion ever arose when the need of setting up a shrine was felt. In general, such shrines or temples are not set up in South India at random. A Hindu god in the mind of rustic and unlettered communities is definitely associated with the spot where his temple is, and will move to another spot only if he so wills it and makes known his will through a diviner or other person who is possessed of this god. This was the case when the Kotas of one of the villages some years ago at a time of epidemic brought to their village a new trinity of gods, who are said to have come from Karaimadai in the plains. These new gods spoke through a man who is now one of the official diviners of this trinity. He had not before been a diviner. It can hardly be doubted that discussion had previously taken place about the efficacy of the old polyandrous trinity of the village and that the general tension of feeling consequent on the epidemic helped to bring about the possession of the man by the new gods. Incidentally, the presence in this village of two trinities with attributes and ceremonies of the same order has caused an immense amount of friction within the community. The Todas also have their diviners and it is quite conceivable that they should at some time produce utterances with the same purport as those of the above-mentioned Kota. This has not happened so far, and it may be that the present pattern of their utterances makes it improbable that they

will order the setting up in the munds of Hindu shrines. They now at times of misfortune order propitiation of the tribal gods or the making of vows to temples already established and well known to the Todas. The two outlets are probably sufficient for all Toda needs, though the Kotas, who had much the same two outlets, worship at their own temples and occasional making of vows to Hindu temples, seems to have found them insufficient at a time of stress.

A puzzling point in Toda religion is the calf-sacrifice (Rivers pp. 274-290). Rivers had difficulty in learning anything about it, and I have encountered equal difficulty. I finally succeeded in having a sham performance put on for me in great secrecy. The chief of the two performers said that he had never been present at a sacrifice of this kind, while the other had assisted at the sacrifice at one of the most sacred dairies, the ti:-dairie. The former man also asserted that the calf-sacrifice is extremely rare except at ti:-dairies. Other informants however have stated that it takes place frequently at the munds as well as at the ti:-dairies. My chief informant was probably concealing the truth. One reason why this was so was accidentally dropped by him, that the Todas are ashamed to have it known that they eat meat at this sacrifice. This type of purity as a mark of high caste, if it was not known to the Todas from the beginning of their occupation of the Nilgiris, has perhaps been preached to them by Hindu missionaries or may perhaps have become known to them quite casually from contact with plains Hindus. It seems unlikely however that this is all that is behind the secrecy surrounding the subject, but more information is not to be had. The same secrecy has undoubtedly falsified my records of the songs in several places. The sacrifice should be mentioned in several different contexts, as I discovered late in my field-work. Substitutions of innocuous phrases were made until one of my informants through familiarity became careless and used the proper phrase. I was able in later dictations to prompt the informant to their slight surprise and discomfort, and to record both the reference to the sacrifice and the attempted substitution.

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that changes in Toda culture due to outside influences have been extremely slight. In religion no changes since Rivers' time are known.

the chief changes, payment of vows to Hindu temples and a belief in a supreme god, were already firmly established thirty-five years ago, and even these have had little effect on the firm core of Toda religious life, important as the payment of vows is in Toda eyes, since they have been merely additions and have set up no conflicts within the old pattern. In social matters such changes as can be seen are mere surface additions, again causing no conflict within the pattern. The innovation in marriage customs attempted by *kuu:sja:f* and recorded by Rivers, which would have produced stress, has been eliminated by the conservatism of the tribe. Most change is seen in economic life, and that in the way of gradual impoverishment through alienation of land and contracting debts in the bazaars, which had set in long before Rivers made his description. Change in the pattern has not yet resulted, in spite of the abortive attempt that was made by the Toda Amelioration Scheme to add agriculture to the life of pastoralists. If a prediction is worth anything, it may be guessed that so long as the economic system is guarded against breakup, as it is now, the tribe will remain as it is now and as it was thirty-five years ago.

There remains the important question of the effect of outside influences on the population figures of the Todas. Rivers in 1906 recorded his conclusion (p. 475): "The Census Reports and the genealogical record agree in pointing to a diminution of the Toda population about the middle of the last century which has now ceased, the probability being that the Todas are increasing slightly in number.....Any decrease....was the direct result of the changes brought about by the advent of Europeans to the Nilgiri Hills." He goes on to refer especially to the influences, injurious to fertility, of syphilis and sexual immorality, and we should surely add gonorrhea. By sexual immorality he seems to mean especially intercourse between women of the tribe and men of other communities. This, though it undoubtedly occurs, is probably of minor importance as compared with the normal system within the tribe. It is probable that the great freedom of sexual intercourse permitted to women by the polyandrous system combined with the *moxθo:tijfoj* institution by which a woman has at least one "lover" belonging to the other moiety and the freedom to enjoy

irregular intercourse brings about frequent early miscarriage and perhaps absolute sterility. When we pass to the figures of the actual population, it is found that Rivers' guess that the Todas are increasing slightly in numbers is not borne out by the crude Census figures of 1911, 1921, and 1931.¹ The figures are: in 1901 807, in 1911 676 (which is the corrected figure given by the Census officer after deducting double enumerations), in 1921 640, in 1931 597. It was suggested by the Census officer that the great apparent decline in 1901-11 is in reality due to double enumerations in 1901. The declines in the two succeeding decades are due in large part to epidemics, influenza in 1918-9 and relapsing fever in 1923-4. A subsidiary census in 1927, which yielded the figure of 582 and seems to have been carried out carefully, provides us with two figures which show that between the end of 1927 and the beginning of 1931, with no epidemic intervening, there was a slight increase in population, worked out by the Census officer as equivalent to an increase of about $8\frac{1}{4}$ per cent for a decade. The lack of vital statistics throws us back on the crude population figures, which are highly unsatisfactory for results that will mean anything. The decade 1931-41 has so far been free from epidemics. If this happy state continues, it may be anticipated that the figures in 1941 will show an increase comparable with that between 1927 and 1931. But the high mortality of the tribe during epidemics, due in part to lack of immunity, but perhaps even more to crude, insanitary living conditions, is a constant danger to the continued existence and functioning of so small a community. The introduction of contagious disease to the community by the immigrant inhabitants of the hills is easily the point where outside influences have made the greatest impact on the Todas.

¹ See *Census of India, 1931*, reference given in note 1.

THE EASTER ISLAND SCRIPT AND THE SCRIPT OF MOHENJO DARO.

BY

Rev. H. HERAS

In the year 1933 the Hungarian Savant Mons. G. de Hévesy gave a lecture under the auspices of the Société préhistorique Française in Paris, in the course of which he compared the scripts of the Easter Island and of Mohenjo Daro.¹ After comparing 130 signs of both writings the lecturer concluded that both scripts, viz. that of Mohenjo Daro and that of Easter Island, belong to the same family of scripts.² He furthermore maintained that the Easter Island script is earlier than that of the Indus valley.³ The resemblance between the signs compared is so extraordinary, not only the signs in general, but even in their small details, that the theory of de Hévesy has attracted a number of scholars.⁴ Let us examine this very interesting question.

The wooden tablets of the Easter Island which are called *rongo-rongo*, on which the characters appear, do not seem to be very old. Some of the signs were still in vogue in 1771 when some representatives of the islanders signed an official document.⁵ It is true that the tablets were imported into the island.⁶ From where? Hotu-Matua, the leader of the expedition that brought them, seems to have come from the island of Celebes,⁷ nine hundred years ago.⁸ In point of fact some of the ancient writings of this island are similar to the writings of those wooden tablets.

¹ de Hévesy, *Sur une Ecriture Océanienne paraissant d'origine néolithique*, *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française*, 1933, pp. 434-449. An English translation of this article appeared in *J. I. H.*, XIII pp. 1-17.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 441-442.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 444.

⁴ Cf. Fabri, *Latest attempts to read the Indus Script*, *Indian Culture*, I, p. 33; Langdon, Introduction to Hunter, *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro*, p. IX.

⁵ Macmillan Brown, *The Riddle of the Pacific*, p. 94 (London, 1925).

⁶ Routledge, *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 244 (London, 1919).

⁷ Baños, *Rapanui*, *Historia de la Isla de Pascua*, p. 7 (Santander, 1935).

⁸ de Hévesy, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

Now is it in any way possible that this script would have travelled from India down to the Malay Islands in very ancient times? It is a fact that the Dravidian people of India were daring seafarers from very ancient times.¹ Moreover, a number of very ancient tribes speak the so called Austric or Kolerian languages belonging to the family of the languages spoken in the islands of the Southern seas. What was the direction of the migration? From India towards the East or from the East towards India? Mons. de Hévesy and other authors hold the latter view. Yet I am inclined to accept the former. First of all we must admit that up to the present there is no archaeological or linguistic argument in favour of either view. But considering the general directions of the migrations in India it seems more reasonable to suppose an early emigration towards the East than an immigration from the East. All the immigrations in India come from the West, while in connection with the East we know of emigrations only. Moreover the pieces of wood introduced in the Easter island may well have come from South India. For at least one of those wooden tablets was a piece of a *Podocarpus* either *Podocarpus Latifolia* or *Podocarpus Ferruginea*.² Now the former grows both in Malaya and in India. In India it is called *Narumbili* or *Karnutuṁpi* in Tamil, *Karuntupi* in Kannada and Malayalam. In English it is usually called "South Indian Pine." But have we any reasonable clue to suppose that those tablets were as old as 3000 or 4000 B. C. ? For if the Easter Island script is the origin of the script of Mohenjo Daro as some scholars have suggested, a much earlier date than 3,000 (the date fixed by Sir John Marshall) must be supposed to be the date of that writing. As regards this point, we are absolutely in the dark. There is no positive proof nor the slightest indication of such an early date, if the similarity itself between those two writings is excepted.

Now as regards the script itself the main reason why Mons. de Hévesy is inclined to suppose it to be earlier than the Indus Valley script is based upon the general principle that scripts develop by simplification. Nevertheless there are some scripts

¹ Banerji, *Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, pp. 30-31.

² de Hévesy, *op. cit.*, pp. 442-443.

that have developed by *amplification*, if I may say so. One of them, for instance, is the Chinese script. The Proto-Chinese writing, the parent of the modern one, is much simpler than its successor.

Coming now to our two scripts it is evident that the Mohenjo

Daro sign  for "man" is the most primitive way of representing "man" on the boulders of prehistoric caves. It is the way how little children represent man

in their first pictorial attempts. The Easter island sign for

man supposes more skill  and an advanced state of over there is in the Easter positive developement which

seems to be characteristic of the script itself, independently of its

age. I refer to the hair-like ornamentation found in many signs for instance  ,  ,  , etc.

As regards the individual signs and their meanings we may now compare them after having deciphered above one thousand eight hundred inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. Mgr. Jaussen, Vicar Apostolic of Tahiti, the discoverer of the Easter Island script, wrote a list of signs with their readings and meanings after hearing a Maori singing the hymns written on four of those tablets. ¹ In this sign list the signs which have the greatest resemblance with the Mohenjo Daro signs have not the same meaning. A few instances are given below :

Easter Island



Te atariki

First born son

Mohenjo Daro



Kelavan

The headman

¹ The Easter Island sign list is published, as far as I know, for the first time in Baños, *op. cit.*, Appendix.

Easter Island



Vai

Water



Haga i temea ke

Extraordinary work



Ua.

Ram



Te maitai

good (neuter)

Mohenjo Daro



Uqayūr

(name of a city)



Uqanalūr

(name of a city)



Arup

Harvest



Sanalor

Flax merchants

In a similar way objects which are mentioned in both vocabularies are represented in a totally different way. For instance:

Mohenjo Daro



Kan

eye, to see

Easter Island



Mata

The eyes

Marama

To see



Nand
Crab



Ura
Crab



Maram
Tree



Rahau
Tree

In the whole list I have found two signs only which are similar and have also a similar, not the same, meaning. They are :

Mohenjo Daro

Easter Island



Valarpire
Waxing moon



Marama
Moon



Para
to fly



Manu vere
flying bird

Considering therefore these discrepancies between the two vocabularies as well as the doubtful antiquity of the tablets themselves, it seems beyond doubt that the scripts of Mohenjo Daro and of the Easter Island are not related between each other in any way, and that therefore the similarity existing between the signs of these two scripts is merely coincidental. This is also the final conclusion arrived at, on different grounds indeed, by Mons. Henri Lavacheri who recently undertook an expedition to the Easter Island to verify the statements of, and to study the problems exposed, by Mons. de Hévesy. ¹

¹ Cf. Lavacheri, *Ile de Paques*, (Paris, 1935).

OCCUPATIONS AND PROFESSIONS AS SEEN IN THE RĀMĀYANA

BY

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The three chief occupations of the period were Agriculture, Cattle breeding and Trade (Kṛṣi, Gorakṣa and Vārtā). The Rājakartāraḥ (King Makers) who assembled after the death of Daśaratha, referred to the wealthy citizens (Vaiśyas) as Kṛṣi-Gorakṣa-Jivinaḥ (II-67-19) i. e. those earning their livelihood by Agriculture and Cattle breeding. Rāma on meeting Bharata in Citrakūṭa asked him whether he treated the Agriculturists, Cattle breeders and Traders with special favour inasmuch as the prosperity of the country depended on them (II-100-47).

The occupation of the majority of the population was agriculture. The wealth or property of the citizens of Ayodhyā is summed up by the poet as gardens, agricultural fields and houses, money and grains. (II-33-17 F).

Rāma is described as driving through prosperous Kosala, full of fields and groves and tanks and pastoral villages (II-50-8 F). Therefore the main occupation of the bulk of people must have been agriculture.

The staple food grains cultivated were Rice, Barley, Wheat, Sugar cane and the Pulses. But Rice or Paddy or Śālī was the chief crop in Ayodhyā. Paddy was also called Vrihi. (Taṇḍula was husked paddy or rice). The Gangetic delta has always been a rice growing centre, unlike the Indus delta.

There were two kinds of Paddy crops: the winter or the Hemanta crop, harvested about January and the śisira or the autumn crop harvested about October (III-16-17 and IV-30-54). We are familiar with these two crops even at the present day, in South India. Barley (Yava) and wheat (Godhūma) were evidently winter crops (III-16-16). There were two types of agri-

culture, Wet and Dry,—depending on irrigation and rains respectively.

Agricultural fields were said to be Nadi-Mātrka when irrigated by rivers and Deva-Mātrka when depending on the rains for the cultivation. Rāma asked Bharta in Cītrakūṭa whether the agricultural fields in Ayodhyā were well irrigated by rivers, lakes and tanks (II-100-45). Evidently wet cultivation was valued more than dry cultivation.

The Implements used by agriculturists and gardeners were :

- 1 Hala or Ploughshare (I-39-18, and VII-17-40).
- 2 Khanītra-Spade (I-40-26).
- 3 Kuthāra-Axe (II-80-7).
- 4 Kāthinakāja-Leather box or basket (II-55-17).
- 5 Kalāṣa-Water pot (II-63-38).
- 6 Kumbha-Water jar (II-64-15).
- 7 Paraśu-Axe (II-72-22).
- 8 Piṭaka-Basket (II-31-25).
- 9 Phāla-Spade (II-32-31).
- 10 Kuddāla-Hoe (II-32-31).

The Agriculturists' chief troubles arose from locusts, drought and floods (I-9-8). The Agricultural Troubles referred to by Rāma by the term Himsā (II-100-44) are supposed by the commentator to mean "Ṣaḍ Ītayaḥ" = drought, floods, rats, birds, locusts and invasions by enemy kings. Evidently kings must have been in the habit of destroying the food crops of their foes. Bullocks were used in pairs for dragging the ploughs. They were certainly worked hard under the tropical sun and badly fed. (II-74-24).

The agricultural villages were called the Grāmas and the residential quarters of the ryots, the Grāmasamvāsas (II-49-3 F & 9).

Horticulture was a highly developed art during the period.

It must have been extensively studied by all HORTICULTURE classes of subjects. Both Ayodhyā and Lankā were crowded with Udyānas or Upavanas (Parks or Gardens) and Āmravana (Mango-groves) (I-5-12, II-50-9, II-67-12, V-3-33 and V-14-4). Gardens were attached not only to the Palaces but also to the private houses. The citizens who wished to follow Rāma in exile, were ready to abandon their

houses, fields and gardens (Udyāna) (II-33-17). After Rāma's exile and Daśaratha's death they did not care to look after the Gardens (II-67-12). The palace in Ayodhyā was provided with an Aśoka Vanikā or Pramadā-vana (the pleasure park of the queens) as an adjunct to the Zenana (VII-42-1 &c.). Rāvaṇa's palace was also provided with Latāgr̥has Kṛīḍā-Gr̥has (arbours, pavilions) Citraka-vana (park) Aśoka-vana (pleasure park of the Zenana) (V-6-36 and V-14-4) with its ornamental ponds, bowers, garden seats, rockeries &c. (V-14-25 &c.). Sugrīva's palace in Kiṣkindhā was also provided with parks and groves containing fruit trees and flowering plants of every description (IV-33-5 and 41 &c.). Besides the palace parks and the citizen's private parks, there were in Ayodhyā many large public parks which were resorted to in the evenings by well adorned gay youths and damsels for sporting purposes (II-67-17 and 26, II-71-23). The description of the Aśoka vana in Laṅkā and Ayodhyā (V-6-36 &c., V-14-4 &c., VII-42-1 &c.) gives us an idea of the high state of perfection of horticulture in those days. The citizens used to take a pride in the construction of Parks (II-67-12). Transplantation of trees was certainly known in those days—Bharata's workmen transplanted trees in treeless places on the intended Royal route (II-80-8). As Gardens are often referred to, as containing trees bearing fruits and flowers of all seasons, fruit culture must have been in a high state of perfection. It is said that Agastya planted the Himālayan plants in South India after the clearing of forests. (III-12-62).

BREEDING OF ANIMALS

As horses, asses, elephants and bulls were all largely in requisition for the army and by the civil population, for riding and draught purposes (II-70-29 & II-82-32); as dogs were required for hunting (III-55-5); and as bulls and cows were required for agricultural purposes, special care was taken to breed the very best animals. Great value was attached to the rearing of special breeds.

Cattle breeding has always been an important occupation for an agricultural country like India, which required bullocks for drawing the plough and cows to supplement a diet mainly a

vegetarian one, and to supply milk, ghee and curd for domestic and religious purposes.

(1) Cattle breeding was done on a very extensive scale, throughout the kingdom, in the "Ghoṣas" or pastoral villages— which probably were in proximity to the agricultural villages or Grāmas. "Grāma-Ghoṣa" is a term frequently met with in the poem.

There are frequent references to herds of cows led by the Govṛṣa or breeding bulls. Evidently, only selected Breeding bulls were kept with the herds of cows, (in the Ghoṣas,) grazing on the river banks &c. (one with each herd). The rest of the bulls were utilized for ploughing, riding, and for drawing carts and Gorathas (Bull-drawn chariots) (II-83-16).

(2) Special breeds of powerful ferocious dogs were bred in Kekaya (II-70-23). They were equal to tigers in strength, size, and ferocity. Being considered unclean and unfit to enter into houses, sacrificial grounds &c., the Dogs were utilized only for hunting (VII-18-6).

(3) Horses :— The most famous breeds of the day were the Kāmbhoja (Tartary breed), the Bāhlika (Bactria breed) the Nadija (Scinde breed), the Vanāyu (Arab breed) (I-6-22) and the Pārvatīya breed or Hill breed (II-71-14). The breeds were probably imported in the beginning from the neighbouring countries.

Special breeds of horses must have been bred for special purposes for we find references to :—

- 1 War horses used for cavalry (II-91-54).
- 2 Horses of War Chariots (VI-43-43).
- 3 Horses of the Pleasure Chariots (V-6-5).
- 4 Horses of the Royal State Chariots (II-26-15 & II-97-24).
- 5 Hill-bred horses—fast and sure footed used for transport on the uneven hill tracks (II-71-14).

Horses were found of different colours :— Chestnut, White, Black, Bay, Piebald. White horses were evidently held in great repute (I-53-18). Chestnut and white horses were found in Lankā. Rāvaṇa's chariot had black horses (VI-108-5). Piebald horses were called Śabala (III-22-13).

Good breed was valued in horses-- The horses of Rāma and Daśaratha were fleet horses of famous breeds (II-
 GOOD BREED 45-14). Horses used to be specially bred for speed
 VALUED (II-97-24) and those used by couriers were particularly swift. (II-68-10).

Rāma spotted from a great distance the graceful, fleet, well bred, horses of his father when Bharata went over to the forest to meet Rāma (II-97-24). The Pārvatiya breed or the hill bred horses were used by Bharata when hurrying home after Daśaratha's death on account of their fleetness in drawing chariots over hilly countries (II-71-14). The value of the horses depended on the reputation of the particular breeding centres and the pedigree. Horse breeding must have been carefully carried out in particular provinces (I-53-19). (Deśa Jāta & Kulaja). Horse breaking was an art with which Princes like Rāma were familiar (II-1-28). Horses had to be broken for the war chariots to keep them steady in the battlefield and make them execute various movements. Indrajit's chariot was drawn by Vidheya-aśva (VI-82-10). The movements of the chariot horses of Indrajit on the battlefield after the death of the driver excited wonder (VI-91-28). Rāvaṇa's chariot is said to have been drawn by well broken horses (VI-11-3).

Horses were tenderly looked after by Rāma and Sumantra. Rāma asked Sumantra on reaching the banks of the Tamasā, when exiled-to be careful about the horses (II-46-11). The horses drawing the war chariots were well decked in gold trappings and provided with armour on the battlefield (III-22-24). Fast-going Asses seem to have been bred in Kekaya (II-70-22). Asses and Mules (Aśvatara) were largely used in the Army.

(4) Elephants :-- The breeding of Elephants was specially looked after by kings. Kings used to set apart special forest preserves for elephant breeding. Rāma told Bharata to look after those preserves (II-100-50 F). The slopes of the Himālayas and Vindhya Mountains were famous for the best elephants (I-6-23 & 24). The breeds from Airāvata Hills, and Indra-Śira hills were also noted for beauty (II-70-23). The famous breeds were :-- Airāvatakula, Mahā Padmakula, Añjana Kula and Vāmana Kula. Elephant's were selected for majesty, beauty and for pedigree. Rutting elephants were always preferred. They were trained to fight with the enemy elephants (V-6-30 F).

The training of elephants to fight was called Gaja Śikṣā (V-6-31). Princes like Rāma were skilful in taming and riding elephants (II-1-28). The drivers were called Mahā Mātras (V-6-5). Elephants of various species were to be found in Rāvana's palace (V-9-5).

The kings during the Epic period kept a very large number of elephants. They were insatiable in this respect. They kept huge forest preserves for the breeding of elephants.

As regards the size and qualities, the elephants were divided into seven classes (I-6-23 &c.).

- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. The Bhadra breed. | |
| 2. The Mandra breed. | |
| 3. The Mṛga breed. | |
| 4. The Bhadra-Mandra | } bred by crossing 1, 2 and 3. |
| 5. The Bhadra-Mṛga breed | |
| 6. The Mṛga-Mandra breed | |

7. The Bhadra-Mandra-Mṛga breed—bred by crossing all the first three varieties. All these varieties are described in Bṛhat Saṁhitā and referred to by the commentator.

Daśaratha's elephants were bred in the Himālayas and the Vindhya mountains. They were of huge size and frequently in rut. The elephants were caught by the use of trained decoy elephants and the newly-caught elephants were broken and trained by tame and trained elephants (III-56-30 & VI-16-7). Elephants were also caught in pits covered with grass (V-47-20). They were also driven into Kbeddabs with torches and firebrands (II-21-54, VI-13-19 & VI-24-38). The scaring of elephants by burning torches and driving them into Kheddabs and the subsequent taming by trained tame elephants are methods practised even at the present day. The elephants used to be tied by ropes (VI-51-13), and driven by Goads (Ankuṣa). The elephants were decked with ornaments and protected by armour when going to battle. Elephants of the age of sixty were considered the best.

The references to these breeds and cross breeds and to the Mules and the breeds of horses, point to the existence of remount depots and Breeding farms for horses, mules, elephants &c.

There is no reference to the habitat of Camels. The kingdom of Kākaya (Western Punjab and Afghanistan) was famous for

its breed of Dogs, Asses, Horses and Sheep. Special breeds of sheep noted for its wool were also bred (II-70-19 &c.).

OTHER OCCUPATIONS

The other occupations referred to, in the Epic are the following :--

Actors-Naṭa. I-13-7, II-6-14.

Architects-Sthapati. II-80-2.

Artisans-Śilpin, Śilpakāra. I-13-7.

Astrologers-Gaṇaka-Daivajña-Daiva-Cintaka. I-13-7, II-4-18 and 21.

Barbers-Śmaśru Vardhaka. VI-131-13.

Bard or Minstrel-Vaitālika, Vandin. VI-130-3; I-18-18, II-65-1.

Carpenter-Vardhakin, Takṣaka. II-80-2.

Charioteer-Sūta. I-18-18, II-16-46, II-65-2.

Cook-Sūda. III-56-24, II-12-95.

Dancers-Nartaka. II-6-14, I-13-7.

Dancing Girls or Prostitutes-Ganikā, Vāramukhyā. I-9-17, I-10-5, I-10-6.

Day Labourer-Karmāntika. I-13-7.

Digger (of wells and mines)-Khaṇaka. I-13-7, II-80-1.

Domestic Attendants-Paricāraka. I-45-32.

Drummers-Talāvācāra. II-3-16, VII-91-14.

Fowlers-Vyādha. II-36-5.

Historians-Paurāṇika. VII-94-5.

Hunters-Lubdha. II-12-75.

Musician-Gandharva. VII-94-6.

Lime-washers-Sudhākāra. II-80-3.

Palmist-Lakṣaṇajña-Lakṣaṇin-One conversant with Sāmu-drikā. VII-94-6, VI-48-2.

Pilot-Karṇadhara or Karṇagrāha. II-52-80, II-52-6.

Workers in gems-Manikāra. II-83-12.

Potters-Kumbhakāra. II-83-12.

Weavers-Sūtra Karmakṛt-Tunnavāya. II-83-12, II-83-15.

Workers in peacock feathers-Māyuraka. II-83-13.

Sawyers-Krākacika. II-83-13.

Burnishers-Rocaka. II-83-13.

Borers of gems-Vedhaka. II-83-13.

Ivory Workers-Dantakāra. II-83-13.

Scent Makers-Gandhopajivin. II-83-13.
 Goldsmith-Suvarṇakāra. II-83-14.
 Cleaners of woolen fabric-Kambala Dhāvaka. II-83-14.
 Bath-Attendants-Snāpaka. II-83-14.
 Masseurs-Ucchādaka. II-83-14.
 Tanners *
 Fumigators-Dhūpaka. II-83-14.
 Brewers-Śaundika. II-83-14.
 Washermen-Rajaka. II-83-15.
 Fishermen-Kaivarta. II-83-15.
 Forest Ranger-Durga Vicāraka. II-79-13.
 Labourers-Viṣṭi-Karmāntika. VI-130-4, II-82-20.
 Road Makers-Mārga Śodhaka. II-82-20.

Viśvakarma is mentioned as the foremost Architect or Śilpin (VII-36-20).

Pimp-Śailūsa. II-83-15.
 Prostitutes-Rūpa-Jivin (living by beauty). II-36-3.
 Rowers, Boatmen-Nāvika. II-52-79, VII-46-31.
 Servant Maid-Dāsl. I-74-5, II-32-10.
 Servants (Male)-Dāsa. 1-74-5.
 Traders-Vaṇik II-6-12.

Brief references might be made to some of the skilled artisans and to various forms of Industries.

1 The Sculptors and Stone Masons working with the Taṅka-Mason's chisel, must have been highly skilled (II-80-7 and VII-5-22).

2 Goldsmiths-The goldsmith's art must have reached great perfection. If we could take Vālmiki's evidence as here Laṅkā's gates and ramparts were made of gold or plated with gold (VII 5-23). The pillars were also of gold (VII-13-4). Gold ornaments of various kinds were very largely used by all classes of people. Gold ornamentation of houses, furniture, litter and chariots and the trappings of horses, asses and elephants necessitated the employment of skilled goldsmiths (IV-50-25 &c.).

* Curing and Tanning of Leather was certainly known. Tiger skins and Deer skins were used as spreads over seats, chariots &c. Deer skins were largely used by ascetics and by householders during religious ceremonies.

3 Workers in Precious Gems * (e. g. Lapislazuli, Diamond, Ruby &c.,) and Workers in Glass (Sphaṭika) II-17-4, III-55-8, III-75-24, V-9-16 must have existed as these were largely used in furnishing places and mansions. The innumerable references to the extensive use of Sphaṭika in the construction of palaces and mansions presuppose the existence of Glass factories and Glass blowers.

4 Ivory Workers—The tusks of elephants known as Danta or Ivory was largely used in olden days for inlaying various articles of furniture like seats, and cots, chariots, thrones &c., and in architecture (II-10-13, III-55-10 & VII-13-5).

5 Divers in Pearl—Fisheries & Coral Reefs—When Rāvaṇa went from Laṅkā to visit Mārīca, he saw Oysters being sun-dried on the coast. Pearl fishing must certainly have existed (III-35-23). Fishing for Conches & Corals was also common (III-35-24).

6 Brewing & Distillation of Liquors must have been carried on extensively as many Wines and Distilled Liquors are mentioned such as :—

Maireya, Āsava (I-53-2).

Surā (II-36-12 and V-11-19).

Kṛta Surā (V-11-19).

Vāruṇī (II-114-23).

Maireya and Madhu (IV-33-7).

Śīdhu (V-11-23).

Śarkarā Āsava

Mādhvika

Puspāsava

Phalāsava

(V-11-19).

* The Gems in use were :—

Indranila—Sapphire. V-9-16, II-91-29.

Maṇi—Gem. II-15-33, II-32-5.

Vaidurya—Lapislazuli. II-91-29.

Ratna—Ruby. I-5-16.

Masara—Emerald. (III-43-28).

Sphaṭika—Crystal Glass or Quartz. II-17-4, III-55-8, VII-13-4.

Muktā—Pearls. III-35-23.

Vajra—Diamonds. V-4-6, V-49-3.

Vidruma—Coral. II-15-33.

7 Carpet Making (working of designs on carpets) was certainly prevalent during that period. The huge carpet in Rāvāṇa's Zenana had designs worked out in it (V-9-26).

8 Dyeing as a profession must have existed as we meet with references to coloured sarees (I-73-27, V-9-34 and VII-26-17 &c.).

9 Lace Making was certainly one of the industries. Rāvāṇa is said to have worn a lace-cloth with silver lace (V-10-7).

10 Metal Workers—The following metals were used for various purposes :—

Black Iron—Kārṣṇa Ayas (I-37-19).

Steel—Ayasa or Kāla Ayasa.

Copper—Tāmra (I-37-19 and I-53-24).

Silver—Rajata and sometimes called Hiranya II-32-14.

Gold—Svarṇa or Hema or Kāñcana (I-37-18).

Bell Metal—Kāṁśya IV-50-33.

Lead—Śiśa (I-37-19).

Tin—Trapu I-37-19.

Gold was of different kinds—Kāñcana Jāmbūnada, Mahā Rajata or Hema (I-37-18).

As Brass vessels were used, Zinc must have been used largely and as Bell Metal was in use, Tin must also have been in use.

The milking vessels were made of bell metal as at present. Iron was used in two forms as Kārṣṇa Ayas (black iron) and Kālāyas or Ayas (steel described as sky-blue). Kālāyasa or steel was used for bolts (burnished iron) (V-53-57), for arrow heads (V-46-21), for swords and Paṭṭasa (broad swords) (V-41-12).

11 The reference to Śūci-Needle, presupposes the manufacture of steel and steel instruments (III-47-40).

Kṣura-Razor is often referred to (III-47-40). It is described as having a very sharp edge. Evidently it must have been made of tempered steel. The sharpness of the swords and arrows was remarkable. Swords, armour, iron heads of arrows and mace and other weapons were made of blue steel. The term Kālāyasa or steel is frequently met with. The steel blades of the warriors are described as "bright and glistening". As references are made to Yantrāyudha, (I-5-10) Iṣūpala-Yantra (VI-3-12) Yantras for working the drawbridges (VI-8-16), cranes (Yantra

VI-22-58 and II-77-9) and machinery used in fortifications and defences, steel manufacture and manufacture of steel appliances must have been largely in vogue. Smelting of iron ores must have been very common.

The extensive use of metals, machinery and metal tools presupposes the existence of various industries, such as metallurgy, machine manufacture, tool manufacture &c. There is a reference by Rāma to the existence of extensive mines in Ayodhyā (II-100-45). The mineral ores containing pigment were also worked up as there was a great demand for Manāś-Śilā and Gairika. The minerals were mostly found on the big mountain ranges, the Himālayas (I-37-19) and the Vindhya (III-15-14). Minerals found in mountains were of various colours. Some were silvery, some were blood red, some were yellow, others white and resembling mercury (II-94-4 &c.).

Manāśsilā :—a kind of yellowish red mineral (red arsenic) found on Mahendra Hill. It was used for adorning a woman's forehead with the beauty dot (or Tilaka) (II-95 A-18).

Gairika—coloured chalk—a natural product (V-I-62) was used for Patralekhā (figures drawn on the chest for adorning, especially of women) (IV-30-56). *

The demand for Lākṣā or Lac used for dyeing the feet of women (II-60-18) stimulated the lac industry. Lac was also used for dyeing woollen cloths (IV-28-24).

Frequent references are made to Kambala (Blankets) and Kuthā or Carpets. Therefore the existence of woollen carpet industries might be presumed. It is quite true they might have been imported. Very soft sheep's wool blanket is also referred to.

Painting, Sculpture or Statue Making, Wood carving. Music (Vocal and Instrumental), and Dancing are also referred to in various places in the Rāmāyaṇa.

* Gorocanā—yellow in colour and used for personal adornment to give a yellow colour was not a mineral. It was derived from the biliary calculi of the cow (IV-30-56).

TRADE-MERCHANTS &c.

The Vaiśyas occupied themselves in trade. The Agriculturists
 and the Traders being the chief tax payers were
 TRADE special objects of concern to the kings (II-100-47).

Trade, internal as well as external, must have been fairly brisk. The metropolis Ayodhyā in the time of Daśaratha is said to have been inhabited by many Foreign Merchants and the merchants' quarters were well laid out (I-5-10 and I-5-14). The main roads leading from the palace were lined with huge shops with costly merchandize e. g. heaps of Sandal, Agarū and other fragrant incense, costly silks, linens and cotton fabrics, unboiled pearls, crystal glass &c. (II-17-3 F).

Ayodhyā used to import various costly and famous breeds of horses, elephants, asses and camels from distant
 IMPORTS FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES countries (although the kings might have bred the different animals in their own forest preserves also) (I-6-22-&c.). Woollen goods (Ajāvikam) were also imported into Ayodhyā (II-10-35). Yaks' tails or the chowries, and musk, in great demand in Āryāvarta must have been imported from Tibet. Silk was probably imported from China. Horses were imported from Persia (Paplava) Arabia (Vanayu), Bactria (Baklika), Kambhoja (Tartary?), Scinde (or the country west of the Indus), and Kākaya (a part of Afghanistan). The mention of paplavas, yellow Śakas and Yavanas Kāmbhojas, Hārītas and Kirātakas (I-54-20 &c.) clearly points to commercial intercourse with their countries. Though some of the races might possibly have invaded India, they could have been driven away by the powerful Ikṣvāku princes of the day. The bulk of the foreigners must have been merchants. The most important quarter of a metropolis was the bazaar, occupied by the merchants. The importance attached to trade, might be gathered from the fact that Śatrughna, when ordered by Rāma to kill Lavaṇa and establish a kingdom-marched not only with an army but also with various merchants and merchandize (VII-64-3). The merchants no doubt were necessary for the army supplies. But they were also needed to start trade in the conquered country. When Śatrughna established Madhupuri as his capital after killing Lavaṇa, the city was provided with

bazaars, and arrangements were made for the quarters of his foreign merchants (VII-70-14) who settled down there. When Bharata conquered the Gandhāra country and founded Takṣa-Śilā and Puṣkalāvati he provided well-laid-out merchants' quarters (VII-101-13). The Ayodhyā merchants carrying much merchandize with them used to travel far and wide (II-67-22j).

TRANSPORT OF MERCHANDIZE The transport of commercial goods was effected by pack-horses and pack-bulls (VI-131-3). Bharata compares himself to a young bull and a young horse unable to bear the load. The merchants used to travel in caravans when trading along land routes.

CARAVANS Traders used to travel (especially in desert regions) in companies called "Sārtha" or Caravan for mutual protection from robbers, beasts of prey etc. One lost from the company was likely to be destroyed by wild beasts etc. (III-60-34 and IV-67-48).

Caravan routes must have been guarded by the police or military. The King-Makers stated to Vasiṣṭha after the death of Daśaratha that the merchants would not dare to travel far, with merchandize, in the absence of a King in their country (II-67-22).

SEA BORNE TRADE During the Rāmāyaṇa period there must have been an extensive sea borne trade also across the ocean e. g. to Java and other places. There are many references to ocean going sailing vessels carrying heavy merchandize (V-1-66, V-1-186, V-17-3, V-25-14, V-28-8, V-57-4 and VI-3-21). The sea borne trade might have been carried on by the Aryans, or probably the Phoenicians, the great mercantile nation of the Ancient days, who introduced the Art of Writing and "Coin" and coinage into India.

EXPORTS Pearls, Corals, Gold, Silver, and Gems, Spices, and Rice must have been some of the articles exported, as India was famous for its mines of gold, silver and gems, its pearl fisheries, and its extensive rice fields.

MERCHANTS QUARTERS Tradesmen had separate quarters in the metropolis. The big merchants were generally concentrated in the metropolis and formed the bulk of the tax payers in the City.

Valmiki applies the term Nigama both to the citizens and the merchants who organised themselves into various Corporations and Guilds. They had the right of representation in the Sabhā or popular Assembly and in the city Corporation or the Municipal Corporation. They played an important part in the civic and political affairs.

The shops used to be closed on occasions of mourning (II-71-41 and II-48-34).

Some trades were prohibited in the case of Aryans:-- e. g. selling lac, honey, iron, and poison (II-75-37). The shops, where the merchants sold their wares were called Āpaṇa (II-57-15). The articles of merchandize were the Panya (II-67-22 and IV-33-5). The traders were the Vaniks (II-67-22). The price was the Mūlya. The exchange or barter was Niṣkraya (I-14-47).

Coins were certainly used in buying and selling articles. Daśaratha is said to have distributed millions of gold and silver coins, during his Horse Sacrifice. Hence coins must have been in use. Suvarṇa and Rajata must refer to gold and silver coins. They probably refer to bits or masses of the metal of a definite weight. The pieces must have been equal in weight and of fairly uniform size. Niṣka was the name of a coin. *

The coins of the Rāmāyaṇa period must have been Blank coins of gold and silver of definite weight and shape without any inscription. No coins of the Rāmāyaṇa period, with inscriptions have yet been discovered during excavations anywhere. The inscribed coins and the art of writing were introduced into India only at a later date by the Phoenician traders.

* A necklace was also called Niṣka. The Hindu women from time immemorial have been using the golden coins of the day, for stringing together into a necklace. Hence the necklace is itself called Niṣka in Sanskrit, because the necklace was made of gold coins. In Southern India, the coin is called Kāṣu and the necklace of coins strung together—Kāṣu-Mālā. Women who cannot obtain the regular minted gold coins wear small square bits of gold or silver plates—for stringing together.

The gold coins were called simply Jāmbūnadas (I-14-52) One crore of these were distributed by Daśaratha. They were also Suvarṇas (I-14-49). Ten crores of them were given to the Ṛtviks by Daśaratha. The silver coins were called Rajatas (I-14-49) Forty crores were given to the Ṛtviks. Probably one gold coin was worth four silver coins. As there was only one type of Blank Coin of Gold and one type of Blank coin of Silver in use at the time of Daśaratha, the coins are referred to, as so many gold coins or so many silver coins.

Gems, and cows were also sometimes used (barter) in payment. (I-14-47).

Sage R̥ṣika is said to have sold his son Śunaśśepa to King Ambariṣa for money and jewels (I-61-20- &c.).

Money used to be kept by Agriculturists in holes dug in the ground. The wealth of the people in those days, as in the case of the rural population of the present day mainly consisted of grains, cattle, and the money obtained by the sale of grains (II-33-18).

THE LEARNED PROFESSIONS

The Learned Professions were those of Ācāryas or the Teachers of Sacred lore, Ṛtviks and Purohitas, Lawyers, Physicians (Vaidya II-10-29), Astrologers (Daivajña or Daiva Cintaka (II-4-18 and 21), and the Services: Ministers and the Civil and Military officers or Tirthas, Engineers Mechanical and Civil, and Architects.

There was no separate profession of practising lawyers. The Brahman Ṛṣis who served as teachers and ministers were conversant with law or Dharmaśāstra and served only as Judges or Jurors or the law members of the Government.

Dhanvantari the father of Medical Science was considered to be of divine origin (I-45-30). Physicians were treated with respect by the ancient kings. Rāma asked Bharata whether he treated Doctors with respect. As there are three Cas (= and) in the verse II-100-13, Vaidya, must be taken to mean Doctors in the ordinary meaning of the word and not Pandits. Skilled Physicians were attached

to the palace of Daśaratha. When Kaikeyī was in her tantrum, King Daśaratha asked her to tell him what ailed her and promised to send for his skilled and contented Physicians who would cure her ailment (II-10-29).

Suśeṇa, (Vālī's father-in-law) was a highly skilled Military Surgeon whose wonderful treatment revived
 SURGEONS Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and the Vānaras on the battlefield of Laṅkā. He knew all about drugs and their habitat and could cure surgical cases with medicinal herbs. He made use of inhalation treatment using very powerful drugs for insufflation into the nose. Suśeṇa knew all about the wonderful healing herbs growing in the Himālayas, and asked the Vānaras to fetch them, when Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were struck down senseless by Rāvaṇa (VI-50-26 &c., VI-102-28 F &c. 41). The healing herbs growing on the hills were known to the Vānaras living on the hills, such as Panasa and Sampāti. The Saṃjivani or Saṃjiva Karaṇi capable of healing the arrow wounds and sword cuts: the Savarpa Karaṇi-capable of restoring the natural complexion; and the Sandhāna Karaṇi capable of uniting fractures and cuts were all known to the Vānaras; and requisitioned on the battlefield of Laṅkā by Suśeṇa the Surgeon General (VI-50-26 &c., VI-102-28 &c. 41). Triśiras and the Rākṣasa heroes who accompanied him to the battlefield are said to have smeared their bodies with various herbs and aromatics as a protection against wounds (VI-69-18).

Oṣadhis or the Medicinal herbs were generally searched for
 in huge forests, and on hills (III-67-14). The herbs
 DRUGS grew on mountains such as the Himālayas (VI-50-28 and VI-74-28 &c.). Some knowledge of drugs must have been acquired by Kaikeyī, the accomplished wife of Daśaratha, who accompanied him to battles. She utilized her knowledge to save Daśaratha when he was badly wounded and rendered senseless by his foe Śambara (II-9-16). Kaikeyī claimed that she saved the life of Daśaratha on that occasion by her skill (II-12-40).

Hanumān and Vibhiṣaṇa, torch in hand, went round the battlefield in Laṅkā to render aid to the wounded
 FIRST IN AID soldiers (VI-74-6 &c.).

Prematurely born children were reared by keeping them in jars of ghee. Ghee being a good non-conductor of heat and cold—the infant was incubated at a uniform temperature (I-38-18). Obstetric operations were certainly performed, such as the cutting of the foetus in the womb with sharp instruments in cases of difficult labour (V-28-6). There is an interesting reference to transplantation of the eye ball II-12-43 and II-14-4 F.

The Nurse was called Dhātrī. Her duty was not merely to feed the babies but also to look after the babies. The nurses in Sagara's palace were aware of the necessity of incubating the premature babies (I-38-18).

The existence of Veterinary medicine as an art, might be certainly presumed from a passage (VI-10-18) where Vibhiṣaṇa, when pointing out the bad omens in Laṅkā to Rāvaṇa, told him that his sick asses, mules and camels did not respond to treatment (VI-10-18).

Daśaratha's body was kept in oil to prevent decomposition till the arrival of Bharata, his son (II-66-14). Rāma asked Lakṣmaṇa to preserve the dead child of the Brahman petitioner, in an oil jar with spices and aromatics (VII-75-2 &c.). King Nimi's body is said to have been preserved pending the completion of the sacrifice by fragrant substances (spices and aromatic drugs) and cloth. Evidently some form of embalming after the manner of the Egyptians must have been in use (VII-57-11).

DISEASES

Some of the references to Diseases are given below :—

Mental derangement—Citta Moha (V-34-23).

„ „ —Vāta Gati (V-34-23).

Insanity—Unmāda (V-34-24).

Delusion—Mrga Trṣṇikā (V-34-23).

Eye disease accompanied with intolerance of light—Netrā-tura (VI-118-17).

Dropsy—Mahodara (VII-35-54).

Fracture of the Jaw—Hanuh Abhaya (VII-35-47).

Retention of urine and faeces by obstruction (VII-35-50).

Abortion and Miscarriage-Garbha Parisrava Skanna (I-37-27)

MEDICAL

The Anatomical Terms (other than the usual parts or limbs of the body) referred to are :—

Yakṛt-Liver (VI-58-29).

Pliḥa-Spleen (VI-58-29).

Antra-Bowels (VI-58-29).

Viṇ Mūtrāśaya-Rectum and Bladder (VII-35-50).

Garbha-Womb (V-28-6).

Vapā-Mesentery (I-14-36).

Bandhana-Sinew or muscle or joints (V-24-39).

Utpīḍam-Pancreas (V-24-39).

Jatru-Collar Bone (I-1-10).

MEDICAL TERMS

The Medical Terms referred to in the Rāmāyaṇa are :—

Āmāya-Diseases (VII-41-13).

Auśadhi-Drugs (VI-50-26 and VI-74-31).

Auśadham-Medicine (III-40-1).

Auśadha-Viṣaghna-Herbs acting as antidotes to poisons (V-1-21).

Auśadha-Medicinal herbs. Rare ones were brought to Sugrīva by the Vānaras of the search party when returning from Himālayas (IV-37-31).

Aroga-Prasava-Uncomplicated Labour i. e. parturition without the attendant troubles such as difficult labour puerperal fever, haemorrhage &c. (VII-41-19).

Ātura-Sick man (VI-5-13).

Bhaiṣajya-Medicine (VII-40-12).

Bheṣaja-Medicines (VI-119-18 and V-66-14).

Cikitsyati-Treat medicinally (VI-50-26).

Dauḥṛda-A Medicine for the expectant mother (V-24-38).

Drink-Effects of, removed after copious urination (V-64-4).

Herbs-Antidotal to Snake poison grew on Mount Mahendra (V-1-21).

Kubja-One deformed with a hump on the back (I-32-25).

Mahaūśadhi-Drugs acting as sovereign remedies (VI-50-28).

Mṛta Samjivani-A drug for resuscitating the dead (VI-74-32).

Pathya-Dieting (salutary) in disease, here used in a metaphorical sense as equivalent to salutary (III-40-26).

Rasāyanam-Elixir of life-Tonic (VI-5-13).

Roga-Disease (VI-22-40).

Sandhāna Karaṇi-A drug for uniting fractures and cut surfaces (VI-74-32).

Visalya Karaṇi-A drug for removing pain and arrows (VI-74-32).

Vaidya-Physician (II-10-29).

Vyādhita-Chronic invalids.

ENGINEERING

Engineering, both Civil and Mechanical, must have been in a highly advanced state. There are innumerable references to surveying, levelling of roads, digging of wells and tanks, raising of water, diversion of the water from the usual channels, storing of water construction of many storied houses, mansions, palaces, temples, and fortified forts, and construction of mechanical appliances for warfare and other similar purposes. The construction of the Royal palaces and the mansions of the nobles with seven or eight stories, the construction and fortification of the forts of Ayodhyā, Kiṣkindhā and Laṅkā, the construction of the Nala Setu, the construction of Hema's palace &c., as described in the poem, presupposes a high degree of knowledge and skill on the part of the Architects and Engineers, and the construction of the various mechanical appliances Yantrāyudha (I-5-10), Śataghni (I-5-11, VI-3-13, 23). Iṣūpala-Yantra (VI-3-12), various kinds of projectiles Yantras (VI-3-16 and 23) Yantra (Cranes) (VI 22-58), the construction of the various aeroplanes and the gigantic Air liner Puṣpaka of Rāvaṇa also point to a high degree of skill attained by the Mechanical Engineers of the day.

The Civil Engineers were in the habit of damming rivers by Anicuts to raise the water level and divert the water for irrigation and to store water (II-9-52). They were clever in transplanting big trees (II-79-13 and II-80-1). Breaking of the Rocks by the application of fire must have been familiar to the Ancient Engineers. The simile of Vālmiki is highly suggestive (V-1-20). Bridge Building in the Sea was also attempted by

them. In building the Nala-Setu, heavy trees and rocks were piled up for the purpose. Engines (Yantra) or Cranes are said to have been used for uprooting and transporting rocks (VI-22-58').

Sūtra or Ropes, or measuring lines were used by builders to see that the rocks were laid in a straight line (VI-22-60). Measuring rods (Daṇḍas) were also used (VI-22-62). Evidently Yantras, Daṇḍas and Sūtras &c., must have been carried by the Commissariat Department of Sugrīva's army. Small stones, grass (Tṛṇa) and creepers and sticks (Kāṣṭha) were used as building materials. The Vānaras threw the huge trees first, then weighted them with rocks and then threw the small stones and sticks and grass and creepers as binding materials. The Bridge builders in Sugrīva's Army were the Army Soldiers as in the case of the Roman Army. The builders knew the use of Cranes, measuring Rods, Mason's Lines &c. The Civil Engineers were all able Architects as well. Śataghnis (Cannons or Guns) were in common use. The manufacture of steel arms, presupposes a knowledge of Mechanical Engineering and a knowledge of Smelting &c. The huge gates (Portcullis) in Laṅkā and the draw bridges over the moats were guarded by engines for throwing missiles and for throwing down the foes stepping on the draw bridges (VI-3-12 and VI-3-16). Inference is therefore irresistible that Engineering both Civil and Mechanical must have evidently attained great development in those days.

THE DATE OF ŚRĪKARA BHĀṢYA

BY

S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI, M. A.

The Śrīkara bhāṣya of Śrīpati Paṇḍita has been assigned to the 14th century mainly on the strength of the reference to Madhvācārya, the Dvaita philosopher (who is usually assigned to the 13th century).¹ But there are certain indisputable facts which run counter to the 14th century theory.

(1) Vira Śaiva tradition is unanimous in defining the order of the Paṇḍita-traya—Mañcana, Śrīpati and Mallikārjuna. *Ārādhya* being an honorific is assigned to all these three and many others also and not exclusively to Śrīpati. The *Ārādhya caritra* of Pāṅkurika Soma and Gururāja deal with Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita.

(2) Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita is the author of *Śivatattva sāramu* in Telugu.² He refers to the miracle performed by Śrīpati.

Okkade daivaṃu Śivudani

Nikkamu sēyutaku mudiche nippulu ciran!

Srukkaka Śrīpati Paṇḍitu-

ḍakkaja muga Vijayavādanala jammi Śiva || (406)

“In order to establish that there is only one God namely Śiva, Śrīpati Paṇḍita tied up live coals in a cloth without burning it at Vijayavāda”.

The date of Mallikārjuna is fairly accurately determined because Vira Śaiva tradition is unanimous in asserting that he was the contemporary of Basava and survived only for a few days after Basava's absorption into Kūdala Saṃgameśvara in C. 1160 A. D.³ The Sūrya simhāsana maṭha, one of the five principle maṭhas of the Ārādhya was established at Śrī śaila and is styled Paṇḍitārādhya maṭha. While Śrīpati's activity centred round

¹ The Śrīkarabhāṣya Vol. I. Ed. by C. Hayavadana Rao, 1936.

² Ed. by K. V. Lakṣmaṇa Rao. Andhra Sāhitya Pariṣat.

³ Karṇāṭaka Kavīcarite Vol. I.

Vijayavāṭa or Bezavāḍa, Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita was active near Śrīśaila, the God Mallikārjuna being his favourite deity.

Therefore the inscriptions at Śrī śaila referring to one Vibhūti Gourayya who settled down at Śrī śaila and was a house-servant of Paṇḍitārādhyā was a follower of Mallikārjuna, not of Śrīpati.

(3) Pālkuṛike Somanātha the contemporary of Rudra I (1132-1198 A. D.) or more probably of Pratāpa Rudra II (1292-1325 A. D.) was removed from Mallikārjuna (whose history he wrote) by several generations. Pālkuṛike Soma says that Śrīpati performed his miracle in the court of Anantapāla daṇḍanātha.¹

Śrīpati paṇḍitu dīśu !

Bhaktuni kila gōti brāhmaṇulaina !

nenayanna nālukanē gōsivaitunanucu !

Anantapāluni sabhā sthalini !

nekkonagā caṇḍra nippula gāde !

cakkana potti pacchaṇamuna muḍice || (VII canto)

This Anantapāla who witnessed the miracle of Śrīpati at Vijayavāḍa can almost certainly be identified with Anantapāla Daṇḍanāyaka who conquered Vengi and ruled it as the viceroy of Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāṇi.

His records are :—

- | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-----|------------|----|--|
| (1) | SK 311 E. C. | VII | Anantapāla | in | Banavāsi |
| (2) | SK 98 | " | " | " | Ch. V. 27. |
| (3) | SK 137 | " | " | " | Ch. V. 39 |
| (4) | SK 13 | " | " | " | Ch. V. 22 |
| (5) | MER 207 of 1893 | " | " | " | at Drakṣārāma |
| | | | | | Ch. V. 45 (E. I. IV. p. 37) 1120 A. D. |
| (6) | MER 330 of 1893 | " | " | " | " |
| (7) | MER 154 of 1897 | " | " | " | at Chebrolu. Ch. |
| | | | | | V. 4C Anantapāla constructed Ananta |
| | | | | | Sarovara |
| (8) | MER 258 of 1905 | " | " | " | Govindarasa the |
| | | | | | nephew of Anantapāla at Koṇḍapalli |
| | | | | | Ch. V. 51. |
| (9) | MER 276 of 1905 | " | " | " | Anantapāla in |
| | | | | | Karnūl Ch. V. 51. |
| (10) | MER 819 of 1922 | " | " | in | Vengi 14000, in |
| | | | | | 1118 A. D. |

¹ *Basava Purāṇa* Ed. by Veṭuri Prabhākara Sāstri.

From these inscriptions it is clear that Anantapāla was in possession of Vengi 14000 from 1117 A. D. to 1126 A. D. after defeating Vikrama Coḷa who fled South.

(4) The *Manuvamśa Purāṇam* of Pocirāju Viranamātya mentions that Śrīpati was the contemporary of Cālukya Viṣṇu-vardhana Mahārāja Dēva bhallāṇa Vira Perumāl Pratāpa cōla whose date is given as Ś. 1109 (1127 A. D.)¹ which tallies very well with ten dates of Anantapāla given above.

(5) Granting that Vira Bhallāṇa Pratāpa cōla is Bhaḷla narendra the son of Cālukya Bhīma and the grandson of Balla of lunar race, his inscriptions give the date 1154 A. D. (*M. E. R.* 1897) a date not far removed from the dates of Vikrama cōla and Anantapāla.

(6) Śrīkaṇṭha Śiva whom Śrīpati criticises partly has been variously identified. The chief alternatives seem to be between Coḷamaṇḍalapratīṣṭhācārī Śrīkaṇṭha Śiva (1270-71 A. D.) and the earlier Śrīkaṇṭha of Amartakamaṭha known as Gauḍa Cūḍāmaṇi and the guru of Kulottuṅga cōla and Vikrama cōla (1118-1135 A. D.). Gauḍacūḍāmaṇi Śrīkaṇṭha is the Brahma Sūtra bhāṣyakāra and is this Śrīkaṇṭha, the guru of Vikrama cōla and therefore the older contemporary of Rāmānuja and Śrīpati (*MER* 31 of 1900). Śrīkaṇṭha Śiva (1270-71 A. D.) the contemporary of Rudrāmba (*M.E.R.* 246 of 1905) is thus excluded.

(7) Haradatta, the disciple of Śrīkaṇṭha, was the contemporary of Kūrattālvar and Rāmānuja and wrote *Harī-hara tārātmya* to prove the superiority of Śaivism. He is also the author of *Caturvēda tātparya saṁgraha* to which an allusion is made by Śrīpati in his commentary. If we accept the amended date of death of Haradatta as Thursday, December 19th, 1118 A.D. it approximates to the above dates.² Kureśa replied to Haradatta according to tradition and was blinded by the Cōla King and therefore was the younger contemporary of Haradatta.

¹ M. E. R. 1897, Nos. 131, 132.

² Śivādvaita of Śrīkaṇṭha by S. Suryanārāyaṇa Sāstri.

⁷ [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

(8) Bhāskara the *bhedābhedavādin* (from whom Śrīpati quotes) is not only the author of Brahma Sūtra bhāṣya but also on the Gītā and other works. This has been made evident from the internal evidence and allusions in Mādhva works. Hence Bhāskara bhaṭṭopādhyāya (who was only a *Upādhyāya* and not an *Ācārya*) the contemporary of Āhavamalla (1179-1183 *M. E. R.* 577 of 1907) cannot be the author alluded to by Śrīpati. Bhāskarācārya has been criticised by Vācaspati and Udayana. Vācaspati's date is given as 841 A. D. and his allusions to Bhāskara (cf. *Kalpataru* on III-2-9, IV-27) show that Bhāskara's date is probably 800 A. D.

(9) Śrīpati mentions the following *guru paramparā* :—

Sadāśiva, Śaktidhara, Sukeśa, Caṇḍīśvara, Bhr̥ṅgiriṭi, Śilāda, Agastya, Vāmadeva, Revanasiddha, Marula, Siddha and Ekorāma Siddha his *guru*. Of the five important maṭhas of the Ārādhyas Rēvaṇa is the founder of Rambhāpuri or Bale-honnur maṭha. Marula was the pontiff of Ujjayinī maṭha and Ekorāma of the Kedara maṭha.¹

From this it may be concluded that Śrīpati knew only of *three* maṭhas. Virāgama, a Virāśaivāgama a work of uncertain date and alluded to by Śrīpati mentions in its latter part i. e. Virāśaivāgama only *four* maṭhas.

रेवणो मरुसिद्धेशो रामदेवो मुनीश्वरः ।

पण्डिताराध्य इत्यैते चतुर्मठमुनीश्वराः ॥

Paṇḍitārādhyā is as indicated above Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita of Śrīśaila maṭha and the younger contemporary of Śrīpati. Hence while Mallikārjuna refers to Śrīpati, Śrīpati nowhere alludes to Mallikārjuna but only to the eldest of the Paṇḍita-traya i. e. Mañcaṇa Paṇḍita (who performed a miracle at Kāśi).

The fifth maṭha of Viśvārādhyā at Kāśi came into existence in the 13th century. He is probably identical with Viśvēśvara Śambhu of Golaḱi maṭha. The Malkāpuram inscription gives the following geneaology of Viśvēśvara Śambhu :

¹ The famous Kālamukha University at Balligāve which is also called Kedāra tīrtha had its five Maṭhas devoted to the five deities Hari, Hara, Brahma, Buddha and Jina (SK. 100 EC. 7).

Bhāva Śambhu

|

Sōma Śambhu

|

Vimala Śiva

|

Śakti Śambhu

|

Kīrti Śambhu

|

Vimala Śiva

|

Dharma Śiva or Sadāśiva

|

Viśvēśvara Śambhū or Śiva

Viśvēśvara was the contemporary of Gaṇapati, Rudramāmba and Pratāpa Rudra II. The Malkāpuram inscription is dated March 25th, 1261 A. D. Several innovations made by him are referred to as follows :—

विश्वेश्वरशिवाचार्यो धीमान् राजगुरुः स्वयं ।

एवमाज्ञापयत् वीरशैवाचार्यशतैर्वृतः ॥

बीजच्छेदशिरच्छेदकुक्षिच्छेदादिकर्माभिः ।

वीरभद्रसमाख्याता दशग्रामस्य रक्षकाः ।

भट्टाः स्युरपरे भक्ताः विंशतिर्वीरमुष्टयः । (॥ 57-61)

Therefore it is unhistorical to say that all the five maṭhas were founded at the same time. Rēvaṇasiddha also figures among the Nāthas (Matsyendra etc.) where he is said to have been the contemporary of Matsyendra, Gōrakṣa etc. and his residence was at Viṭagrāma which is *no other* than Bīḍu or Bijjala bīḍu alluded to by the astronomer Bhāskarācārya. According to Viraśaiva tradition Rēpuka was the contemporary of Rājendra cōla and Bijjala. Rājendra is probably Kulottuṅga Rājendra cōla I (1017-1118 A. D.). Rēvaṇa the *aparāvatāra* (probably a son or grandson of Rēpuka) may be assigned to 1130 A. D., and was a contemporary of Vikrama cōla.

Ekorāma was perhaps the disciple of Rēvaṇa Siddha and the guru of Śrīpati. He is supposed to be the founder of the Kedāra

maṭha. There is no reason to assume that Ekorāma is identical with Ekāntada Ramayya of the Abbalūr inscription (*E. I. V.*). This inscription assigned to C. 1185 A. D. by Fleet says that Ekāntada Rāma was born at Alande in Kuntaladēsa and then went to Puligere and Abbalūr where he performed the miracle of cutting off his own head and was honoured by Bijjaṇa, Sōmēśvara IV and Kadamba Kāmadēva. Ekāntada Rāmayya is nowhere mentioned in the inscription as belonging to Kēdāra maṭha or that he was an Ācārya.

Moreover Ekorāma is a term applied to any ascetic who takes delight in solitude and communes with his soul. Śrīpati calls Ekorāma a *Dvāparācāryavarya* and not of the Kaliyuga.

(10) Śrīpati quotes the following verse from Vijñānēśvara as to the duties of monks.

विज्ञानेश्वरे—

सर्वभूतहितः शान्तः त्रिदण्डः सकमण्डलुः ।

एकोरामः परिव्रज्य भिक्षार्थं ग्राममाश्रयेत् (p. 412-22)

We know that Vijñānēśvara Paṇḍita was the contemporary of Vikramāditya VI (1077-1125 A. D.), and his work *Mitākṣarā* became the authoritative work due to the political backing of the emperor in his own life time.

An inscription of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Pallakēta refers to the miracle performed by Śrīpati. Pallakēta was a subordinate of the Calukyas of Veṅgi and not of the Kākatiyas of Warangal (*M. E. R.* 1910 No. 536).

(11) The date of Rāmānuja is 1018 to 1138 A. D. His *Sūtra Bhāṣya* was dictated to Śrīvatsāṅka after his Kashmīr tour and before Rāmānuja left the Cōla country in C 1078 A. D. Therefore his commentary gained currency at least as far as Tirupati and Śrīsaila by the close of the 11th century. In the case of every Ācārya it should be remembered that the Ācārya travelled the whole country several times expounding his views and converting the people and there is no necessity to assume a lapse of some decades for the principles to gain currency and evoke controversy.

(12) Among the *advaitic* views of Māyā and Mithyā criticised by Śrīpati are the views of Vimuktātman the author of *Iṣṭa-siddhi*, who lived earlier than Rāmānuja and later than Bhāskara.

“ नापि सच्चेत्र बाध्येताऽसच्चेत्र प्रतीयते ”

(Śrīkarabhāṣya p. 64 ff.)

तर्हि किंचिद्विलक्षणत्वे सत्यसद्विलक्षणत्वं सद्न्तरेपि उपपन्नम्—
इति अस्मद्विष्टसिद्धिरेव (p. 68 ff)

In criticising Mithyātva, he questions the *Sadasad-bhinnatva* theory of Pañcapādikā, *Jñāna nivartyatva* and *Traikālika niṣedha-pratijyōgitva* theory of Vivaraṇācārya and *Asattva* or *Sadbhinnatva* theory of Ānandabōdha who of course follows Vimuktātman. Śrīpati like Madhva, refers to “Nasannāsannasadasad” which is thus put into a Kārikā by Vimuktātman.

न सन्नसन्नसदसन्नानिर्वाच्योपि तत्क्षयः ।

यक्षानुरूपोहि बलिः... ..

Śrīpati must be earlier than Citsukha (1250 A. D.) who commented upon the works of Ānandabodha.

(13) The attitude towards caste is a clear mark of the priority of Śrīpati to Basava. Śrīpati is emphatic in asserting that only Brāhmaṇas are entitled to the study of Brahmanavidyā. In the *Apasūdrādhikaraṇa* he says clearly—न शूद्रस्य ब्रह्मविद्याधिकारः ...तत्तद्वर्णाधिकारोपि न स्वातन्त्र्येण शूद्राणां विधीयते । ...उपनयनसंस्काराविशिष्टैर्वर्णिकानामेव श्रुतिस्मृतिषु महावाक्योपदेशात् न शूद्रस्य ब्रह्मविद्याधिकारित्वं सर्वदा संभवति (p. 184)

The Śrauta Saṁnyāsa (i. e. Viraśaiva Ekadaṇḍins) is only for the three upper castes and not for Śūdras. And people of all the Āśramas must observe the caste rituals and restrictions. He quotes Harita Smṛti.

ब्रह्मक्षत्रियवैश्यानां श्रौतसंन्यास इष्यते ।

शूद्रस्त्रीसंकराणां न्यासमश्रौतसंज्ञिकम् ॥

शिखासलैकसंयुक्तं दण्डकाषायलाञ्छनम् ।

श्रौतसंन्यास इत्युक्तं व्यासस्य वचनं यथा ॥

धर्मब्रह्मोभयसहकरित्वेन च मोक्षावगमात् ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयानुष्ठानं सर्वेषामाश्रमिणां विधेयम् ॥ (p. 422)

But Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita who was influenced by Basava gave equal prominence to Bhakti and the caste-system. He says

Śvapacūṇḍainanu Śīva bha-
kta parūṇḍagunēni natuḍu dvija varyuṇḍa |
Śvapacunaku Kiḍu Śīva bha-
kti parañmukhudaina dvijudu Maheśa ||

(*Śivatātva sāramu* V. 194)

(A *śvapaca* with devotion in Śīva is the best of the twice-born, while a *dvija* without Śīvabhakti is worse than a *śvapaca*).

Śrīkaṇṭha Śīva also gives expression to similar views—that one should live and move with even an *anyaja* who is devoted to Śīva. This is merely *aupacārika*. But Basava went even further and denied distinctions among Viraśaivas. Līṅgāyatas also do not observe pollution such as *jātāśauca*, *mṛtāśauca*. But Śrīpati says that pollution should be observed except at the time of *līṅgārcana*. Mallikārjuna, though brought up in the Ārādhya tradition also accepted the importance of Bhakti but was unwilling to give up the Brahmanical customs.

Bhakti mīdīvalapu Brāhmambūtō bottu |
bāyalenu nenu Basava līṅga ||

(Soma's Basava purāṇam and Ārādhya Caritra)

(14) I have pointed out elsewhere that Basava could not have been the contemporary of Bijjala the Kālacarya Emperor (*Proceedings of VIII Oriental Conference*). Basava was perhaps the contemporary of Bijjanāyaka of Maṅgalavāḍa or the Sinda Vira Bijjana who were both the subordinates of the Kālacarya Rāyamurāri Sovideva between 1171 and 1174 A. D. Therefore Basava must have lived at least a half century later than Śrīpati and in the last days of Mallikārjuna.

(15) Mallikārjuna is according to tradition a contemporary of a Coḷa of Uraiyur and of one Udayāditya. Several coḷa chiefs of the Karikāla line called themselves the lord of Uraiyūr.¹ The coḷa is probably Nanne coḷa the author of Kumārasambhavam and the disciple of a Jaṅgama Mallikārjuna as indicated above. This Nanne coḷa was the son of Coḷa balli

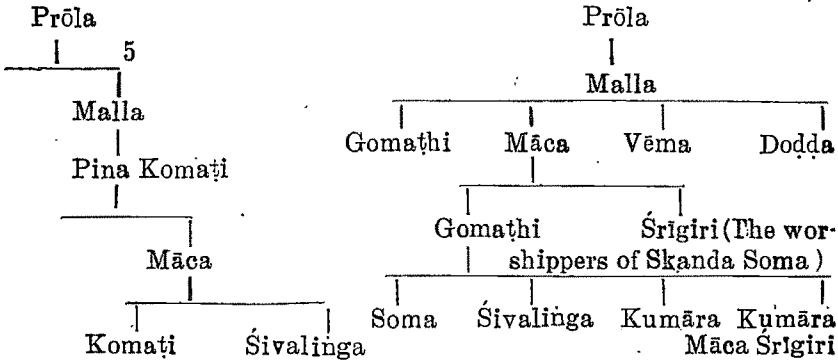
¹ e. g. Orayūr Paravarēśvara Tribhuvanamalla Coladeva a subordinate of Vikramāditya VI int. 1108 A. D. (CL. 43. EC. XI);

of Pākanādu 21000. He belonged to the solar line and his capital was at "Uraiyur when stone-cocks crew" (probably when Mallikārjuna was blinded). His date is Ś. 1073 Pramōda (1151 A. D.). Later Mallikārjuna came to the court of a Udayāditya. There is a Cālukya Gaṅga Permaṇaḍi Udayāditya ruling Banavase in 1075 A. D. (SK 129, 51, 221, 295, 132, 130 E C VII). In 1089 A. D. a Udayāditya nāyaka was a feudatory of Viṣṇu-vardhana (Kd 22. Ec. VI). There is a Nolamba Pallava Udayāditya ruling at Kampili upto 1034 A. D. (Dg 71. EOXI). But all these Udayādityas are too early for Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita who lived in C 1175 A. D.

(16) Śivalīṅgabhūpati, the author of *Giriśaśruti Sūktivilāsa* was the brother of Māca the patron of Śaṅkarārādhyā the author of the Sanskrit Basaveśavijaya and of Ekāmranātha Paṇḍita. The genealogy given by Śaṅkarārādhyā is as follows—

(*Giriśaśrutiśūktivilāsa*)

(*Basaveśavijaya*)



Kumāra Māca had a minister Keśavāmātya who patronised Śaṅkarārādhyā the servant of Ekāmranātha of Kāñcī. Śaṅkarārādhyā leaves no doubt as to the priority of Śrīpati over Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita.

आनयित्वा हठाद्विष्णुं काश्यां विश्वेशसंनिधिं ।

बभञ्ज विद्विषो यस्तं मन्ये मन्त्रनपाण्डितम् ॥ I-3

प्रसादः पावन इति प्रतिज्ञायामिमंशुके ।

बध्वा बबन्ध यश्शस्यां जीयाच्छ्रीपतिपण्डितः ॥ 4

येन रुद्धेतरावभावासीद्विजयवाटिका ।

हव्यकव्यक्रियादूरा द्विजातिस्सप्तवासरम् ॥ 5

श्रीमल्लिकार्जुनाराध्यदेवायाञ्जलिरर्प्यते ।

अवाप्तोर्ध्वदृशो रुद्रात् विद्राद्वितविरोधिने ॥ 6

(17) Śrīpati quotes from the *Siddhānta Śikhāmaṇi* of Revanārya who is also the author of *Tantrasāraprakāśikā* (*Pañcaratnavyākhyā*), *Tāraḥpradīpikā*; *Śivattavāṇprakāśikā*, *Śrutyārthaprakāśikā* or *pradīpikā*. His genealogy is as follows:—

Agastya

Reṇukā

Viśvanātha

Sarveśadeśika

Viranārādhyā [of Sosala, wrote *Tantrasāra Pañcarātna*, *Tāraḥpañcarātna*, *Śivarātna pañca Ratna* and *Śruti pañcarātna*]

Revaṇa Siddha

Revaṇārya commented on the works of his grandfather and Siddhānta Śikhāmaṇi

There is a Reṇukā Vijaya in Sanskrit attributed to Siddhānātha Śivācārya and assigned to Vikrama Samvat 1019 (961 A.D.). Revaṇa Siddha is as already indicated above a contem-

श्रीमान् सोयमहीपालः शिवलिङ्गक्षमापतिः ।

कुमारमाचभूपालः कुमारश्रीगिरीश्वरः ॥

इति विख्यातनामानः पृथिव्यां पृथुकीर्तितः ।

सामादय इवोपाय व्यराजन्त जितारयः ।

कनीयान् वयसा तेषां कुमारश्रीगिरिप्रभुः ।

ज्येष्ठ इव गुणैः राष्ट्रे गण्यमानैर्मनीषिभिः ॥

कुमारमाचभूपालः कुमारसमविक्रमः ।

जनकाप्रजयोरन्ते शास्ते राज्यं क्रमागतम् ॥

कुमारमाचभूपाले राज्यरक्षाधुरंधरे ।

धर्मेण केशवामात्ये पथा रज्जयति प्रजा ॥

(*Basaveśarvijaya* I 85-88)

porary of a Rājendra Coḷa and is said to have met Bijjala at Kalyāṇi. Rēnuka is said to have lived for about 1400 years and the miracles of Rēnuka are attributed to Rēvaṇa Siddha. The connection between the Nātha cult and Virāṣaivism has been indicated above. Virāṣaiva tradition asserts that Rēvaṇa Siddha defeated Gorakṣa Siddha at Kollāpura. In northern Kārṇāṭaka Rēnuka seems to have also been known as Kādu Siddha. As to Revāṇa Siddha and Rēnuka there are several inscriptions. The Sirivāla inscription of S 1101 Vikāri (1179 A. D.) mentions a Rēṇukācārya the son of Śāntimayya. In Ś. 1109 Plavāṅga Bhādrapada b. 30 Friday in the occasion of a solar eclipse Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Elemela Śiṅgideva of Silāra vaṁśa gave a grant to Siddha Revāṇayya at Sirivolal (1187 A. D.).¹ Therefore the author Revāṇārya the son of Revāṇa Siddha must have been living in C 1160-87 A. D. Rēvaṇārya was a devotee of Śānti Malleśvara of Śrīsaila.

In the present Śrīkarabhāṣya there are indisputable references to Madhva. The birth of Madhva took place according to the *Mahābhārata tātparyanirṇaya* in Kali 1199 A. D. But this date was rejected by H. Krishna Sastri as spurious. According to the Pāṭṭāvalis Madhva's birth was in Kali 4339 Vilambi (September 20th 1238 A. D.) and his demise took place in Kali 4418 Piṅgala (1317 A. D.) Mr. Rājapurohita assigns Madhva to 1199-1257 A. D. and says that Jayatīrtha was the disciple of Padmanābha tīrtha the immediate successor of Madhvācārya who was the pontiff after Naraḥari tīrtha in 1305 A. D. According to tradition Madhva lived for about 80 years but Mr. Rājapurohita says he lived only for 58 years. Madhvācārya is said to have spread his views before he undertook the writing of his Bhāṣyas. Therefore it may be assumed that his views provoked controversy even during his tours and not necessarily after he had committed his views to writing. According to tradition he travelled in the north visiting Kāliṅga between 1266 and 1286 A. D. Therefore Śrīpati's references to Madhva must have been given at least in the last quarter of the 13th century.

This date runs counter to all the evidence adduced above proving that Śrīpati was the older contemporary of Mallikārjuna

1. *Śivānubhāva*, 1932.

8 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

Paṇḍita (1166 A. D.) and younger than Rāmānuja (1018-1138 A. D.) In order to overcome this chronological difficulty, several possible alternatives might be put forward :—

(1) The present Śrīkarabhāṣya is only the Śrīpati Bhāṣya and not an earlier Śrīkarabhāṣya.

(2) The present work is not the work of Śrīpati Paṇḍita but of some later Śrīpati.

(3) The passages referring to Madhva are later interpolations.

This alternative can not be ruled out of consideration as the passages referring to Madhva seem to be not an organic part of the text.

(4) The date of Madhva should be carried to back the 12th century (C 1150 A. D.) as he is obviously later than Rāmānuja. But this also is not possible because of the epigraphic references to Narāharitīrtha at Śrīkūrmam. (1281-1293. *M. E. R.* 1896-1900).

As regards the first alternative Śrīkaṇṭha and Śrīkarācārya are mentioned as authorities on Śruti and Smṛti. In the *Smṛtyārtha Sāra* of Śrīdharācārya the son of Nāga Viṣṇu, the following authorities are mentioned.

श्रीकण्ठश्रीकराचार्यैः श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणजैः ।
स्मृतिशास्त्रैरनेकेन विप्रकीर्णेष्वनेकधा ॥
अनुष्ठातूपकारार्थं स्मृतिछिद्रं प्रयत्नतः ।
पुराणन्यायमीमांसासङ्गवेदैः प्रपूरितम् ॥
कामधेनौ प्रदीपेऽब्धौ कल्पवृक्षलतादिषु ।
शंभुद्रविडकेदारलोल्लटाद्यैश्च भाषितम् ॥
मन्वायनकस्मृतिषु व्याख्यातुप्रतिपादितम् ।
स्मृत्यर्थसारं वक्ष्यामि सुखानुष्ठानसिद्धये ॥

This Śrīdhara is perhaps different from the astronomer Śrīdharācārya of *Laghu Khēcara Siddhi* (1227 A. D.) and earlier than Hemādri. Śambhu the author of *Kāmadhēnu*, Draviḍa of *Pradīpa*, Kedāra of *Abdhi* and Lollāṭa of *Kalpavṛkṣalātā* are also authorities for Śrīdhara. A Bhaṭṭa Śambhu is said to have written a work on Jñāna prāmāṇya to refute Śūnyavāda and Citsukha refers to him. He was probably a contemporary of Bhōja (1050 A. D.?). Draviḍa wrote commentaries on the Chāṇḍōgya and Bṛhadāraṇyaka and is different from Draviḍācārya

quoted by Rāmānuja. Lollāṭa's Kalpavṛkṣataru is probably the same work as the Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara of Lolla family (1125-1150 A. D.). Hence Śrīdhara of *Smṛtyartha Sāra* may be assigned to C 1200 A. D. and if he was the same as the astronomer Śrīdhara his date is 1227 A. D. Śrīkaṇṭha and Śrīkarācārya must be placed perhaps in C 1150 A. D.

Mr. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi however assigns Śrīdhara to 935 A. D. and says that Śrīdhara refers to Śrīkara's *vr̥tti* on Pūrvamīmāṃsā.¹ Murāri Miśra in his *Tripādinītinayana* is said to refer to Śrīkara and Murāri is supposed to be a younger contemporary of Maṇḍana and Prabhākara. Candra (C. 850 A. D.) is supposed to have referred to Śrīkara who probably wrote on *Uttaramīmāṃsā* also. Śrīkara is supposed to have been only a Śivādvaitin while Śrīpati is a Viraśaiya.

There is a tradition in several *Śaṅkaravijayas*² that Nīlakaṇṭha or Śrīkaṇṭha wrote his Śaiva Bhāṣya but was defeated in argument by Śaṅkarācārya. If in the verses quoted above from *Smṛtyartha Sāra* we take the expression *Śrīkaṇṭha Śrīkarācāryaiḥ* as referring to Śrīkaṇṭha the Ācārya of Śrīkara (bhāṣya) and if Murāri Miśra's allusion to Śrīkara is substantiated, it is possible that Śrīkaṇṭha and Śaṅkara were contemporaries. In that case the present Bhāṣya of Śrīkaṇṭha must be antedated by five or six centuries since Śaṅkara's date is now more or less definitely fixed up as the last quarter of the sixth and the first quarter of the seventh century.³ In that case Śrīkaṇṭha of the Bhāṣya, cannot be either Svāmīdēvara Śrīkaṇṭha or Śrīkaṇṭha Śiva of the 12th century. Śrīkaṇṭha's disciple Haradatta according to (incorrect) date given in *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* died on 16th January 879 A. D. This teacher Śrīkaṇṭha may be assigned to C 850 A. D. date and cannot be the contemporary of Śaṅkara.

A tradition refers to one Rēvaṇa as the disciple of Kumārila.

उवेकः कारिकां वेत्ति तन्त्रं वेत्ति प्रभाकरः ।

वामनस्तूभयं वेत्ति न किञ्चिदापि रेवणः ॥

¹ Śrīkarabhāṣya, Vol. I, p. 887.

² Cf. Preface to Śrīkaṇṭha's *Brahma Sūtra Bhāṣya* (Mysore Oriental Library Series).

³ Q. J. M. S. 1930, *Annals Bh. Or. I.* Vol. 12 1931; Proc. VIII Or. Conference "the age of Śaṅkara."

Rēvaṇa, Umbēka (Mandana) Prabhākara and Vāmana were all students of Kumārila who is later than Dharmakīrti and Akalaṅka (c. 600 A.D.) and therefore has to be assigned to the 7th century. There is also a tradition that Renuka (Revana Siddha?) gave the Candramaulīśvaralinga worshipped now at Śrīngēri to Śaṅkara who was the younger contemporary of Kumārila.

In any case it is impossible to place Śrīpati Paṇḍita (after Mallikārjuna Paṇḍita and Pāṅkurīke Sōmanātha as Mr. Kavi opines. Therefore present bhāṣya may not be the original Śrīkarabhāṣya nor can the Bhāṣya be attributed entirely to Śrīpati Paṇḍita of the 12th century.¹ The only possible inference is that it is the work of some unknown author of the last quarter of the 13th century who probably worked on an older bhāṣya attributed to Śrīpati and recast it up to meet the objections of the Dvaitins also.

¹ Cf. also. *Hindustan Review*, January 1923.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA AND ANCIENT COMMENTATORS

BY

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The critical edition of the Mahābhārata based on the collation of numerous Mss. undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute has been making steady, though slow, progress. The Mahābhārata has been relied upon as a Dharmaśāstra and as a store-house of wisdom and mythology for over fifteen hundred years. Many comparatively ancient commentators quote verses from it or refer to episodes contained in it. In this paper an attempt is made to bring together verses quoted from the great Epic in ancient commentaries and works, such as the bhāṣya of Śābara (not later than 5th century A. D.), the Tantravārtika of Kumārilabhaṭṭa (about 650 to 700 A. D.), the Yogasūtrabhāṣya (about 500-700 A. D.), the bhāṣyas of Śaṅkarācārya (not later than 820 A. D.) on the Vedāntasūtras, the Bhagavadgītā and the Chāndogya and Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads. The quotations are traced to the Bombay edition (with Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary). It is hoped that this paper will be of some use to the learned Editors of the critical edition of the several *parvans* of the Mahābhārata.* Slight variations of readings have not been noted.

A In Śābara's bhāṣya we have the following :

(1) वितौर्य हि महज्जालमृषिः संक्षिप्य चाब्रवीत् ।

इष्टं हि विदुषां लोके समासव्यासधारणम् ॥

* The following editions have been relied upon : For Śābara's bhāṣya and the Tantravārtika, the Ānandāśrama edition ; for the Vedānta-sūtra-bhāṣya, the Nīrṇayasāgara edition ; for the Śaṅkarabhāṣya on Chāndogya and Bṛhadāraṇyaka, the Ānandāśrama editions ; for the Yogasūtrabhāṣya, the edition in the Bombay Sanskrit Series.

Abbreviations.

Br = Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.

Cr : ed = critical edition of the Mahābhārata published by the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona.

Chān. = Chāndogya Upaniṣad.

जै. = पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र of जैमिनि.

वे, सू. = वेदान्तसूत्र.

quoted as a श्लोक on जै. VIII. I. 2. This is I. 51 (and I. 49 of cr. ed.) with variations.

(2) भार्या दासश्च पुत्रश्च निर्धनाः सर्व एव ते ।

यत्ते समाधिगच्छन्ति यस्य ते तस्य तद्धनम् ॥

quoted as स्मृति on जै. VI. I. 12. आदिपर्व 82. 22 (= cr. ed. 77.22) and उद्योगपर्व 33.64 (= cr. ed. 33. 57) have त्रय एवाधना राजन् भार्या दासस्तथा सुतः । यत्ते...धनम् ॥. मनु VIII. 416 reads भार्या पुत्रश्च दासश्च त्रय एवाधनाः स्मृताः । यत्ते...धनम् ॥. It is difficult to say from what work Śabara quotes. But it looks probable that he is quoting Manu.

B Tantravārtika. Bühler and Kirste in their *Indian Studies*, No. II (Wien, 1892), made very valuable contributions to the History of the Mahābhārata from quotations and references contained in a portion of the Tantravārtika of Kumārilabhaṭṭa. In the following only those quotations and references that were not noticed by those learned scholars in their paper are set out.

(3) त्यजेदेकं कुलस्यार्थे—quoted on जै. I. 2. 7. (p. 116). This is आदि. 115.38 (= cr. ed. 107.32). In सभा 62. 11 we have the reading त्यजेत्कुलार्थे पुरुषम्.

(4) परलोकविरुद्धानि कृवाणं दूरतस्त्यजेत् ।

आत्मानं योऽतिसंधत्ते सोऽन्यस्मै स्यात्कथं हितः ॥

This is quoted on जै. I. 3.4 (p. 195) (without indicating the source) in condemning the Buddha who being a Kṣatriya gave up his peculiar duties and resorted to the peculiar privileges of brāhmaṇas viz. expounding dharma and accepting gifts.

(5) माता भस्त्रा पितुः पुत्रः

On जै. I. 2. 13 (p. 128) the Tantravārtika says that it is the view of Smṛtikāras (माता भस्त्रा पितुः पुत्र इति स्मृतृणां दर्शनम्). Ādiparva 74. 10-11 is भस्त्रा माता पितुः पुत्रो येन जातः स एव सः । भरस्व पुत्रं दुष्यन्त मावमंस्थाः शकुन्तलाम् ॥'. This shows that the Śakuntalā episode formed part of the Mahābhārata long before Kumāriḥ, who quotes also a half verse from the first act of the Śakuntalā of Kālidāsa :

एवंच विद्वच्चनाद्विनिर्गतं प्रसिद्धरूपं कविभिर्निरूपितम् ।

सतां हि संदेहपदेषु वस्तुषु प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः ॥

(6) यथर्तावृत्तलिङ्गानि नानारूपाणि पर्यये ।

दृश्यन्ते तानि तान्येव तथा भाति युगादिषु ॥

This is quoted on जै. I. 3. 7. (p. 202) with the words उक्तं च. This verse occurs several times in the Mahābhārata, viz. आदि I. 39 (= cr. ed. I. 37), शान्ति 210. 17 and शान्ति 233. 40 (where the 4th pāda is तथा ब्रह्महरादिषु). In the first two places we have भावाः for भाति (which latter seems to be a mistake).

(7) युवैव धर्ममन्विच्छेत्—Quoted on जै. I. 3. 3 (p. 181) as a Smṛti passage. शान्ति 278.15 has युवैव धर्मशीलः स्यात्.

(8) सर्वं बलवतः पथयस्—quoted on जै. I. 3.7 (p. 208) as a maxim (nyāya) in connection with explaining away the action of Viśvā-mitra who performed a sacrifice for a Cāṇḍāla (Trisāṅku). This is Āśramavāsiparva 30. 24.

C The Nyāyavārtikā of Uddyotakāra (600-640 A. D.) on Nyāyasūtra IV. 1.21 quoted two verses for the proposition that even from Āgamas it is learnt that Īśvara is the cause. Those verse are :

(9) अज्ञो जन्तुरनीशोऽयमात्मनः सुखदुःखयोः ।
ईश्वरप्रेरितो गच्छेत्स्वर्गं वा श्वभ्रमेव वा ॥
यदा स देवो जागर्ति तद्देवं चेष्टते जगत् ।
यदा स्वापिति ज्ञान्तात्मा तदा सर्वं निमीलति ॥

The first verse is वनपर्व 30. 28 (where we read स्वर्गं नरकमेव च). The 2nd verse is मत्स्यपुराण 290. 22 (where we have स विष्णुर्जागर्ति). I have not been able to find it in the महाभारत.

D In the bhāṣya on the Yogasūtra two verses are quoted from the Mahābhārata. This bhāṣya is usually attributed to Vyāsa and its date is far from settled beyond the possibility of cavil. In the Dr. Pathak Commemoration volume I have cited the view of no less a celebrity than Abhinavagupta (on the Nāṭya-śāstra of Bharata) that the Yogabhāṣya is the work of Patañjali. The Yogabhāṣya must be placed somewhere between 400 to 700 A. D.

(10) प्रज्ञाप्रासादमारुह्य अशोच्यः शोचतो जनान् ।
भूमिष्ठानिव शैलस्थः सर्वान्प्राज्ञोऽनुपश्यति ॥

This is quoted in the योगभाष्य on I. 47 with the words तथा चोक्तम्. It occurs in शान्ति 17. 20 and 151. 11. The readings are different and instructive. शान्ति 17. 20 reads 'o अशोच्यान् शोचतो जनान् । जगती-स्थानिवाद्रिस्थो मन्दबुद्धिर्न चेक्षते ॥'; while शान्ति 151. 11 is अशोच्यः शोचते जनान् । जगती...स्थः प्रज्ञया प्रतिपत्स्यति ॥

(11) यच्च कामसुखं लोके यच्च दिव्यं महत्सुखम् ।

तृष्णाक्षयसुखस्यैते नार्हतः षोडशीं कलाम् ॥

This is quoted in योगभाष्य on II. 42 and it is also quoted by Śaṅkara in his bhāṣya on Brhadāraṇyaka. It occurs several times in the Śāntiparva (174. 46, 177. 51, 277.7).

E. Śaṅkarācārya in his bhāṣyas on the Vedāntasūtras, the Bhagavadgītā, the Chāndogya and the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads quotes from or refers to the Mahābhārata in numerous places. Prof. Deussen in his German translation of the Vedāntasūtras traces many of the Mahābhārata quotations from Śaṅkara's bhāṣya on them to the Calcutta edition. I worked independently of him and have been able to trace more quotations from the Vedāntasūtrabhāṣya than he could do (vide Nos. 25, 37, 39, 48, 50 below). All the quotations (except where a group is dealt with) are arranged in alphabetical order.

(12) अचिन्त्याः खलु ये भावा न तांस्तर्केण योजयेत् ।

प्रकृतिभ्यः परं यच्च तदचिन्त्यस्य लक्षणम् ॥

This is quoted as a verse of Paurāṇikas on वे. सू. II. 1. 27, while the first half of it is quoted as a Smṛti on वे. सू. II. 1. 6. This is भीष्म 5. 12- (where we read साधयेत् for योजयेत्). वायुपुराण 34. 8 has the verse in a slightly different form ' भावयेत् ।... तन्नित्यं च प्रचक्षते (v. l. तदन्त्यं प्रभाष्यते). It is somewhat strange that the printed मत्स्यपुराण 113.6 (Ānandāśrama ed.) reads तस्मिन् तर्केण साधयेत् ।

(13) अतश्च संक्षेपमिमं शृणुध्वं नारायणः सर्वमिदं पुराणः ।

स सर्गकाले च करोति सर्वं संहारकाले च तदति भूयः ॥

This is quoted as a पुराण passage on वे. सू. II. 1. 1. This is वायु-पुराण I. 205 with slight variations (महेश्वरः for नारायणः). शान्ति 302. 15 is similar ' एतन्मयोक्तं नरदेव तत्त्वं नारायणो विश्वमिदं पुराणम् । स सर्गः... सर्गं संहारकाले च तदति भूयः ॥ ' Śaṅkarācārya most probably quotes from the वायुपुराण.

(14) अथ सत्यवतः कायात्माशब्दं वक्ष्ये गतम् ।

अङ्गुष्ठमात्रं पुरुषं निश्चकर्ष यमो बलात् ॥

Quoted as Smṛti on वे. सू. I. 3. 24. This is वनपर्व 297. 17. The तन्त्र-वार्तिक of Kumārila also quotes it on जै. II. 1. 5 (p. 403).

(15) अदर्शनादापतितः पुनश्चादर्शनं गतः ।

नासौ तव न तस्य त्वं वृथा का परिदेवना ॥

Quoted in भाष्य on भगवद्गीता II. 28. This is very like स्त्रीपर्व 2. 13 where latter half is नैते तव न त्वं तत्र का परिदेवना. The same idea in similar words occurs in आश्रमवासिपर्व 34. 17 (where the first half is the same) and शान्ति 174. 17 (where latter half is न त्वासौ वेद न त्वं तं कः सन्न किमनुशोचसि).

(16) अनादिनिधना नित्या वागुत्सृष्टा स्वयंभुवा ।

आदौ वेदमयी दिव्या यतः सर्वाः प्रवृत्तयः ॥

Quoted as a स्मृत on वे. सू. I. 3. 28. The first half is शान्ति 233.24 (but विद्या for नित्या) and Nilakanṭha remarks that the latter half must be added as the Śāriraka bhāṣya reads the whole verse.

(17) अपुण्यपुण्योपरमे यं पुनर्भवनिर्भयाः ।

शान्ताः संन्यासिनो यान्ति तस्मै मोक्षात्मने नमः ॥

Quoted in भाष्य on बृह. उ. IV. 4. 9. This is शान्ति 47.55.

(18) अव्यक्तं पुरुषे ब्रह्मनिर्गुणे संप्रलीयते ।

Quoted on वे. सू. II. I. 1. as a Smṛti where Īśvara is said to be the cause of the world. This is शान्ति 340. 31 (which reads निष्क्रिये for निर्गुणे).

(19) आचार्येणाभ्यनुज्ञातश्चतुर्णामेकमाश्रमः ।

आविमोक्षाच्छरीरस्य सोऽनुतिष्ठेद्यथाविधि ॥

Quoted on वे. सू. III. 4. 40. This is शान्ति 235. 4 (where we have सोऽनुतिष्ठेत् for सोऽनुतिष्ठेत्).

(20) आत्मनो वै शरीराणि बहूनि भरतर्षभ ।

योगी कुर्याद्बलं प्राप्य तैश्च सर्वैर्महीं चरेत् ॥

प्राप्नुयाद्विषयांश्चैश्विक् कैश्चिदुग्रं तपश्चरेत् ।

संक्षेपेच्च पुनस्तानि सूर्यो रश्मिगुणानिव ॥

Both verses are quoted on वे. सू. I. 3. 27 as smṛti indicating that yogins who have acquired the powers of *anumā* &c. can simultaneously be connected with several bodies. These are शान्ति 301. 26-27 where we find आत्मनां च सहस्राणि for आत्मनो वै सहस्राणि, योगः for योगी, कश्चित्पुनश्चोयं for कैश्चित्कैश्चिदुग्रं, पुनस्तां सूर्यो तेजोगुणानिव for पुनस्तानि ...गुणानिव. It may be noted that the 2nd verse (प्राप्नुयात् &c) is

quoted as one among several from पुराण (which is वायु) in the तत्त्ववैशारदी of वाचस्पति on योगसूत्र IV. 5. (संहरेच्च for संक्षिपेच्च).

(21) इन्द्रियाणामुपरमे मनोऽनुपरतं यदि ।

सेवते विषयानिव तद्विद्यात्स्वप्रदर्शनम् ॥

Quoted on वे. सू. II. 3. 40 as a सृष्टि. This is शान्ति 276. 24 (where we read व्युपरमे for उपरमे, मनोऽनुपरतं for मनोऽनुपरतं and तं विद्यात् for तद्विद्यात्).

(22) उपलभ्याप्सु चेद्वन्धं केचिद्ब्रूयुरनैपुणाः ।

पृथिव्यामेव तं विद्यादपो वायुं च संश्रितम् ॥

Quoted on वे. सू. II. 3. 29 as Dvaipāyana's. This is शान्ति 233. 9 (which reads अपां वायोश्च संश्रितं).

(23) ऋषीणां नामधेयानि याश्च वेदेषु दृष्टयः ।

शर्वयन्ते प्रसूतानां तान्येवैभ्यो ददात्यजः ॥

यथर्तुष्वृतुलिङ्गानि नानारूपाणि पर्यये ।

दृश्यन्ते तानि तान्येव तथा भावा युगादिषु ॥

यथाभिमानिनोऽतीतास्तुल्यास्ते सांप्रतैरिह ।

देवा देवैरतीतैर्हि रूपैर्नामभिरेव च ॥

These three are quoted as सृष्टि on वे. सू. I. 3. 30. शान्ति 233. 25-26 are rather confused and read ऋषीणां...वेदेषु दृष्टयः । नानारूपं च भूतानां कर्मणां च प्रवर्तनम् । वेदशब्देभ्य एवादौ निर्मिमीते स ईश्वरः । नामधेयानि चर्षाणां याश्च वेदेषु दृष्टयः । शर्वयन्ते सुजातानामन्येभ्यो विदधात्यजः ॥. The second verse above is quoted in the तन्त्रवार्तिक also. Vide No. 6 above. The first two are also वायु 9. 64-65 (where we have तान्येवास्य दधाति सः). Vide also वायु 100. 204-205 for the same. मार्कण्डेय (48. 43-44) has the first two verses; the third cannot be traced.

एतद्वै श्रोतुमिच्छामि—see under यदिदं वेदवचनं

(24) कदाचित्सुकृतं कर्म कूटस्थमिह तिष्ठति ।

मज्जमानस्य संसारे यावदुःखाद्विमुच्यते ॥

Quoted on वे. सू. III. 1. 8 as a सृष्टि. This is शान्ति 291. 18 (where we read सुकृतं तात कूटस्थमिव).

कर्मणा बध्यते जन्तुः—see under यदिदं

कर्मणा स्वपरो—see under तत्र यः

(25) कषायपक्तिः कर्माणि ज्ञानं तु परमा गतिः ।

कषाये कर्मभिः पक्वे ततो ज्ञानं प्रवर्तते ॥

Quoted on वे. सू. III. 4. 26 as a स्मृति. शान्ति 271. 38 reads शरीरपक्तिः ... रसज्ञाने च तिष्ठति ॥ Deussen does not give this reference.

(26) काम जानामि ते मूलं संकल्पात्त्वं हि जायसे ।

न त्वां संकल्पयिष्यामि तेन मे न भविष्यसि ॥

Quoted in भाष्य on गीता VI. 4. This is शान्ति 177. 25 (where we have संकल्पात्किल जायसे and समूलो न भविष्यसि).

(27) किं ते धनेन किम बन्धुभिस्ते किं ते दारैर्ब्राह्मण यो मरिष्यसि ।

आत्माननाम च गुहां प्रविष्टं पितामहास्ते क्व गताः पिता च ॥

Quoted on बृह. IV. 5. 15. This is शान्ति 278. 38 (where we have किं ते धनैर्बान्धवैर्वापि किं ते); the same verse also occurs in शान्ति 322. 72 (where we read किं बन्धुभिस्ते किं ते पुत्रैः पुत्रकः यो and क्व गताश्च सर्वे).

(28) क्रियावाद्भिर्हि कौन्तेय देवलोकः समावृतः ।

न चैतदिष्टं देवानां मर्त्यैरुपरि वर्तनम् ॥

Quoted on बृ. उ. I. 40. 10 as from अनुगीता. It does occur in the अनुगीता as आश्वमेधिक पर्व 19. 59 (where we read मर्त्यैरुपरिवर्तनम्).

(29) जगत्प्रातिष्ठा देवर्षे पृथिव्यप्सु प्रलीयते ।

ज्योतिष्यापः प्रलीयन्ते ज्योतिर्वायौ प्रलीयते ॥

Quoted on वे. सू. II. 3. 14 as स्मृति. This is शान्ति 340. 29.

(30) ज्ञानमुत्पद्यते पुंसां क्षयात् पापस्य कर्मणः ।

यथादर्शितलप्रवर्ये पश्यत्यात्मानमात्मानि ॥

Quoted in भाष्य on भगवद्गीता III. 4. The first half is also quoted on बृह. उ. IV. 4. 22. The verse is शान्ति 204.8.

तत्र यः परमात्मा हि स नित्यो निर्गुणः स्मृतः ।

न लिप्यते फलैश्चापि पद्मपत्रमिवाम्भसा ॥

कर्मात्मा त्वपरो योसौ मोक्षबन्धैः स युज्यते ।

स सप्तदशकेनापि राशिना युज्यते पुनः ॥

These two are quoted on वे. सू. II. 3. 47 as from the Smṛti of Vyāsa. These two are शान्ति 352. 14 (latter half) 16 (first half, where we have युज्यते च सः).

तस्मादव्यक्तमुत्पन्नं—see यत्तत्सूक्ष्म—

(31) तेषां ये यानि कर्माणि प्राक्सृष्ट्यां प्रतिपेदिरे ।

तान्यव ते प्रपद्यन्ते सृज्यमानाः पुनः पुनः ॥

हिंसाहिंसे मृदुक्रूरे धर्माधर्मावृत्तानृते ।

तद्भाविताः प्रपद्यन्ते तस्मात्तस्य रोचते ॥

These two are quoted on वे. सू. I. 3. 30 as Smṛti establishing that later creations are like former creations of the world. These two are शान्ति 233. 16-17 (where we have तान्येव प्रतिपाद्यन्ते) and also वायु 8. 32-33 and 9. 57-58 and मर्कण्डेय 48. 39-40. For the second compare मनु I. 29.

(32) त्याग एव हि सर्वेषामुक्तानामपि कर्मणाम् ।

वैराग्यं पुनरेतस्य मोक्षस्य परमोऽवधिः ॥

Quoted on बृह. उ. IV. 5. 15. for the proposition that those who are desirous of liberation must take to the life of *parivrat*. The latter half is शान्ति 321. 29 (first half, where we read परमो विधिः). It looks as if the two halves are parts of different verses.

(33) द्वाविमावथ पन्थानौ

Quoted on भगवद्गीता II. 21 where Śaṅkara says that Vyāsa declared two paths to his son Śuka. This is part of शान्ति 242. 6.

(34) निराशिषमनारम्भं निर्नमस्कारमस्तुतिम् ।

अक्षीणं क्षीणकर्माणं तं देवा ब्राह्मण विदुः ॥

Quoted on बृह. उ. IV. 4. 9. and III. 5. 1. This is शान्ति 264. 34.

(35) निरतुतिर्निर्नमस्कारः

Quoted on छान्दोग्य उ. II. 23 1. It is part of शान्ति 243. 9.

(36) नैतादृशं ब्राह्मणस्यास्ति वित्तं यथैकता समता सत्यता च ।

शीलं स्थितिर्दण्डविधानमार्जवं ततस्ततश्चोपरमः क्रियाभ्यः ॥

Quoted on बृह. उ. IV. 4. 9. This is शान्ति 175. 37 and 238. 37.

(37) प्रक्षालनाद्धि पङ्कस्य दूरादस्पर्शनं वरम् ।

Quoted on वे. सू. III. 2. 22. This is वनपर्व 2. 49 (where we read श्रेयो न स्पर्शनं).

प्राप्नुयात् विषयान्—see आत्मना वै शरीराण above.

(38) बहवः पुरुषा ब्रह्मन्नुताहो एक एव तु ।

On वे. सू. II. 1. 1. शंकर says महाभारतेऽपि ' बहवः ... एक एव तु ' इति विचार्य ' बहवः पुरुषा राजन् सांख्ययोगविचारिणाम् ' इति परपक्षमुपन्यस्य तद्व्युदासेन ' बहूनां पुरुषाणां हि यथैका योनिरुच्यते । तथा तं पुरुषं विश्वमाख्यास्यामि गुणाधिकम् ॥ ' इत्युपक्रम्य ' ममान्तरात्मा तव च ये चान्ये देहसंस्थिताः । सर्वेषां साक्षिभूतोऽसौ न ग्राह्यः केनचित् क्वचित् ॥ विश्वमूर्धा विश्वस्रजो विश्वपादाक्षिनासिकः । एकश्चरति भूतेषु स्वैरचारी यथासुखम् ॥ इति सर्वात्मनैव निर्धारिता । These passages are respectively शान्ति 350. 1, 2 (where we read लोके सांख्ययोगविचारणे), 3 (च

for हि) and (वाख्यास्यामि for आख्यास्यामि) and 351. 4-5 (where we read देहसंज्ञिता for देहसंस्थिता: and क्षेत्रे for भूतेषु. शान्ति 350. 26-27 also is very like 350. 3.

(39) बीजान्यग्न्युपदग्धानि न रोहन्ति यथा पुनः ।
ज्ञानदग्धैस्तथा क्लेशैर्नात्मा संपद्यते पुनः ॥

Quoted on वे. सू. III. 3. 32 as Smṛti and on गीता 13. 23. This is शान्ति 211. 17.

समान्तरात्मा—see above बहवः पुरुषा No. 38.

(40) माया ह्येषा मया सृष्टा यन्मां पश्यासि नारद ।
सर्वभूतगुणैर्युक्तं नैवं मां ज्ञातुमर्हसि ॥

Quoted on वे. सू. I. 1. 20 and III. 2. 17 as a Smṛti. It is शान्ति 340. 45-46.

(41) यं विनिद्रा जितश्वासाः संतुष्टाः संयतेन्द्रियाः ।
ज्योतिः पश्यन्ति युञ्जानास्तस्मै योगात्माने नमः ॥

Quoted on वे. सू. III 2. 24 as Smṛti. This is शान्ति 47. 54 and 285. 169 (in both places सत्त्वस्थाः for संतुष्टाः).

(42) यच्च काममुखं लोके यच्च दिव्यं महत्सुखम् ॥
तृष्णाक्षयसुखस्यैते नार्हते षोडशीं कलाम् ॥

Quoted on बृह. उ. IV 3. 33 as Vyāsa's. This occurs several times in the महाभारत viz. शान्ति 174. 46, 177. 51, 277. 7. It is also वायु 93. 101.

(43) यत्तत्सूक्ष्ममाविज्ञेय—

On वे. सू. II 1. 1. शंकर says यत्सू ... यम् ' इति परं ब्रह्म प्रकृत्य 'स ह्यन्तरात्मा भूतानां क्षेत्रज्ञश्चेति कथ्यते ' इति चोक्त्वा 'तस्मादव्यक्तमुत्पन्नं त्रिगुणं द्विजसत्तम' इत्याह । These are respectively शान्ति 335. 28, 30 and 31.

यथर्तुष्टुलिङ्गानि — see No. 23 कृषीणां नामधेयानि above.

॥ यथाभिमानिनोऽर्तीताः see No. 23.

(44) यदिदं वेदवचनं कुरु कर्म त्यजेति च ।

कां गतिं विद्यया यान्ति कां च गच्छन्ति कर्मणा ॥

एतद्वै श्रोतुमिच्छामि तद्भवान्प्रब्रवीतु मे ।

एतावन्योन्ये वैरूप्ये वर्तेते प्रतिकूलतः ॥

कर्मणा बध्यते जन्तुर्विद्यया च विमुच्यते ।

तस्मात्कर्म न कुर्वन्ति यतः पारदक्षिणः ॥

These three are quoted on बृह. उ. II. 4. 1. for indicating the *virodha* between the nature of *karma* and *vidyā*. They are शान्ति 242. 1-2 and 7. The third verse is quoted on भगवद्गीता III. 1 also. In the महाभारत we have कां दिशं for कां गतिं, एतच्चान्योन्ये for एतावन्योन्ये, and तु प्रमुच्यते for च प्रमुच्यते.

- (45) यस्याग्निरास्यं द्यौर्मूर्धा खं नाभिश्चरणौ क्षितिः ।
सूर्यश्चक्षुर्दिशः श्रोत्रे तस्मै लोकात्मने नमः ॥

Quoted on वे. सू. I. 2. 25 as Smṛti. This is शान्ति 47. 68.

- (46) युगान्तेऽन्तर्हितान् वेदान्सेतिहासान् महर्षयः ।
लेभिर तपसा पूर्वमनुज्ञाताः स्वयंभुवा ॥

Quoted on वे. सू. I. 3. 29 as from the Smṛti of Vedavyāsa. This is शान्ति 210. 9.

- (47) येन केन चिदाच्छन्नो येन केन चिदाशितः ।
यत्र कचनशायी स्यात्तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः ॥

Quoted on भगवद्गीता XII. 19. This is शान्ति 246. 12 (where we have शायी च तं).

- (48) वाग्ध्यात्मामिति प्राहुर्ब्राह्मणास्तत्त्वदर्शिनः ।
वक्तव्यमाधिभूतं तु वह्निस्तत्रार्थदिवैतम् ॥

Quoted on वे. सू. II. 4. 14 as a Smṛti. This is शान्ति 314. 5 (where we read प्राहुर्यथाश्रुतिनिदर्शिनः).

विश्वसूत्रा विश्वभुजो— Vide No. 38 above

- (49) वेदानधीत्य ब्रह्मचर्येण पुत्रपौत्रानिच्छेत् पावनार्थं पितृणाम् ।
अग्नीनाथाय विधिवच्चेष्टयज्ञो वनं प्रविश्याथ मुनिर्बुध्षेत् ॥

Quoted on बृह. उ. IV. 5. 15. This is शान्ति 175. 6 and 278. 6 (where we read अधीत्य वेदान् ब्रह्मचर्येण).

- (50) शुकस्तु मारुताच्छीघ्रां गतिं कृत्वान्तरिक्षगः ।
दर्शयित्वा प्रभार्थं स्वं सर्वभूतमतोऽभवत् ॥

Quoted on वे. सू. IV. 2. 14 as from the महाभारत. This is शान्ति 334. 19-20 (where we read मारुतादूर्ध्वं...न्तरिक्षगाम् and ब्रह्मभूतोऽभवत्तदा).

- (51) श्रावयेच्चतुरो वर्णान्

Quoted on वे. सू. I. 3. 38. This is शान्ति 328. 49. It is also quoted by the तन्त्रवार्तिक on जै. I. 2. 7 (p. 116).

- (52) सर्पाङ्कुशाग्राणि तथोदपानं ज्ञात्वा मनुष्याः परिवर्जयन्ति ।
अज्ञानतस्तत्र पतन्ति केचिज्ज्ञाने फलं पश्य यथा विशिष्टम् ॥

Quoted on भगवद्गीता XIII. 2: This is शान्ति 201. 17.

(53) सर्वभूतात्मभूतस्य सम्यग्भूतानि पश्यतः ।

देवा अपि मार्गे सुहृन्त्यपदस्य पदैषिणः ॥

Quoted on वे. सू. IV. 2. 14 as from the महाभारत. This verse occurs several times in the महाभारत-शान्ति 240, 23 (where we read विभोर्भूतहितस्य च । देवापि...सुहृन्ति अपदस्य), 263. 32 (where we find सर्वभूतानि पश्यतः । देवापि...सुहृन्ति), 270. 22 and अशुशासन 113. 7. Deussen gives only one reference.

स ह्यन्तरात्मा भूतानां—see यत्तत्सूत्र-No. 43 above.

हिंसाहिंसे सृदुक्क्रे—Vide तेषां ये यानि No. 31 above.

(54) On Vedāntasūtra III 4. 37, (api ca smaryate) Śaṅkara remarks संवर्तप्रभृतीनां च नृगचर्यादियोगादनपेक्षिताश्रमकर्मणामपि महायोगित्वं स्मर्यत इतिहासे' i. e. in the itihāsa (i. e. Mahābhārata) it is declared that Saṁvarta and others were great Yogins, though they paid no heed to the duties of āśramas (laid down by Śāstra), since they indulged in wandering about naked. The Mahābhārata is the itihāsa par excellence as declared by itself in Ādi. 2. 385 इतिहासोत्तमादस्माज्जायन्ते कविबुद्धयः and it is also called itihāsa named Jaya (in Ādi. 62. 20). The story of Saṁvarta wandering naked in Benares is narrated in the Āśvamedhikaparva chap. 6. It further deserves notice that Śaṅkara cites only this story as an example under the sūtra III. 4. 37 and thereby suggests that according to him this story of Saṁvarta contained in the Mahābhārata was well-known to the author of the Vedānta-sūtras. This would carry the antiquity of this chapter of the Āśvamedhikaparva several centuries before 800 A. D.

The foregoing quotations render the following propositions either certain or highly probable.

(1) The first quotation from Śabara's bhāṣya shows that the first chap. of the present text of the Mahābhārata existed long before the 4th or 5th century A. D.

(2) In the times of the Tantravārtika, Mahābhārata verses had risen to the position of maxims (nyāyas).

(3) That even in the 7th century A. D. the Mahābhārata had attained almost as much authority as the Veda, being called āgama by the Nyāyavārtika.

(4) The Śāntiparva, particularly its section on mokṣa, was textually in practically the same condition as it is now centuries before 800 A. D. Śaṅkara, as is natural, quotes dozens of verses from the section on Mokṣadharmā. The quotations are taken from chapters 47, 174, 175, 177, 201, 204, 210, 211, 233, 235, 238, 240, 242-43, 246, 263, 266, 276, 278, 285, 301, 302, 314, 321, 328, 334-35, 340, 350-51 of the Śāntiparva. Sometimes several verses are quoted from the same chapter and his quotations show that chapters 350 and 351 which are almost towards the end of the Śāntiparva were arranged in the same way as they are now.

(5) That besides the Śāntiparva from which the largest number of quotations had to be taken as demanded by the nature of his subject, Śaṅkara quotes verses from the Ādi, Vana, Bhīṣma, Strī, Anuśāsana and Āśvamedhika *parvans*.

This paper has already become rather long. In another instalment further quotations adduced by Śaṅkara in his other works and by other eminent bhāṣyakāras like Medhātithi may be dealt with.

THE TANTRIC DOCTRINE OF DIVINE BIUNITY

BY

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

All tradition speaks in the last analysis of God as an innumerable and perfectly simple Infinity, but also of this Supreme Identity as an identity of two contrasted principles, distinguishable in all composite things, but coincident without composition in the One who is no thing. The Identity is of Essence and Non-being, God and Godhead,—as it were masculine and feminine. *Natura naturans, Creatrix universalis est Deus.*¹ On the other hand, a division of Essence from Nature, Heaven from Earth, subject from object, is a *sine qua non* of the existence of composite things, all of which are, but in different and particular ways. Nature then “recedes from likeness to God, yet even in so far as it has being in this wise, it retains a certain likeness to the divine being” (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I. 14. 11 ad 3). Henceforth Essence is the Creator and active power, Nature as being the means of creation and passive recipient of form,—“Nature as being that by which the generator generates” (Damascene *De Fid. Crthod.* I. 18). Of which the relation of man to woman is a likeness: the relation of marriage is a sacrament and rite because an adequate symbol and reflection of the identification of Essence and Nature *in divinis*.

The notion of a bisexual polarity in Deity suggested above has sometimes been regarded as a peculiarity of the mediaeval Hindu and Buddhist Tantric systems of India, in which it is so clearly enunciated and made the basis of a visual and ritual symbolism.²

¹ St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, ed. Turin, 1932 (“*nihil obstat*”), *Lexikon* by J. M. Mellinio, p. 22*: cf. references to the text, *ib.*, *Index Rerum*, S. V. *Natura*, item 7, *natura dicitur dupliciter*, etc.

Throughout the present article, “Nature,” stands for *Natura naturans*.

² To what extent “Tantrism” and “Saktism” are to be identified has been recently discussed by Glasenapp in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, NF. XII, pp. 120–133, 1936, where it is concluded that “A starting point for the *Sakta* doctrines is given in the philosophy of ‘Speech’ (*vāc*) of the Mantra-

(Continued on next page)

and especially so regarded by those who disparage the use of any sexual symbolism and are therefore unwilling to recognise them elsewhere. Within the limits of the present article it would be impossible to demonstrate the veritable universality of the doctrine of a divine biunity; we shall not, for example, attempt to discuss the Chinese *yin* and *yang*, and shall merely allude to the Gnostic syzygies. What we propose to show as briefly as possible is that a symbolism of this sort permeates not only the older Indian tradition, of which the later Tantrism is in fact a perfectly orthodox adaptation, but also the Christian ontology from first to last.

In the Vedic tradition, the Supreme Identity (*īd ekam*) is "at the same time spirant and despirated" (*ānid avṛtam*, RV. X. 129. 2), "Being and Non-being" (*sad-asat*) in the uttermost Empyrean, in the womb of the Infinite" (RV. X. 5. 7). In the same way in the Muṇḍaka Up. II, 2. 1-2, the supra-logical Brahman is "Being and Non-being...Intellect and Voice" (*sad-asad...vāg-manas*). The coincidence of the proximate and ultimate (*apara* and *para*) Brahman in the Upaniṣads is that of Mitrāvaruṇau in the Vedas. The Supreme Identity is equally bipolar whether one thinks of "It" as masculine or feminine: so one asks with respect to the Magna Mater, Natura Naturans Creatrix, the Infinite (*virāḥ, aditi*) "Who knoweth Her progenitive-duality?" (*mithunatvam*, AV. VIII. 9. 10). But if the conjoint principles are considered in their reciprocity, it is the manifested God that is the masculine and unmanifested Godhead that is the feminine power, as being the inexhaustible reservoir of all possibility, including that of manifestation: it is, then, Mitra that inseminates Varuṇa (*Pañcaviṃśa Br.* XXV. 10. 10), Kṛṣṇa who "deposits the embryo in the Great Brahman, my womb...mine ultimate Nature (*para prakṛti*), the womb of all

Śāstras". See also the same author's "Die Entstehung des Vajrayāna", ZDMG, 90, pp. 546-572; Mircea Eliade, *Yoga*, Paris and Bucaresti, 1936; S. K. Das, *Śakti or Divine Power*, Calcutta, 1934, my "Parāvṛtti-Transformation, Regeneration, Anagogy" in *Festschrift M. Winternitz*, Leipzig, 1933, and "A note on the Aśvamedha" in *Archiv Orientalni*, VIII, Prague, 1936.

¹ "Non-being" must not be understood to mean a nothingness: Non-being is predicated of the Infinite *qua* "non-Ens", not *quod* "non-Est"; i. e. negatively, but not by way of privation. Cf. G. de Menges, "Le notion de l' Absolu dans diverses formes de la Tradition", *Le Voile d' Isis*, June, 1929.

existences" (*Bhagavad Gītā*, XIV. 3 and VII. 5. 6), and "Into the womb of the Infinite that Soma puts the embryo" (RV. IX. 74. 5), in accordance with RV. X. 121. 7, "Waters wherein was laid the universal embryo", viz. the Golden Germ", Hiranyagarbha.

Intellect and Voice (*manas* and *vāc*) are One *ab intra*: "Voice is verily Brahman in the uttermost Empyrean" (VII. 4. 18). But "This Brahman is Silence" (Śaṅkarācārya on *Brahma Sūtra* III. 2. 17). Just as the incantation (*brahman*) is there inaudibly the Brahman, so is the Voice unvoiced; the Intellect is there "de-mented" of itself, the Voice unuttered.¹ It is only when these two are divided, when heaven and earth are pillared-apart by the axis of the universe (*skambha*, *stauros*) that Intellect and Voice become the "poles of the Veda" (*vedasya ānī*, *Aitareya Ar.* II. 7), respectively celestial and chthonic, then only that Being and Non-being take on an ethical qualification as of life and Death, Good and Evil, divided from one another as the farther shore by the width of the universe: it is from a position here below that one prays, "Lead us from Non-being to Being, Darkness to Light" (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* I. 3. 38). Non-being then acquires indeed the value "non Est", inasmuch as it refers to all things under the Sun, of which Augustine says that as compared to God *nec pulchra sunt nec bona sunt nec sunt* (Conf. XI. 4):² the creation and cosmic crucifixion are not merely the necessary means of redemption, but also the very antithesis of last end, which must be the same as the first beginning. Accordingly, as RV. X. 24. 5 expresses it, "When the conjoint pair were parted, the Devas moaned, and cried 'Let them be wed again'";

¹ RV. X. 27. 1, "Beyond this here, assuredly there is another sound" (*śrava id ena paro anyad asti*): Plotinus, *Enneads*, I, 6, 3, "Harmonies unheard create the harmonies we hear and wake the soul to the one essence in another nature",—which is the essential function alike of the Vedic and Christian liturgies.

Maitri Up. VI. 34 "The mind must be brought to a stop" (*mano niroddhavyam*), with many parallels, Brahmanical and Buddhist: Eckhart, "The mind must be de-mented.....None may attain be he not stripped of all mental matter.

² Augustine continues, making a distinction of two kinds of knowledge, empirical and absolute, analogous to the Indian *avidyā* and *vidyā*,—*Scientiæ mostra scientiæ tuæ comparata ignorantia est*. For the relative unreality of things as they are in themselves, cf. the *Acts of Peter*, XXXIX, "there is naught else that IS save Thee only".

and hence the enactment of the marriage in ritual, symbolic of the reunion of Indra and Indrāṇī in the heart, so poignantly described in the analogy of human union in the *Śatapatha Br.* X. 5. 2. 11-15.

Let us consider now one of the many texts describing the divine procession from interior to exterior operation. In the *Pañcaviṃśa Br.* VII. 5. 1-6, "Prajāpati,¹ being One and desiring to be Many, with Intellect looked upon the Silence what was in Intellect, became the 'Great'. He perceived 'This embryo of Myself is hidden within Me: I shall bring it to birth by means of the Voice'.² He separated-off the Voice: She went the way of the Vehicle of Passing-over, so-called because it swiftly 'bringeth-over'. Thence the 'Great' was duly born: of which Prajāpati spake that 'This is the greatness of the Great, that it was so long a time within'. The 'Great' was unto Prajāpati even as his eldest Son".

The Son is thus already in the undivided unity of the conjoint principles the Father's image in himself, *per verbum in intellectu conceptum*;³ and this conception is Eckhart's "act of fecundation latent in eternity". Prajāpati's "contemplation of

¹ The implications of the name "Prajāpati" and of the designation of "creatures" as *prajā*, literally "progeny" are the same as those of Acts 17. 28, "We are the offspring of God".

² "What was engendered had been life in Him" (John I. 4, from the Greek and according to the traditional punctuation). That the Vulgate renders *ho egenos* by *quod factum est* abstracts from the original meaning the sense of vital operation. Notwithstanding that to generate and to make are the same *in divinis*, the words themselves are not synonymous, inasmuch as they consider the same thing under different aspects. The Latin version suggests what M. de Gaigneron has called an effort '*de "denaturer"*', *pour ne pas "scandaliser"*'. The Nicean Council, however, maintained that the Son was "begotten, not made", and we find accordingly in the credo, *genitum non factum*.

³ Said by St. Thomas with reference to the artist's operation in the likeness of divine creation; the mental concept of the work to be done is literally the artist's child. A similar application occurs in the Indian texts, for example, *Śatapatha Br.* III. 2. 4. 11 "Intellect prevents the Voice.....were it not for the Intellect, the Voice would speak incoherently". *ib.* IV. 6. 7. 10 "The Voice speaks not but what is contemplated by Intellect", *Taittirīya Saṃh.* II. 5. 11. 5 "What he contemplates by Intellect (*yad-dhi manasā dhyāyati*), that he utters by the Voice", cf. RV. I. 20. 2 where the Ṛbhus, the artists of the Gods, "wrought by conjoining Intellect with Voice" (*vacoyujā tātakṣur manasā*, where *takṣ* has the sense of working like a carpenter with an axe on wood, in this case that wood of which the world is made). The work of art is always the embodiment of a *conception*.

the Silence " is unmistakably a vital operation : the wording *tūṣṇīm manasā dhyāyat* closely corresponds to that of RV. X. 71. 2 *manasā vācam akrata* "had intercourse by Intellect with the Voice " and *Śatapatha Br.* VI. 1. 2. 9 *manasaiva vācam mīhunam samabhavat, sa garbhya abhavat*, "He had intercourse by Intellect with Voice, He became pregnant ". That Prajāpati divides the Voice from himself, (which Voice had been his " Silence "). *vācam vyasrjata*, corresponds to *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* VI. 4. 2, " He separated the Woman ", *striyam asrjata*,—" This Voice is indeed a maiden ", *yoṣā vā'yam vāk*, *Śatapatha Br.* III. 2.1. 9-, and to St. Augustine's " I made myself a mother of whom to be born " (*Contra V Hæreses*, 5). It is precisely because the Father himself takes birth through the Mother that there is a co-essentiality of Son with the Father : as in *Aitareya Br.* VII. 13 " Becoming an embryo, he enters the wife, the mother ; and being renewed, is born again " (*punar...jāyate*). There is a delegation and transmission of the universal Nature in the *genealogia regni Dei* just as there is of a particular nature in a humanly speaking dynastic succession of functional types ; it may be added that a " rebirth " in this sense,— " The doer aright is ordinally born again in his children " ; RV. VI. 70, 3, " My children are my coming to be again ", *Chāndogya Up.* III. 17. 3—, constitutes all that is properly speaking the Indian doctrine of the reincarnation of the individual, as distinguished from that of the transmigration of the Spiritual Person, who when the body dies, " hurries again to a womb ", *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* IV. 3. 36,—*neśvarād anyah saṁsārī*, *Śaṅkara* on *Brahmasūtra* 1. 1. 5,—reincarnation and transmigration coinciding only *in divinis*. The separated Voice now assumes vehicular function, that of the liturgy in its verbal aspect, the Ṛk, elsewhere identified with this world and the Earth. The " Great " (*brhat*, implying an indefinite extension in time and space), at first contained as an embryo (*garbha*) within the Unity and now transferred by vital operation to the Mother, in whom it waxes, and of whom it is born, is primarily Agni, the visible and audible Prajāpati,¹ considered here in a

¹ Agni (or Indra, Sūrya or Sōma) is as much the " Great Liturgy " (*brhad uktha*) : as literally a Fire. Cf. RV. V. 87. 1, where the hymns are described as " born of the Voice " (*vāci-niṣpanna*). The Son is as much a resonance as luminous and calorific. The Son of God is an utterance : " In the beginning, this world was unuttered " (*Maitri Up.* VI. 6).

liturgical aspect: "He is born from the Titan's loins and shines in the Mother's lap" (RV. III. 29. 14), the altar-womb of Mother Earth.¹ That the "Great" is said to have lain "great while within" (*jyog antar*) is a form of expression characteristic for Agni, as in RV. X. 124. 1 "A great while hast Thou lain in the long darkness" (*jyog eva dīrgham tama āsayiṣṭāḥ*), and for his cognate *Dīrghaśravas* as in *Pañcaviṃśa Br.* XV. 3. 25, where the "Far-cry" "was long in exile and in want of food" (*jyog aperuddho'sanāyah*). The worlds are ever impatient for the birth and coming forth by day; "When shall the Child be born?", RV. X. 95. 12.

Another and very informative text is that of *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* I. 4. 1-4. Here the account of the creation begins with the Spirit (*ātman*) "alone in the aspect of Person" (*puruṣa*). This Person in the beginning "was of such sort as are a man and a woman closely embraced (*etāvan āsa yathā strī-pumāṇsāḥ sampariṣvaktāu*). He desired a second. He caused that Spiritual-Self of his to fall atwain (*ātmānam dvedhāpātayat*)². Thence came into being 'husband and wife'...He had intercourse with Her: thence were human beings engendered" (*mānuṣyā ajāyanta*). In the same way He and She assuming other than human forms begat their like in these animal types.³

Thus once more the One becomes Many by an act of generation. Again the converse operation by which the conceptually separated self is reunited to the ever undivided Self or Spiritual Essence, is a "deification" described as a marriage: "This is

¹ In Christian nativities of the Byzantine type, where there is a broken cave in place of the later and more familiar ruined stable (the significance of both is the same in the last analysis, as is also the case in the Vedic tradition, where the creative act involves the breaking open of a cave which is also a stable of cattle) it is made as clear as possible that the Theotokos is the Earth, Gaia. It is, moreover, with perfect accuracy that Wolfram von Eschenbach sings "the Earth was Adam's mother.....yet still was the Earth a maid.....Two Men have been born of maidens, and God hath the likeness taken of the son of the first Earth-maiden...since He willed to be Son of Adam" (*Parzifal*, IX. 549 f.).

² As in RV. X. 77. 23 "In the dwelling of the Gods had been the First; from their diremption sprang the latter".

³ RV. I. 179. 2 *nu patnīr vṛṣabhir jagamyuh*; X. 5. 2, *vṛṣaṇo sañ jagmire.... aratibhiḥ*.

that form of his that is beyond the metres,¹ that hath smitten away all evil, and that hath no fear. It is as when one is closely embraced (*sampariṣvaktāḥ*, corresponding to *sampariṣvaktāu*, above) by a darling bride and knows naught of a within or a without, even so that the (spiritual) Person (of a man) embraced by the prognostic Spirit (*prājñātmanā*)² knows naught of a within nor a without. That is his true form, in which his desire is obtained, the Spirit is the whole of his desire, he has no unfulfilled desire, nor any grief" (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* IV. 3. 21).

It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that the whole ontology of the Vedic tradition alike in the *Saṃhitās* and in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads* expressed rather typically than incidentally in terms of sexual symbolism. We have not by any means exhausted the material, some of which is far more outspoken than are the texts that have been discussed; but we think that enough has been said to demonstrate the perfect orthodoxy of the Tantras in these respects. It remains to consider the divine polarity and bisexuality in Christian scripture and exegesis.

The problem is directly suggested by the doctrine of the twofold, temporal and eternal, birth of the Son of God. Let us remember that it is impossible to think of these as having been two different events in the divine life, which is intrinsically uneventful. Indeed, as St. Thomas says himself, "On the part of the

¹ *Aticchandā*, usually rendered as "beyond desires", but we think it rather means "beyond the metres" which are the means by which he is approached.

² *Prājñātman*, the fore-knowing ("providential") and all-knowing Spirit, whose "true form", transcending all distinction of subject and object, is a "unitary condensation of prior gnosis" (*ekibhūta prajñāna-ghana*, *Māṇḍūkya Up.* 5, *kṛtsna prajñāna-ghana*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* IV. 5 13), i. e. a single totality of knowledge not derived from any source external to itself,— "the One Word of the Ineffable which is the Gnosis of the Whole" (*Pistis Sophia*, Codex Askew, ed. Petermann, p. 233). *Prajñā* is etymologically and semantically the equivalent of the Gnostic *Prognosis*, spoken of in the *Apocryphon of John* as belonging to the male-female Pentad of the Aeons of the Father and as having been the first gift bestowed by the Invisible One upon the First Man, the Virginal Spirit, the Image of Himself (cited from Schmidt, in Baynes, *Coptic Gnostic Treatise*, Cambridge, 1933, pp. 8, 9).

child there is but one filiation in reality, although there be two in aspect." (*Sum. Theol.* III. 35. 5 ad 3). All this suggests that there must have been an eternal as well as a temporal Madonna. And that is clearly what is implied by Eckhart's "His birth in Mary ghostly was to God better pleasing than his nativity of her in the flesh" (Evans ed. I. 418). If St. Thomas say that "eternal filiation does not depend on a temporal Mother" (*Sum. Theol.* III. 35. 5 ad 2) are we not entitled to add, "but on an eternal Mother"? Who then is Eckhart's "Mary ghostly" but "that divine Nature by which the Father begets" (*Sum. Theol.* I. 45. 5. c), *Natura naturans*, *Creatrix*?

In case it should seem that we are forcing the sense of St. Thomas, let us consider the Thomist doctrine of the divine procession. "The procession of the Word *in divinis* is called a generation¹...Generation means the origin of any living thing from a living conjoint principle (*a principio vivente conjuncto*); and this is rightly called 'nativity'...So then, the procession of the Word *in divinis* is of the nature of a generation. For it proceeds in the manner of an intelligible act, which is a vital operation (*operatio vitae*)...Therefore is He rightly called begotten, and Son. Hence also that these things which belong to the generation of living things are used in Scripture to denote the procession of the divine wisdom, that is to say, by way of conception and birth

¹ It may be remarked that it is a cardinal doctrine of Christianity that there is no potentiality or passivity in God, who is all in act. On the other hand, while for St. Thomas "The power of generation belongs to God" (*Sum. Theol.* I. 41. 5, and as must also be assumed from the general use of *gignomai* side by side with *poiein* in the Greek NT.), he says also that "In every act of generation there is an active and a passive principle" (*Sum. Theol.* I. 98. 2c). A reconciliation can be effected if we consider that the conjoint principles *in divinis* are not two separated beings; just as in the case of the Three Persons, of whom there can be predicated characteristic functions without impugning their co-essentiality. There is no *unrealised* potentiality in God; at the same time his inexhaustible potentiality remains intact without diminution: as in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* V. 1, "When plenum is taken from plenum, plenum remains". The conjoint principles *in divinis* are those of a static Essence (*bhūtata*) and dynamic Power (*śakti*); when these are actually divided, static and dynamic become active and passive, and this is one of those senses in which it can be said that "Nature recedes from likeness to God", inasmuch as She becomes the recipient of form; and then it can be said, with Dante *cima nel mondo, in che puro atto fu prodotto. Pura potenza tenne la parte ima* (*Paradiso*, XXIX. 32-34), "Summit of the world, where pure act came into being; pure potentiality was in the nether part",

(*conceptione et partu*); for as it has been said of the person of the Divine Wisdom. 'When there were no depths, I was brought forth (*concepta*). Before the hills was I brought forth' (*parturierbar*)", (*Sum. Theol.* I. 27. 2 ca and ad 2, citing Proverbs VIII. 24, 25),

The whole of Proverbs VIII recalls RV. X. 125. Compare for instance "Unto you, O man, I call...Hear; for I will speak of excellent things; and the opening of my lips shall be right things...I am understanding; I have strength. By me kings reign...I love them that love me...The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old. I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was...When he prepared the heavens I was there...Then I was by him, as one brought up with him: and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him; rejoicing in the habitable parts of his earth; and my delights were with the sons of men...all they that hate me love death" with "I wend with the Rudras, Vasus, Ādityas, and Several Angels; I am the support of Mitrāvaruṇau, Indraṅī, and the paired Āsvins...I am the Queen, in whom all goods are garnered, most knowledgeable...Through me all eat the bread of life, whoever sees, or breathes, or hears; though unawares, all these abide in me. Hear ye my faithful saying. I, none but I, utter what is most pleasant, both to men and angels: him whom I love I make an Awful-power, Brahman, or Prophet or Comprehensor... I that am the matrix in the Waters and Sea, bring forth the Father, being his head...My breath it is, forsooth, that blows the Gale, whereas I take in hand the several worlds to fashion them: So far my sway, I do insist beyond these heavens and this wide earth." In the first of these citations it is Sophia, and in the second Vāc that speaks.

It is sufficiently clear from the text of St. Thomas quoted above that his "conjoint principle" *in divinis* corresponds to the notions of Essence and Nature ("that Nature by which the Father begets", *Sum. Theol.* I. 41. 5 c): and that he identifies this Nature with the "Wisdom" of Proverbs, Dante's Sophia, whom he calls "the bride of the Emperor of Heaven, and not bride alone, but sister and most beloved daughter" and of whom

he says that "She exists in him in true and perfect fashion as if eternally wedded to him" (*Convito*, III. 12).¹

A greater authority can be cited in Genesis, I, 25, 26, "And God said, Let us make man in our own image, after our likeness. So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them."² The likeness is exemplary. The created form of humanity is not that of this man as distinguished from that of this woman, but that of their common humanity: "He called *their* name Adam", Genesis, V. 2. This Man (Adam) is in fact a syzygy, until the Deity brings forth the woman out of him, that he may not be alone:³ "She shall be called Woman because she was taken out of Man," Genesis II. 23.⁴ "In his likeness", then, could never have been said had there not already been an archetype of this polarity in God, that is to say, of course, *in principle*, for we are not speaking of a composition *in divinis*.⁵ The Christian doctrine, moreover, like the Indian, envisages an ultimate reunion of the divided

¹ Whom also Dante addresses as "Virgin Mother, daughter of the Son" (*Paradiso*, XXXIII. 1). A similarly "incestuous" confusion of relationships is met with in the Indian, and even also the Islamic formulations (cf. my "Darker side of Dawn", p. 5. and *New Approach to the Vedas*, p. 3 and Notes 9 and 10); in other words, the polarity of the conjoint principles is not merely analogous to that of male and female in one particular and marital relation, but in all possible reciprocal relations.

² On this passage see the Commentary in the *Zohar* (Simon and Sperling translation, 1931, Vol. I, pp. 90-92), "the Father said to the Mother by means of the Word" and "the Man of emanation was both male and female, from the side of both Father and Mother".

³ Observe the parallel in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Uṇ.* I. 4, where Prajāpati divides himself desiring a second, because "for one who is alone there is no delight". Another parallel that may be noted appears in connection with the Biblical description of Eve as having been made from Adam's rib (Genesis II. 21, 22), just as in RV. X. 85. 23 the daughter of Manu is called the "Rib" (*parśu*), "through whom (under the name of Īḍa or Īḷa) he generated this race of men" (*Satapatha Br.* I. 8. 1. 10). This Īla is also a name of the mother of Agni (RV. III. 29).

⁴ "All living creatures, having been till then bisexual, were parted asunder, and man with the rest; and so there came to be males on the one part, and likewise females on the other part" (*Corpus Hermeticum*, Scott, *Hermetica*, I, 125).

⁵ Cf. the *Apocalypse of John* (cited in Baynes, *Bruce Codex*, p. 14, "The Three, the Father, the Mother, and the Son, the perfect Power" and *S'āṅkhya Ar.*, VII. 15 "All that is declared to be One. For the Mother and the Father and the Child are this All").

principles, there where "there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one (Skr. *ekī bhūta*) in Christ Jesus" (Gal. III. 28), that is where it is no longer a question of this man or that woman, but only of that Universal Man of whom Behmen says that "This champion or lion is no man or woman, but he is both" (Sig. Rerum, XI. 43).

If it be objected, finally, that all this sexual phraseology is a sort of rhetoric and not to be taken literally, we say that while it is not a matter of rhetoric in any "literary" sense, it is a matter of analogy and symbolism: as is explicit in both the passages from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.* cited above, it is not a question of a man and a woman in fact, nor of any existence, but of the form of being which is "*as if* (*yathā*) that of a man and woman closely embraced." Our whole intention has been to indicate that an adequate symbolism of this sort has been universally employed in the unanimous and orthodox tradition; and more specifically, within the limits of the present article, to show in what like manner it has been employed in the Hindu and Christian forms of the transmitted revelation.

MISCELLANEA.
NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY
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XXXVIII

DATE OF MAHĀSAMMOHANA TANTRA—

Before A. D. 1450

Aufrecht¹ makes the following entry regarding a *tantra* work called the महासंमोहनतन्त्र :—

महासंमोहनतन्त्र— Mentioned Oxf. 109^a ”

This entry refers to the following mention of the *tantra* in question by Gaurikānta Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya in his commentary² on the *Anandalahari* or *Saundaryalahari*

“ महासंमोहनं जाग्रतामपि निद्रितोपायप्रतिपादकं ॥ ३० ॥ ”

Kṛṣṇa Vidyāvāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya in his work called the *Tantrarātna* or *Tantrarātnadīpikā*³ which is a compilation of extracts from principal Tantras, includes “ महासंमोहनं ” in the list of 64 *tantras* recorded by him. No Mss. of this *tantra* have, however, been recorded so far in the published Catalogues of Mss. It is consequently difficult to fix any chronological limits for this work or even to form any idea about its extent. I shall, therefore, try to record quotations from this *tantra* in dated and undated works. One such reference is found in Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary called the *Padārthādarśa* on the *Śāradātilaka* of Lakṣmaṇa Deśikendra (11th century)⁴ Rāghavabhaṭṭa, who wrote this commentary in A. D. 1493,⁵ quotes from the महासंमोहन *tantra* as follows :—⁶

¹ *Cata. Catalo.* Part I, p. 443.

² Aufrecht : *Cata. of Bodleian Mss.*, Oxford, p. 109^a.

³ *India Office Cata.*, (1894) part IV, p. 886^b.

⁴ Farquhar : *Outlines of Religious Literature of India*, pp. 267, 389. Vide Intro. and analysis of the *Śāradātilaka* (JAOS xxiii, i, 65) by Ewing.

⁵ Vide p. 552 of the Edition of this commentary (Kashi Sanskrit Series No. 107, 1934).

⁶ Ibid, p. 249 (comm. on verse 14 of 9th Paṭala of the text).

“ तदुक्तं महासंमोहने—

‘ दक्षिणे चाङ्कुशं दद्याद्दामे पाशं प्रदापयेत् ।

वरदं वामतो दद्यादभयं दक्षिणे करे ’ ॥ इति ”

This appears to be a quotation from the महासंमोहन तन्त्र dealing with tāntric powers by which a person can be hypnotized at will. Possibly the above quotation may have been taken by Rāghava-bhaṭṭa from a Ms of the *Mahāsammohana Tantra* available to him in A. D. 1493. We shall, therefore, fix A. D. 1450 or so as one terminus to the date of the महासंमोहनतन्त्र.

Another Tāntric work called the *Śrītattva-Cintāmaṇi*¹ composed in A. D. 1577 refers to a *tantra* called the “संमोहन तन्त्र”. Aufrecht makes the following entry about this *tantra* :—

¹ *Calcutta Sanskrit Series*, 1936. Pūrṇānanda, the author of *Śrītattva-Cintāmaṇi* belonged to Mymensingh (Bengal). He was a rādhīya Brahman and a great tāntric *Sādhaka*. He composed this work in Śaka 1499 (= A. D. 1577) as stated on p. 14 of the text :— “ श्रीपूर्णानन्दपरमहंसः श्रितत्वाचिंतामणिं चतुर्दश-शताधिक-नवनवति-शकाब्दे वितनोति ”. Kālicaraṇa commented on a chapter of this work called the *Śaṭcakraṇirūpaṇa*. Kālicaraṇa lived about 200 years ago. (Vide Preface pp. 1-2). Pūrṇānanda mentions the following tantras in his *Śrītattva Cintāmaṇi* :—

(1) ‘ भैरव्याश्र महातन्त्रे ’ (p. 377); (2) दक्षिणामूर्तितन्त्र (pp. 393, 408); (3) समयङ्कमहातन्त्र (p. 396); (4) श्रीक्रमसंहिता. (p. 427); (5) ज्ञानार्णव (pp. 463, 728, 730); (5) कल्पसूत्रमत (p. 550); (6) संमोहनतंत्र (p. 569); (7) भावचूडामणितन्त्र (p. 570); (8) तंत्रचूडामणि (p. 574); (9) कुलोडीशतंत्र (p. 575, 710); (10) युगार्णव-मत (p. 587); (11) महाराजतंत्र (p. 604); (12) कुलार्णव (pp. 616, 758); (13) शक्तियामलतंत्र (p. 618); (13) बृहत् श्रीक्रमतंत्र (pp. 658, 728); (14) यामल (p. 653) (15) त्रैलोक्यमोहन (p. 672); (16) मन्त्रनिर्णयतंत्र (p. 711); (17) त्रिपुरार्णवतंत्र (p. 751, 756); (18) रुद्रयामलतंत्र (p. 760). On pp. 502-503 a list of Tāntric *pañcās* is recorded. Aufrecht (C O I, 344^a) ascribes the following works to पूर्णानन्द परमहंस or पूर्णानन्दनाथ, pupil of ब्रह्मानन्द परमहंस :—

(1) ककारादिकालीसहस्रनामटीका; (2) कालिकाद्विसहस्रनामस्तुतिरत्नटीका; (3) कालिका-रहस्य; (4) गद्यबल्लरी; (5) तत्त्वचिंतामणि composed in 1577; (6) तत्त्वार्णवतंत्रांगिणी; (7) वामकेश्वरतंत्रे महात्रिपुरसुंदरीमन्त्रनामसहस्रं; (8) शाक्तक्रम, composed in 1572; (9) श्यामारहस्य; (10) षट्चक्रक्रम or षट्चक्रप्रभेद; (11) commentary on Brahmānanda’s षट्चक्रदीपिका and (12) सुभगोदयदर्पण.

Mr. J. N. Farquhar (*Outline of Religious Lit. of India*, 1920, p. 389) assigns Pūrṇānanda to “1499”. This date is misleading as the date “1499” is the Śaka year in which he wrote the श्रितत्वाचिंतामणि and it corresponds to

[continued]

“संमोहनतन्त्र¹—Quoted in *Tantrasāra* (Oxf. 95^b) in *Śaktīratnā-karā* (Oxf. 102), in *Śāktānanda taraṅgiṇī* (Oxf. 104^a), in *Āgama-tattvavilāsa*, in *Prāṇatoṣiṇī*, by Devanātha in *Tantrakaumudī*”.

Pūrṇānanda's reference to संमोहनतन्त्र mentioned above is contained in the following lines of the *Śrītatvacintāmaṇī*² :—

“यन्त्रं मन्त्रमयं प्रोक्तं मन्त्रात्मा देवतेति च ।

पुरा भगवता प्रोक्तं (v. l. प्रोक्तः) तन्त्रे सम्मोहनाख्यके ।

देहात्मनोर्यथाऽभेदोऽयन्त्रदेवतयोस्तथा ” ॥ २२ ॥

In the absence of any Mss of the महासंमोहनतन्त्र or the संमोहनतन्त्र I am unable to ascertain exactly the relation of these *tantras*, either textual or historical.

XXXIX

DATE OF A TĀNTRIC WORK CALLED THE ŚADAN-VAYAMAHĀRATNA— Before A. D. 1400.

The only reference to a work on *tāntra* called षडन्वयमहारत्न made by Aufrecht³ is the following :—

“षडन्वयमहारत्न—tantr. mentioned in *Prāṇatoṣiṇī*, p. 2”

The प्राणतोषिणी mentioned above is explained elsewhere⁴ by Aufrecht as a “comprehensive work on tantric rites compiled by Rāmatoṣaṇa Śarman in 1821 (L. 925, Radh 18)”

A. D. 1577. For an account of Pūrṇānanda's life and work vide *The Serpent Power* by Arthur Avalon, Madras 1924, Preface, pp. vi-viii. Pūrṇānanda belonged to *Kāśyapa gotra* and hailed from Pakrashi village. A Ms of *Viṣṇu purāṇa* copied by him in Śaka 1448 (= A. D. 1526) is now in the possession of Paṇḍit Hari Kishore Bhaṭṭāchārya of Kaitali. His name before he obtained Tantric Dikṣā was Jagadānanda.

¹ *Cata. Catalo.* I, 699^a.

² *Cal. San. Series*, (1936)—p. 569 (XVII Prakāśa).

In XVIII Prakāśa Pūrṇānanda mentions the अर्घ्यपात्र or utensils for Tantric worship. The पात्र should be of काञ्चन, रूप्य, नारिकेल, शङ्ख, अलावु, ताम्र, लोह, मृद, and काच (कुलोत्सादन कार्येषु काचपात्रं प्रशस्यते—p. 604). By काचपात्र a glass vessel is probably meant as glass was common in the 16th century.

³ *Cata. Catalo.* I, 679.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 361.

Aufrecht records no Mss. of this work षडन्वयमहारत्न and its mention in a late compilation of the 19th century has very little historic importance. I shall, therefore, quote here a large extract¹ from this work appearing in Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Śāradaṭīlaka* composed in A. D. 1493, which reads as follows:—

“ षडन्वयमहारत्ने इयमागवीदीक्षा दशविधेत्युक्तम् ।

तयथा—‘आणवी बहुधा दीक्षा शाक्तेयी शाम्भवी पुनः ।

एकैवेति विद्वद्भिः पठ्यते शास्त्रकोविदैः ॥

आणवी बहुधेत्युक्ता तद्भेदश्चाधुनोच्यते ।

स्मार्त्ता मानसिकी यौगी चाक्षुषी स्पर्शनी तथा ॥

वाचिकी मान्त्रिकी हौत्री शास्त्री चेत्याभिषेचिकी ।

विदेशस्थं गुरुः स्मृत्वा शिष्यं पाशत्रयं क्रमात् ॥

विश्लेष्य लययोगाङ्गविधानेन परे शिवे ।

सम्यग्योजनरूपैषा स्मार्त्ती दीक्षेति कथ्यते ॥

स्वसन्निधौ समासीनमालोक्य मनसा शुचिः ।

मलत्रयादुपायैर्या मोचिकी सा तु मानसी ।

योगोक्तक्रमतो यौगी शिष्यदेहे प्रविश्यतु ॥

गृहीत्वा तस्य चात्मानं स्वात्मना योजितात्मिका ।

योगदीक्षेति सा प्रोक्ता मलत्रयविनाशिनी ॥

शिवेऽहमिति निश्चित्य वीक्षणं करुणार्द्रया ।

दृशा सा चाक्षुषी दीक्षा सर्वपापप्रणाशिनी ।

स्वयं परशिवो भूत्वा निःसन्दिग्धमना गुरुः ॥

शिवहस्तेन शिष्यस्य समन्त्रं मूर्द्धनि संस्पृशेत् ।

स्पर्शदीक्षेति सा प्रोक्ता शिवाभिव्यक्तिकारिणी ।

इति ।

The above extract is sufficient to acquaint us with the form and nature of this tantric work. It may be possible to discover Mss. of this work in some parts of India, where the study of tantras was carried on with uncommon zeal in the early mediæval period of Indian history. Judging from Rāghavabhaṭṭa's extract from the षडन्वयमहारत्न in A. D. 1493 it would be reasonable to conclude that the work is older than A. D. 1400 or so.

¹ *Śāradaṭīlaka* with Rāghavabhaṭṭa's Comm. (Kashi Sans. Series No. 101) 1934, p. 192 (Comm. on verse 141 of 5th Paṭala of the text).

KAIYADEVA AND A MEDICAL OR BOTANICAL
GLOSSARY ASCRIBED TO HIM--Before A. D. 1450.

Prof. Ramavatara Sarmā in his list of Sanskrit lexicons¹ makes the following entry regarding a medical glossary by Keyadeva:--

“केय (कैय, कय्य) देवकृतः पथ्यापथ्यविवेकनिघण्टुः”

Aufrecht² gives us the following information regarding this work:--

“पथ्यापथ्यनिघण्टु³ med. by Devapandita (probably Keyadeva Pandita) B 4, 228. Quoted by Jñānavimala. Peters 2. 64.

Elsewhere⁴ Aufrecht mentions an author on botany as under:--

“कैदेव on botany. Quoted three times in the Nirṇayasindhū”

It appears to me that all the above references refer to one author's name with all its possible phonetic variations. If this view is accepted it would be useful to record in this note some data to fix at least one chronological limit to the work under reference.

Peterson States⁵ that *Jñānavimalaṅgaṇi* in his commentary on Maheśvara's *Śabdabhedapraśāsa* cites the *Pathyāpathyanighaṇṭu*⁶

¹ *Kalpadrakoṣa*, Vol. I (G. O. Series, Baroda, 1928). Intro. p. lvii.

² *Cata. Catalo.* Part I, p. 319.

³ There is a Ms called the “*Pathyāpathyanighaṇṭu*” in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona, viz. No. 923 of 1887-91. This copy is dated Śaka 1740 = A. D. 1818 and consists of 36 folios. No mention of कैदेव is made in this Ms. Probably the name of the work is पथ्यापथ्यविनिश्चय as will be seen from the following verse at the beginning of the work:—
“आलोक्य वैद्यतन्त्राणि यत्नादिषु निबध्यते । व्य(व्या)धीतानां चिकित्सार्थं पथ्यापथ्यविनिश्चयः ॥३॥”.

The name of the author is nowhere mentioned in the work.

A work called पथ्यापथ्यविवेक is described in *Madras Cata.* XXIII, p. 3862 but it appears to be a different work. The portions at the beginning and end of this Ms and the B. O. R. L Ms mentioned above do not tally.

⁴ *Cata. Catalo.* Part I, p. 128.

⁵ *Second Report*, p. 64.

⁶ Prof. Keith (*His. of Sans. Lit.* p. 512) observes:—

“Works on terms of dietics and cookery are also recorded (For descriptions of many later works cf. *Madras Catal.* xxxiii (1918) and the I. O. Catal. i. 973ff. ii, 750ff.)

referred to by Aufrecht in the entry quoted above. As pointed out by Peterson Jñāna-vimala composed his commentary under reference in *Samvat* 1694 = A. D. 1638. In view of this reference the work *Pathyāpāthyaniḥaṇṭu* must be much earlier than A. D. 1638. Then again if the author of a work on botany of the name quoted in the *Nirṇayasindhu* is identical with कैयदेव, the author of the *Pathyāpāthyaniḥaṇṭu*, the limit of A. D. 1638 gets narrowed down to A. D. 1612 because Kamalākarabhaṭṭa composed his *Nirṇayasindhu* in this year.¹

I am not aware of any references to the work of Kaiyadeva in earlier dated works so far pointed out by scholars and hence it would be advisable to record the following verses found by me in a commentary on a tāntric work composed in A. D. 1493 :—

“ वाराही शूकरी काष्ठी मागधी वृष्टिकारिका । इति

कैयदेवनिघण्टौ । वाराहीनाम्नी औषधी प्रसिद्धा ।

“ शमी लक्ष्मी शिवा, शीता, माडल्या केशहुत्फलम् ।” इति

कैयदेवनिघण्टौ लक्ष्मी शब्देन शमी उक्ता ”

The above extract is found in Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary² called the *Padārthāṭīkā* (on *Sāradātīlaka* of Lakṣmaṇadeśikendra) which was composed at Benares in A. D. 1493³

The two lines in the above extract viz. (1) “ वाराही etc. ” and (2) “ शमी etc. ” quoted by Rāghavabhaṭṭa as from कैयदेवनिघण्टु are not traceable in the B. O. R. I. Ms of a work called the पथ्यापथ्य-निघण्टु or more correctly “ पथ्यापथ्यविनिश्चय ” as stated in the body of the work. I have no other Mss. of the several works referred to in this note and ascribed to Kaiyadeva and hence I am unable to identify the two lines quoted by Rāghavabhaṭṭa from *Kaiyadeva-niḥaṇṭu*. The question now arises : What is the exact nature of the work called the “ कैयदेवनिघण्टु ” from which Rāghavabhaṭṭa quotes in his comm. on the *Sāradātīlaka* ?

¹ Kane : *Hist. of Dharma*, I, p. 574.

² Vide my article on Rāghavabhaṭṭa in *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. III, No. 6 (March 1936) pp. 177-184 where I have proved that Rāghavabhaṭṭa, the author of the commentary on the *Sāradātīlaka* and Rāghavabhaṭṭa, the commentator of the *Sākuntala* are identical.

³ *Kashi Sanskrit Series*, No 107 (Tantra Śāstra Section No. 1) Benares, 1934, p. 460.

12 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

This question could be decisively answered only if the lines quoted by Rāghavabhaṭṭa are identified in an extant work of the name *Kaiyadevanighaṇṭu*. With a view to facilitate such an identification I shall record in this note the description of the following Ms of a work called the “पश्यापश्यविबोधक” which is definitely composed by Kaiyadeva :—

Dr. Eggeling¹ describes this Ms. as follows :—

No. 1240—“Foll. 60, writing of about 1770 A. D.—*Pathyā-pathyavibodhaka* (—*Nighaṇṭu*), a treatise on materia medica in 6 chapters (*varga*) by *Kaiyadeva* (*Keyadeva*, *Kaiideva*) Paṇḍita, son of *Sāraṅga* and grandson of *Paīmanābha* of the *Bhāradvājagotra*”²

It would appear from the above description that the कैयदेवनिघण्टु mentioned by Rāghavabhaṭṭa in 1493 A. D. is very probably identical with the work described by Dr. Eggeling which gives us the genealogy of the author, the title of the work as also the scope of the work. Even if the identification of the several works having analogous names as recorded above is not proved the fact remains that a glossary ascribed to one Kaiyadeva was known to Rāghavabhaṭṭa in 1493 A. D. as “*Kaiyadeva-nighaṇṭu*” and that it must have been composed before A. D. 1450 or so.

¹ *Cata. of Sans. Mss.* (India Office), Part V (1896), p. 980.

² This description is based on the following verses in the text of the work :—

Beginning—“भारद्वाजपवित्रगोत्रतिलकः श्रीपद्मनाभोऽभवत्

वेदव्याकृतिनाटकागमकथालंकारपारंगमः ।

तत्पुत्रो गुणभूषितः समभवत् सारंगनामा द्विजो

येन प्राणिगदोऽगदैरपहृतोऽसौ सर्वविद्यालयः ॥ २ ॥

तत्पुत्रः कैयदेवोऽस्ति वैद्यविद्याविशारदः ।

नामरत्नाकरो येन कृतोऽग्न्यो नामसागरः ॥ ३ ॥

नामरत्नाकरोक्तानां द्रव्याणां च रसादिषु ।

ग्रंथोऽयं क्रियते तेन पश्यापश्यविबोधकः ॥ ४ ॥

इहौषधीधातुधान्यद्रवपक्वान्मांसगः ।

स विहारोऽथ मिश्रश्च नानार्थो नवमः (!) स्मृतः ॥ ५ ॥ ”

End—

“छिन्नाद्रिकानां द्रव्याणां रसवीर्यादयः कृताः ।

सूरिणा कैयदेवेन यथाशास्त्रानुसारतः ॥

इति श्रीवैद्यकैयदेवपांडितविरचिते पश्यापश्यविबोधके मांसवर्गः समाप्तः ॥ ”

A MANUSCRIPT OF ŚAMKARASAMHITĀ FROM THE
LIBRARY OF KANHOJI ANGRĪA DATED ŚAKA
1648 (= A. D. 1726).

Śamkarasamhitā is a part of the *Skandapurāṇa*. Recently I came across a Ms¹ of this work with the following colophon :—

Folio 325—“ इति श्रीस्कंदपुराणे शंकरसंहितायां शिवरहस्यखंडे उषदेशकांडे
पंचाशीतितमोऽध्यायः ॥ इति शंकरसंहितायां शिवरहस्यकांडं समाप्तं ॥
॥ छ ॥ शुभमस्तु शिवं चास्तु ॥ शके १६४८ पराभव संवत्सरे आषाढ
शुद्ध प्रतिपदविवासेर द्वादशभद्रेन लिखितं ॥ शिवं चास्तु ॥ शुभं भवतु ॥
श्रीः ॥ ” etc.

The above copy was completed on *Sunday, 3rd July 1726*² by a Brahman copyist of the name Dādambhaṭṭa.

The last folio of the Ms. which is used as a cover page contains the following endorsement :—

“ कान्होजी सरखेलस्य ॥ पुस्तकं शिवतुष्टये ॥

This endorsement definitely proves that the Ms once belonged to Kanhoji Angria Sarkhel (= Lord of the Admiralty).

The above endorsement raises the question : Did Kanhoji Angria take any interest in Sanskrit Mss. like the Peshwas ?

This question cannot be answered positively or negatively for want of evidence. However, it appears that Kanhoji's interest in the *Skandapurāṇa* Ms referred to above was that of a religious devotee. This inference finds some support in the following letter³ of Kanhoji Angria (“ Before 1729 ? ”) published in the *Peshwa Daftar*.

¹ This Ms was in the possession of Mr. Vaidya (Kasaba Pesh, Poona city) but has been now acquired by the Bhandarkar Institute and is included in the Mss presented to the Institute by Mr. L. R. Raddi.

² *Indian Ephemeris* Vol. VI, p. 255.

³ *Peshwa Daftar* *Sel.* 43, Letter 98 [Before 1729 ?]

There was a dispute going on between Vedamūrṭi Kāśī Upādhye and Sangamesvarkar Joshi. The Peshwa ordered Kāśī Upādhye to appear before him for giving evidence. Kanhoji Angria writes to the Peshwa that the priest Kāśī Upādhye has been engaged by him for expounding the purāṇas (पुराणश्रवण) during the four monsoon months (चातुर्मास). He will be sent to the Peshwa after the completion of the monsoon period.

The above letter shows that Kanhoji Angria believed more in the पुराणश्रवण than in the secular matter of giving evidence in a dispute, which could wait for four months if not more. Apparently it was this interest in the पुराणश्रवण that explains the endorsement on the *Skandapurāṇa* Ms. referred to above. Kanhoji may have employed some Brahman copyists to get some purāṇa Mss. copied for him as the present copy prepared by one Dādambhaṭṭa clearly indicates.

Now the above copy of the *Śivasamhitā* completed on 3rd July 1726 may enable us to fix the date of the letter in the *Peshwa Daftar* referred to above. This date has not been fixed by the Editor of the *Peshwa Daftar* who only puts a limit to the date viz. "Before 1729" as Kanhoji died in A. D. 1729. The particulars about the date furnished by the letter are "रा ७ २५ जिल्काद". The Muhammadan month and day corresponding to "Sunday, 3rd July" in A. D. 1726 are "१४ जिल्काद". Is it possible to presume that the letter in the *Peshwa Daftar* under reference dated "२५ जिल्काद" was addressed by Kanhoji Angria to the Peshwa 11 days after the completion of the copy of the *Skandapurāṇa* Ms. on 3rd July 1726? If this presumption could be proved the date of the *Peshwa Daftar* letter would be equal to Thursday 14th July 1726.

REVIEWS

‘TWENTYONE WEEKS IN EUROPE’ (1930) by Raja Raghunathrao Shankarrao Pandit, Pant Sachiv, Raja of Bhore, published by R. V. Deshpande, Darbar, Vakil, Poona (1937). Price Rupees Twenty, pp. 527.

This is a handsomely bound volume written by His Highness the Rajasaheb of Bhore describing in detail his impressions of his two trips to Europe (in 1930 and 1937) particularly of the first one. The Rajasaheb has chosen English as his medium for two reasons, firstly, an account in Marathi of the trip had already appeared in a Marathi weekly of Satara from the pen of a member of the Rajasaheb’s party and secondly because there are very few books in English on the lines chalked out by the Rajasaheb. The work contains about two hundred photographs illustrative of the sights seen by the exalted author and at the beginning there is an excellent coloured photograph of His Highness dressed in true Indian fashion. Most of the photographs are well chosen and well executed and vastly enhance the value and usefulness of the work. It is written in a simple and homely narrative style. It describes in detail the several places of interest, cities, countries and high personages visited by the Rajasaheb. The book will be very interesting not only to those who have never been to Europe, but also to those who have visited it, since the detailed descriptions given by the observant and distinguished author will evoke similar sentiments in the minds of the latter class of readers and will revive many fading but joyful memories. The general get-up is excellent, the printing and binding leave hardly anything to be desired. The only fear is that the price of the book is so heavy that it will probably be beyond the means of many people. The work is divided into three parts, the first in 9 chapters (from pages 3-126) is introductory while the second part gives (in pp. 128-281) a detailed account of the tour in Great Britain and Ireland, and the third part (in nine chapters from pp. 283 to 461) is concerned with the tour on the continent. At the end there are appendices giving a diary of the tour of

1930, extracts from news-papers in the west *re* the Rajasaheb's tour, letters from the Private Secretaries to H. M. the King-Emperor and the Prince of Wales, and messages from H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, Lord Baden-Powell and Dr. Annie Besant and speeches of His Highness the Rajasaheb in London, a bibliography (about guide books) and a glossary of difficult or technical words. The Rajasaheb points out how the life of westerners is high and ennobling and is impressed by their organisation, their ceaseless activities; but at the same time he does not gloss over their failings, the high cost of living, their superstitions and elaborate ceremonials. One misses however the Rajasaheb's weighty remarks on the condition of the poor and the labouring classes in the West or the political and economic repercussions of the British and other peoples on our country. Probably owing to his high position as the ruler of a state he could not express his mind freely on these topics or his attention was not directed by those who were in charge of the tour to these problems. It is also unfortunate that the distinguished author did not go to Russia and see for himself the state of things there and the colossal sociological experiment that is being tried there.

We have not noticed any serious inaccuracies in the work. On p. 64 it is stated that at Geneva there is the beautiful confluence of the Rhone and the Rhine. The last is probably a slip of the pen for the Aare.

Altogether the work under review is a very good addition to books on travel written by Indians in English and reflects great credit on His Highness.

P. V. Kane

VIJAYANAGARA, ORIGIN OF THE CITY AND THE
EMPIRE By N. Venkataramanayya, M. A., Ph. D., Pp.
iv+191+2 maps. 6½" × 9½". Bulletin of the Depart-
ment of Indian History and Archaeology of the University
of Madras No. 4, 1933. Price Rs. 2/ or Sh. 3/ Paper cover.

The work before us attempts at unravelling certain knotty points in regard to the early days of the Vijayanagara Empire. The author is a firm believer in the stone-dead theory of the Telugu origin of the founders of Vijayanagara which he has tried to substantiate with the help of the following arguments: (1) That the city of Vijayanagara was not built by king Ballāla III. To prove this he tells us that (a) Hampe was outside the Hoysala kingdom (pp. 16-21); (b) The Yādavas were in possession of this territory around Hampe (pp. 21-22); and (c) Kampila Deva succeeded the Yādavas in this region in A. D. 1330 (p. 22). (2) The second set of arguments centres round the proposition that the ruler of Kampili was Harihara (the founder of the Vijayanagara House). This is propped up by the following arguments: (a) That Kampili was Doravadi (p. 99); (b) That the ruler of Kampili was Harihara; and (c) that Harihara was a relative of Kanyā Nāyaka of Warangal. (3) The author is led to the inevitable argument—which is the third and the last one—that the founders of Vijayanagara came from the Telugu land. He backs this by asserting that (a) Kanyā Nāyaka became independent; (b) that one of his relatives apostatized from Islam and revolted at Kampili; and (c) that this relative was no other than Harihara I, who ruled over the country which Kampila Deva had ruled before him in A. D. 1327 (pp. 93-95). And to prevent the above tottering edifice from collapsing, Dr. Ramanayya uses the evidence of the crest and the seal, and the supposed similarity of administrative institutions, as a plausible support (pp. 102 seq.).

All these arguments will appeal only to those who have a superficial knowledge of Vijayanagara history. The work merely adds to the literature on Vijayanagara without diminishing in the least the difficulties of the subject or enhancing the reputation of the author. No point is gained by dwelling on such fallacies like the following: That Ballāla I built a city on the top of the Hemakūṭa hill (p. 53); that Bukka I had a Muhammadan

son (p. 95, note); that Harihara I was a follower of Islam (p. 96); that he reverted to Hinduism before A. D. 1344 (p. 101); that the sons of Sangama had to wage several wars against the Hoysala monarchs and their dependents before they could establish their authority over the Hoysala kingdom (p. 135); that the Sultan of Delhi gave the city of Vijayanagara to Harihara I in A. D. 1336 (p. 168); and quite a number of others with which the book abounds. The work unfortunately fails to satisfy even novices in Vijayanagara history. The only good point about it is that it attempts to soar high although in unfamiliar spheres.

B. A. Saletore

CERA KINGS OF THE ŚAṄGHAM PERIOD By K. G.

Sesha Aiyar, B. A., B. L., Pp. iv+183. 5"×8". Luzac & Co., London 1937. Price Rs. 4/ or 6 Sh. Calico bound.

The little work deals with an ancient line of kings of southern India. They were the Cera rulers of the western coast. The work is based entirely on the classical masterpieces of the Śaṅgham *Narīṇai* period which has been a subject of much speculation among scholars. Of the many works of the Śaṅgham age the learned author has selected the *Patirru-patti* which deals exclusively with the Cera kings; and on its basis, as well as on that of others like the *Ahaṇānūru Narīṇai*, etc., he gives us a wellnigh complete dynastic account of the Cera kings from Udiyan Cerālātan onwards (pp. 4-69). A substantial part of the narrative centres round the vexed question of the date of the Śaṅgham poets (pp. 97-122). According to Mr. Aiyar the Śaṅgham age started about the second century A. D. (pp. 119-120). The most pleasant part of the work is that relating to the social, political, and religious condition of the land under the Ceras (pp. 132-156).

Mr. Aiyar has skilfully selected his data and given us a very profitable piece of work. The nature of his materials, however, has often made him speculate in regard to places as well as persons (e. g., while discussing the location of Satiyaputra. pp. 18-19, etc.). He sometimes accepts wrong identifications as correct (e. g., that relating to Naoura, p. 29). But generally speaking he has given ample evidence of diligent study, judicious treatment, and unbiassed intention in his work which students of the history and culture of southern India will warmly appreciate and welcome.

B. A. Saletore

धर्मकोशः-- व्यवहारकाण्डम् (पूर्वार्धः-- व्यवहारमातृका) edited by Tarkatīrtha Lakṣmaṇaśāstri Joshi, and published by the Prajñāpāṭhaśālamaṇḍala, Wai (Satara), 1937; pp. xxxiv+30+598+20+84+72, price Rs. 16.

We have here the first volume of an encyclopaedic work on the Dharmaśāstra. The stupendous nature of the task undertaken by the band of workers at Wai under the leadership of Nārāyaṇaśāstri Marathe (now turned recluse) and continued under the able guidance of Tarkatīrtha Lakṣmaṇaśāstri Joshi will be evident to any one who goes over the list of works that have been utilised for the compilation of the present volume. The list comprises 113 works, of which 18 exist only in manuscript form and of which some had practically to be re-edited before they could be used. All this material has been carefully digested under pertinent topics, arranged with a perspicuous logical order and, also chronologically in so far as it was possible, and has been furnished with foot-notes containing exhaustive cross-references. Indexes of first lines and important technical terms with English renderings and two exhaustive tables of contents, arranged according to the topics and to the authorities quoted, materially enhance the utility of the work.

The value of such an instrument of research can hardly be over-estimated. For the student of Indian sociology and Sanskrit literature, for the political and social worker, for the practical lawyer, it would be simply indispensable.

The work has been planned by men who have been actuated by the highest patriotic motives, who are completely free from any form of obsession and wish to serve their society by a conscientious pursuit of historical and objective truth. The following extract from the Introduction will show how this service to historical truth has been consciously kept before themselves by the editors of the Encyclopaedia :

'The original texts and the other extracts have been so digested in the Dharmakośa that readers might find an orderly sequence of cultural evolution in regard to each topic dealt with. The Dharmakośa will thus be making available material for the study of the following three subjects, which are of the highest sociological value :

- (1) Hindu Law and Politics.....
- (2) Religion, ethics and philosophy.....
- (3) Social institutions.....

The execution of the plan deserves the highest commendation. It is just the kind of work that increases the prestige and cultural level of a country. The price of the work, considering the labour and expense involved for such a gigantic undertaking and the solid matter packed in the 800 and odd pages in super-royal size, will be found to be exceedingly reasonable. It is to be warmly hoped that the work will be largely patronised by all lovers of India.

V. G. Paranjpe

प्रकटार्थविवरणम् (ब्रह्मसूत्रशांकरभाष्यव्याख्यानम् Vol. I). Editor—Dr. T. R. Chintamani, senior lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Madras; Publisher—University of Madras; 1935; Rs. 6.

In this belated notice, which I must begin by offering my apologies, it is hardly worth while going into the contents of the book. The second Volume, which is to contain a detailed introduction and appendices, will be shortly published, or has probably been already published. Suffice it to say that this is a worthy addition to a most meritorious Sanskrit Series contributed by scholars, trained by Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastriyar in research, and published under the auspices of the University of Madras. The work is earlier than Ānandagiri (circa 1200 A. D.) and therefore is very valuable for purposes of a comparative and historical study of the Vedānta doctrine. Besides quoting the older doctrines and well-known later authors like Prabhākara, Kumārila and Udayana, the author has criticised very severely, even discourteously, the views of Bhāskara and Keśava, as also of Mādhava and Amṛtānanda and the Brahmaprakāśikākāra.

He notes which of the explanations of Śaṅkarācārya are according to the older Vṛttikāras and which form departures from the older tradition. It often happens that when Rāmānujācārya criticises the Advaita Vedānta doctrines they are not to be found in the writings of Śaṅkarācārya. With this work before us it will be possible to trace the origin of the views controverted by Rāmānujācārya. Then again there are obvious points of contact between the work and the commentaries of Ānandagiri. The expression संग्रहवाक्यं विवृणोति (p. 18) immediately reminds one of the way how Ānandagiri has pointed out all such संग्रहवाक्यानि in the Bhāṣyas of Śaṅkarācārya. The work has been sumptuously printed and there are fewer misprints than might be expected on account of the obvious disadvantages from which the Madras press suffers in printing with Devanāgarī type.

V. G. Paranjpe

VIMUTTIMAGGA AND VISSUDDHIMAGGA, a Comparative Study, by P. V. Bapat, M. A., Ph. D., Professor of Pali, Fergusson College, Poona, 1937.

Dr. Bapat's study incorporates his dissertation for the Doctorate of the Harvard University and it embodies the conclusions which a detailed comparison of the Chinese translation of the Vimuttimagga of Upatissa with the Vissudhimagga of Buddhaghosa have led him to adopt. The Vimuttimagga was not so far accessible to those who do not happen to be Chinese scholars. In this work in addition to a detailed summary of the Vimuttimagga the reader would be very thankful to Dr. Bapat for the results of his comparison, which renders it highly probable that Buddhaghosa is later than Upatissa and has used the Vimuttimagga in writing his Visuddhimagga. As an additional feature of the book, it may also be mentioned that in order to facilitate comparison with the Visuddhimagga, the author has given, in several places, passages which are renderings into Pali from the Chinese version. This enables one to note, at a glance, the similarities and dis-similarities between the two books.

V. G. Paranjpe

PUṢṬIMĀRGĪYA-SIDDHĀNTA-RATNAHĀRA, or Doctrines

of Puṣṭimārga, by K. N. Shah, Bhuleshwar Bombay
Price Re. 1.

Śrī Vallabha, the great Vaiṣṇava teacher propounded his devotional philosophy, and founded what is called 'Puṣṭi' mārga, translated as 'the Path of divine Grace' by the late savant Sir R. G. Bhandarkar. The word 'Puṣṭi' has created much misunderstanding among the people, and as the philosophy stoutly rejects the 'Sāṃnyāsa' and preaches the ways and life of a household gentleman-Gṛhastha, the philosophy as well as the methods laid down by Śrī Vallabha have been ridiculed by the so-called supporters of the path of renunciation-'Sāṃnyāsa'; and a book like the present was needed to enlighten the general reader, who would like to know, what the great teacher really preached.

The book is written in good Marathi, and is divided into seven chapters. First chapter is devoted to a general introduction of the subject, and the learned author gives quotations showing how 'Puṣṭi', really means, 'divine grace' and not, as is actually written in Hastings' E. R. E. 'a life of Social enjoyment' (Puṣṭimārga 'the primrose path of dalliance'). Śrī Vallabha himself and his follower-saints have, of course, explained Puṣṭi as 'Bhagavad-anugraha'. 'Lord Kṛṣṇa is my sole resort' is the motto of this sect and the second chapter explains and justifies how this is true, and the author explains that real bliss lay not in mere chanting this motto, but in actually attaching oneself to the Supreme Lord. In the third chapter we come to a rather typical matter, the Supreme greatness of the 'Guru', the teacher, and that teacher is the only one privileged to call himself so, by having occupied the seat of the original teacher. This is a special feature of the sect. The learned author, of course, supports the dogma and has explained the situation with great length. This chapter, covering more than 40 pages in a small book of 120 pp. can be called the centre of the subject.

Initiation, of a person, into the sect, is called 'Brahmasambandha,' and is performed, even by 'post' by the Chief of the Sect, on payment of a small fee. Next chapters 4-7 treat of other principles to be followed by the members of the sect and these are explained with numerous quotations from Sanskrit works of the great teacher. Last, the 7th chapter, again reverts to the subject of 'Puṣṭi', where the author lays great stress on 'complete Selfless devotion to the supreme god-head, Lord Kṛṣṇa'.

S. N. Tadpatrikar

Vol. XIX]

[PART III

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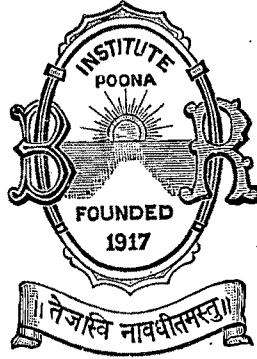
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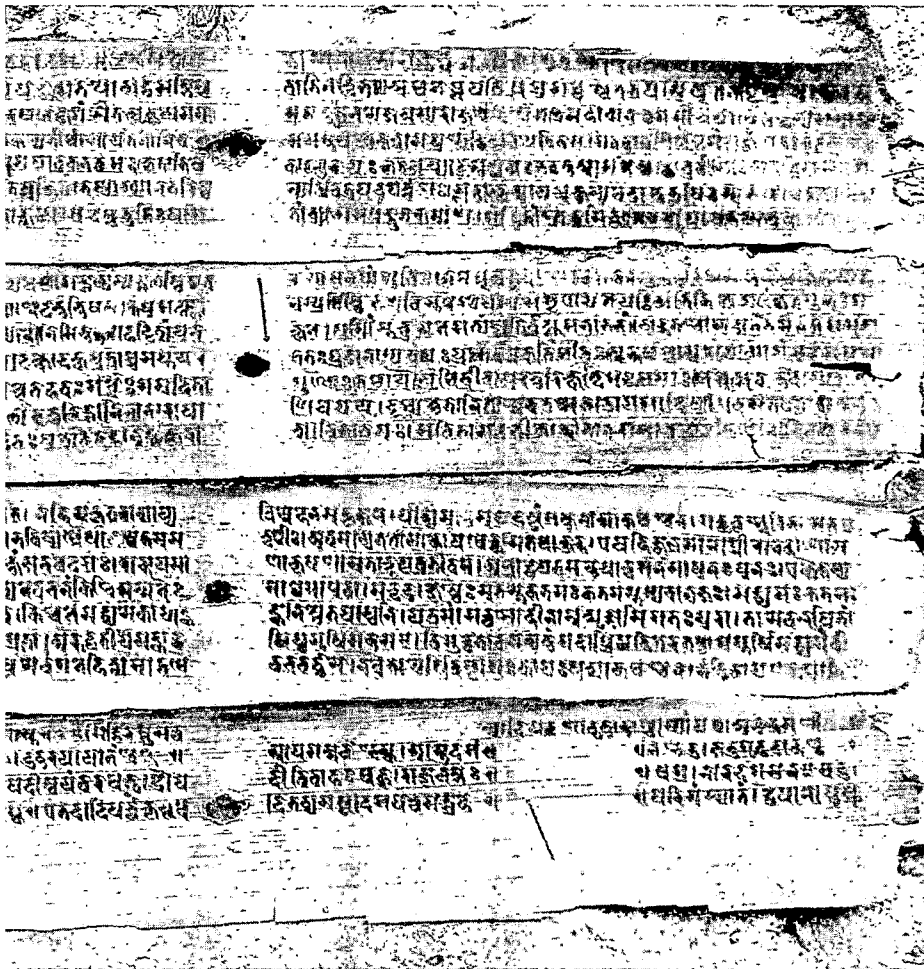
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years old) of the Adiparvan.

(By courtesy of Rajaguru Hemraj Pandit, C.I.E., of Nepal.

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APRIL 1938

[PART III

EPIC STUDIES

BY

V. S. SUKTHANKAR

VII. THE OLDEST EXTANT MS. OF THE ĀDIPARVAN¹

Introductory

A discovery of capital importance for Mahābhārata studies is the accidental but singularly lucky find by Manyavara Gururaju Hemaraj Panditjiu, C. I. E., D. P. I., the well-known savant of Nepal, of a new Nepālī MS. of the Ādiparvan, which according to the Panditjiu is between seven hundred and eight hundred years old, and therefore easily the oldest extant MS. of the Mahābhārata. It was only a few years ago that I had remarked in the "Prolegomena" to the Ādiparvan: "Only those who know the difficulties in the way of obtaining any MS. from Nepal will be in a position to appreciate fully the debt which the editor and the other members of the Mahābhārata Editorial Board, and beyond that the whole world of Indologists, owe to the Rajaguru.

¹ This paper was prepared for publication in collaboration with my assistant Mr. M. V. Vaidya, M. A., of this Institute.—Its substance was communicated to the Classical Section of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum (1937), Prof. F. W. Thomas being in the chair.—For the first instalment of the series, cf. *JBBRAS.* (NS.) 4, 157. ff.; the following five have appeared in these *Annals*: vol. 11, pp. 165-191, 259-283; vol. 16, pp. 90-113; vol. 17, pp. 185-202; vol. 18, pp. 1-76.

Sanskritists have much to hope for from the dispassionate efforts of this truly patriotic and cultured Rajaguru, who loses no opportunity of placing his immense learning and unbounded resources freely at the disposal of all serious workers in the field of Sanskrit research". How prophetic those words have proved and how the Rajaguru has more than justified our expectations, is manifested in the recovery of this singular old Nepālī MS.

The MS., of which complete collations and specimen photos (reproduced here in facsimile¹) were kindly sent to me for my use by Rajaguru Hemraj Panditjiu, was recently acquired by him and is in his possession. The material is palm-leaf and the writing, which is throughout uniform, is in old faded ink. It contains only the first parvan of the Mahābhārata, but is complete in itself, there being no folios missing. The average folio measures 21" × 2½" and each folio contains uniformly 7 lines of writing, except the last folio, which has only 4½ lines. The MS. is not dated but the high antiquity claimed for it is authenticated, apart from its antique look,² by convincing internal evidence. The best proof is that it is almost entirely free from those modern accretions which are given in Appendix I of the Ādiparvan Volume, as also in great part from those other smaller insertions which are listed in the foot-notes. More astonishing still is the fact that out of the textual *emendations* hazarded by the editor, fifty per cent are actually documented by this MS. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that this remarkable MS. opportunely affords welcome support to the Critical Edition in most crucial matters. Moreover many of the variant readings of the new MS. are difficult and obscure, marking out its text as distinctly archaic. And, finally, in many of its readings it agrees fairly closely with a certain other MS. from Nepal, which is symbolized as N₃ in the critical apparatus of the Ādi, and which is again the oldest dated MS. of the the Ādiparvan. The tradition is therefore fairly complete and well attested.

¹ The photographs are of the written surfaces of the first and last folios and two intermediate folios (one of which latter is the penultimate folio of the MS.).

² I have compared the script with the specimens reproduced in Bühler's *Paleographische Tafeln*. It comes closest to the script of Tafel VI, No. XI (Cambridge MS. No. 1691, 2 of A.D. 1179).

The greatest value of this MS. lies, as hinted already, in its corroboration of the constituted text of the Critical Edition. Indirectly it attests and justifies, as an independent witness, the principles according to which the reconstruction of the epic text is achieved, thus placing the constituted text on still surer foundations.

Long Insertions of the Vulgate

Hitherto, it may be observed, the data of the Śārādā and the "K" versions had mainly to vouchsafe for the purification of the epic text attempted in the Critical Edition. Now, the omissions of the constituted text are supported from a *new* source and from an entirely *different* version, the Nepālī. Our MS. is in fact surprisingly free from most of the matter pronounced to be spurious on the evidence of the then available MSS. of different versions. The *longer* insertions given in Appendix I are conspicuous by their absence in this MS. Here is a list of the long passages which are missing in the new MS.

No. 1: The Brahmā-Gaṇeśa complex; inserted at different points in K₄-6 Dn Dr D₂-12.14 S, i. e., om. in its totality only in K₀-3 Dr.

No. 13: A passage of six lines ins. in K (except K₁) V₁ (marg.) Da Dn Dr-7 G 1. 2. 4. 5.

No. 14: The Purāṇic story of Aruṇa, who is made to act as the charioteer of the Sun; ins. in K 4 (marg.) Ñ V₁ B D (except D₅; D₂ on suppl. fol.) T 1 G 1. 2. 4. 5.

No. 41: Names of the hundred sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra; ins. in K 3. 4. Ñ 2. 3 V 1 B D (except D₅).

No. 42: Story of the birth of Abhimanyu; ins. in K 3. 4. Ñ V 1 B D (except D₅).

No. 43: Story of the birth of Karna; ins. in K 4. Ñ V 1 B D (except D₅).

No. 61: Details of the marriage of Pāṇḍu and Mādrī, subst. for 1. 105. 4-7, in K₄ Ñ B D.

No. 62: Story of the birth of Duḥśalā; ins. in *all* MSS. except Ś 1 K₀-3.

No. 71-72: Details of the picnic (jalakṛīḍā); ins. in K 4. Ñ B D.

No. 75: Story of *piṣṭodaka* given to Droṇa's son; ins. in *all* MSS. except Ś 1 K₀-3.

No. 76 : Arjuna's pre-eminence among the pupils of Droṇa ; ins. in K 4 Ñ B D T 2 G 1. 2. 4. 5.

No. 78 : Description of the conquest and annexation of Drupada's kingdom by the Pāṇḍavas exacted by Ācārya Droṇa as *gurudakṣiṇā* ; ins. in K 4 Da 1 Dn D 2 (supp. fol. *sec m.*) 4. 5 S.

No. 80 : Installation of Yudhiṣṭhira as heir-apparent ; ins. in *all* MSS. except Ś 1 Ko-3.

No. 81 : Kanikaṇṭi ; ins. in *all* MSS. except Ś 1 Ko-3.

No. 85 : Story of the boat sent by Vidura for the use of the Pāṇḍavas ; ins. in *all* MSS. except Ś 1 K o-3.

No. 118 : Śvetaki-episode ; ins. in *all* N MSS. Cf. also passage No. 120 ins. in T 2 G 3,4, and No. 121 ins. in Ś 1 Ko. 1-4.

Short Insertions of the Vulgate

Like these long insertions our MS. omits most of the *short* insertions given in the foot-notes to the constituted text. There are more than two thousand of such passages, the majority naturally from the Southern Recension. The following instances, selected at random, of short passages omitted by our MS. may be mentioned for the sake of illustration : 128*, 220*, 250*, 301*, 313*, 402*, 429*, 463*, 528*, 558*, 560*, 564*, 573*, 693*, 756*, 892*, 1001*, 1036*, 1038*, 1129*, 1131*, 1188*, 1242*, 1308*, 1312*, 1330*, 1331*, 1341*, 1365*, 1368*, 1377*, 1379*, 1444*, 1477*, 1492*, 1494*, 1503*, 1515*, 1516*, 1517*, 1686*, 1729*, 1742*, 1793*, 1824*, 1847*, 2132*.

These, it may be noted, are some of the many passages (extending from three to twenty lines) which are found in *all* N MSS. (except Ś 1 K)—with or without some S MSS.—but which are omitted by our MS. The following emissions from among these deserve special notice :

128* : This is a passage of seventy lines, consisting of the longer version of the contents of the Āraṇyaka-parvan, found in certain MSS. of the Northern Recension. It may be noted in passing that in its Parvasaṃgraha chapter, the new MS. gives *throughout* the shorter version, which has been adopted in the Critical Edition and which agrees with the version of this adhyāya in P. P. S. Sastri's edition of the Southern Recension.

560* : By omitting this, our MS. omits the reference to Pāṇḍu, found in *all* N MSS. except those of the Kāśmīri Version.

693* : This is a passage of sixteen lines and contains the famous couplet *na jātu kāmāḥ kāmānām* etc., recurring in many places.

892* : This passage, occurring after 1. 89. 51, is found in *all* N MSS. In the place where it is inserted there appears to have been a lacuna in the original, filled up by the two recensions in different ways. In the constituted text the place is marked by asterisks.

1036* : Details of Brhaspati's cohabitation with Mamata, wife of Utathya and the *godharma* mentioned in that context, inserted in *all* N MSS. except Ś₁ Ko-2 Ń₁. 3.

1341* : A passage of ten lines found in *all* MSS. except Ś₁ K. It describes the approach of Droṇa to Rāma Jāmadagnya for the *astravidyā*.

1793* : A passage of seven lines found in *all* MSS. except T₂ Gr. 5. 6 M.

These significant omissions, major and minor, prove that the text of our MS. is *shorter than that of all other MSS. hitherto known*. Accordingly we find that in the Parvasaṃgraha chapter of this MS. the figure of the stanzas for the Ādi is given as 7784, which brings down the figure of the Vulgate by eleven hundred and the figure even of the Śāradā MS. by two hundred stanzas! It is however, curious that it apparently has the same number of *adhyāyas* as the Critical Edition viz. 225, while the Parvasaṃgraha figure for the same is 218 both in this MS. and the Critical Edition. In other words in differing from its own Parvasaṃgraha figure, our MS. exactly agrees with the critical text! The number of *adhyāyas* in the Vulgate, it may be noted, is 234, while that of the Southern Recension can be computed to extend to about 250 *adhyāyas*. On the other hand, the number of *adhyāyas* in the Kumbakonam edition reaches the astonishing figure 260!

Small Infiltrations

Even though our MS. is appreciably shorter than any other MS. of the Ādi so far known, we cannot indeed suppose it to have been absolutely free from inflation and contamination. This MS. has in fact just a few insertions not countenanced by the Critical Edition. For instance :

App. I, No. 12 : The *first three* lines of this passage (of sixteen lines) are *substituted* in our MS. in place of 1. 19. 1-2. This substitution is common to $\tilde{N}_3$ also ! The passage is characteristic of all N MSS. except those of the Kaśmīrī Version.

App. I, No. 33 : This passage is found in all N MSS., the Kaśmīrī Version showing variation only² in sequence. The passage is inserted after 1. 56. 31, and is a continuation of the eulogy of the Mahābhārata, serving as an introduction to that redaction of the epic which begins with the episode of Uparicara. Here our MS. agrees with $\tilde{N}_1$ in omitting lines 3-11.

App. I, No. 58 : This passage also is a common heritage of all N MSS. It describes how Sūrya, when invoked by Kuntī, presses her to have sexual intercourse with him.

Besides these major additions, some insertions from the foot-notes to the constituted text have filtered their way into our MS. The number of such passages is not very large, being about ninety, and they consist mainly of *single lines*. These are the passages in question : 90*, 220*, 288*, 291*, 476*, 478*, 479*, 485*, 494*, 495*, 549*, 601*, 678*, 708*, 709*, 710*, 750*, 868*, 873*, 875*, 879*, 903*, 906*, 909*, 962*, 999*, 1004*, 1013*, 1017*, 1018*, 1022*, 1068*, 1087*, 1096*, 1104*, 1110*, 1120*, 1124*, 1141*, 1142*, 1144*, 1146*, 1148*, 1155*, 1162*, 1166*, 1173*, 1178*, 1186*, 1196*, 1212*, 1219*, 1224*, 1230*, 1240*, 1305*, 1309*, 1357*, 1430*, 1436*, 1463*, 1470*, 1623*, 1644*, 1665*, 1698*, 1786*, 1789*, 1796*, 1812*, 1815*, 1818*, 1855*, 1882*, 1883*, 1919*, 1920*, 1921*, 1922*, 1951*, 1953*, 1960*, 1975*, 2016*, 2087*, 2097*.

All these insertions are uniformly met with in all N MSS., or at least in the majority of N MSS., and not a single one of them is sporadic.

An insertion of a single stanza from the *yadāśrauṣam* section (adhy. 1) is the only *unique insertion* in this MS.

Conflation of Mahābhārata texts

Here we may note, in passing, the light this MS. sheds in an indirect way on how the text gradually gets inflated. At several places we find additions made *marginally* by another and a later hand. For instance, after 1. 5. 26, we find a marginal insertion of two lines *स्यमित्यवगच्छामि* etc., which is taken from a passage

of eight lines found in all N MSS. (except Ko. 2 D₅). Again, after 1. 19. 16 we have a marginal addition of two lines महानदीभिर्वह्नीभिः etc., of which the first line is merely a *variant* of a line included in our text, but the second is an "additional" line found chiefly in late Northern MSS. of the Central Group. It is clear that the copyist of such a MS. as this, without further investigation—which of course is not his business!—cannot determine whether the lines added in the margin belonged to its original exemplar, or whether they were taken from some other source. It is not the custom of the copyist to be very squeamish about such things. He copies whatever he finds before him, provided it makes sense and has something to do with the epic. It is thus that the corpus has got gradually inflated to its maximum capacity. Cf. the example of K₄ cited in the Ādiparvan Volume (Prolegomena, p. XII).

Minor Readings

Let us now consider the individual readings of our MS. Here also the agreement of this MS. with the constituted text is quite remarkable. That it cannot and must not be expected to have complete agreement with the constituted text is only obvious; like all other Mahābhārata MSS., it also represents a particular version of the epic, and nothing more.

Our MS. shows in point of readings the *greatest* agreement with MSS. of the Nepālī group: quite naturally, as it is written in the same script and belongs to the same provincial version. In particular, its agreements with Ñ₃, the best and the oldest MS. of the Nepālī version belonging to our apparatus, are unique and striking. The total number of variant readings in our MS. amounts approximately to a little more than 2500. Out of these, its unique agreements with Ñ₃ (or in a few places along with one or two other MSS.) against all other MSS. count over 500. This shows that our MS. definitely belongs to the Nepālī version, and is not a copy of a MS. of the Śāradā or "K" version—a very important point—though it has marked affinities in many a place with the latter groups. Here are appended about sixty instances, chosen at random, as specimens of the *unique* agreements of our MS. with Ñ₃.

14.17 ^b लोभाभिभूतया (for लोभपरी- तया)	90.32 ^b महौजसम् (for यमक्षणात्)
16.26 ^b सर्वेषां तपसा (for रसानां पयसा)	90.42 अभग्ना (for अरुग्वान्)
16.31 ^c भ्रान्तैः (for सर्वैः)	92.15 ^c नृक्षमैः (for पुत्रैः)
17.6 ^c देवेन (for चक्रेण)	93.14 ^c यौश्वापि (for दिवे वै)
17.24 ^d गिरिमाभितः प्रतन्य (for गगन- मभिप्रपद्य)	93.33 ^{cd} अष्टौ वसुस्तान्मुनिसत्तमः (for राजन्वसुनष्टौ तपोधनः)
19.4 ^a संयुतं (for सत्त्वैश्च)	94.55 ^b वशस्थाः (for विधेयाः)
21.3 ^d उवाच ह (for अभाषत)	94.84 ^a न तदन्यो (for नान्यथा तत्)
27.23 ^a सयुग्मं (for सफलं)	96.17 ^{ab} प्राक्संचार्यद्भिः (for ते द्राग्भ्राजद्भिः)
30.15 ^d सत्तमाः (for पञ्चगाः)	99.6 ^b आशीर्वरो (for आसीतरी)
32.8 ^b प्रायशो (for भ्रातरो)	100.1 ^b सा पुनः (for शनकैः)
33.21 ^d समन्ततः (for सविद्युतः)	103.17 ^a तोषयामास (for वृत्तेनाराध्य)
38.22 ^d ब्रह्मन्महामनाः (for राजा महा- तपाः)	111.12 ^b तत्र मानवाः (for मनुजा भुवि)
44.14 ^d जगृहे तदा (for प्रत्यगृह्यत)	111.26 ^a जातं ते (for नष्टं मे)
45.2 ^a राज्ञा (for ब्रह्मन्)	111.28 ^d भगिन्यां (for स्वैरिण्यां)
48.1 ^d पुरुषर्षभाः (for परमर्षयः)	113.7 ^d पुराभवत् (for सनातनः)
48.10 ^d यज्ञे (for सत्रे)	115.6 ^a नार्हो (for स्तम्भो)
52.4 ^d महाबलान् (for विषोत्खणान्)	116.7 ^a एकां गतां (for आत्मसमां)
53.34 ^d कथ्यते (for द्युतज)	122.26 ^d सम्यक् (for श्राम्यन्)
55.23 ^f अभिरोचितः (for अनुचिन्तितः)	123.71 ^b दशभिः (for निशितैः)
56.19 ^c मर्हो चापि जयेत्कृत्स्नां	134.10 ^{cd} पुरतः पौरैः (for पुरुषैरुष्टुः)
57.55 ^a गन्धवती (for सत्यवती)	134.24 ^d स्पर्शनी (for प्रयोगैः)
60.5 ^d धृष्णश्चेति (for संवर्तश्च)	136.12 ^d वाह्निभिः (for मन्त्रिणा)
61.2 ^a चरितं (for तत्त्वेन)	141.2 ^d राक्षसानां यशोहर
64.34 ^b क्रमानपि (for अपरैर्द्विजैः)	143.22 ^d मणिह्वेमचितेषु (for पद्मोत्पल- युतेषु)
71.26 ^f शकलीकृतम् (for तिलशः कृतम्)	149.7 ^a फलं प्राप्य (for परं पापं)
76.26 ^a भजस्व तस्मान्मा (for बहस्व पित्रा मां)	149.7 ^d कुतस्त्वात्मवतो (for श्रेयो आत्म- वधो)
79.16 ^c दत्त्वा स्वं प्रतिपत्स्यामि	149.11 ^b न च कर्ता (for न नृशंसं)
84.3 ^c यश्च (for *सन्सम्)	154.16 ^d सकाशं (for नगरं)
89.33 ^f संवरणं रणे (for स एनं समरे)	157.4 ^b सत्येन (for शास्त्रेण)

Here it is necessary to emphasize the curious circumstance that while the new MS. is almost on a par with $\tilde{N}_3$ in respect of *individual readings*, it is far superior to $\tilde{N}_3$ in so far that it lacks about ninety per cent. of the *insertions* which $\tilde{N}_3$ has in common with the Vulgate, that is to say, the Bengali-Devanāgarī group. It thus gives its welcome support to the Śāradā-K group and our Critical Edition as regards that large mass of passages in which

these texts are lacking. It may be incidentally remarked that $\tilde{N}_3$ is relatively purer than the other two Nepālī MSS. and occasionally has definite leanings towards the Śāradā or Kaśmīrī version. These additional passages in MSS. like $\tilde{N}_3$, we may reasonably infer, were gradually added by the epic artists, who worked out the details and filled in the lacunae of this colossal composition. There must have been a free give-and-take of these passages in the extensive comparisons of different manuscripts of the epic text at holy places and centres of pilgrimage and seats of ancient learning. Beginning in the lowly way of marginalia and *śodhapatras*, these additions must have got embedded in the text, through their transmission from copyist to copyist, undergoing in this process a strange variation of details.

In a small percentage of cases, our MS. shows, it must be admitted, readings documented mostly by Southern MSS.—with or without support of a few other N MSS. It is naturally the most difficult thing in the world to decide in these cases whether this *sporadic* agreement is due to late contamination or to primitive connection through the lost archetype. In the light of such variants, some readings of the Critical Edition will have to be reconsidered, and it may, in sporadic cases, be found necessary even to alter slightly the readings of the Ādiparvan in the Critical Edition. That work must however be left over now for further research by a future generation of scholars.

Unique Readings

Like all MSS. modern or ancient, our MS. has quite a large number of *unique* readings, that is to say, readings which have not been found in any MS. so far collated for the Critical Edition. They consist of variants of proper names, consciously or unconsciously manipulated; synonyms or paraphrases; and sometimes of mere transpositions of words and phrases; or even insignificant variants of expletives and verse-filling particles. In a few instances the variants are obscure and archaic, but generally weak and inconsequential as compared to the readings of the Critical Edition. The Mahābhārata problem is made a problem of problems and a problem *sui generis* by the amazing diversity of MSS. in all imaginable details; and our MS. is not

behindhand in liberally contributing to this diversity. Here I specify a few samples of *unique* readings of the new MS. :

1.181 ^b विनयः (for विक्रमः)	118.19 ^b श्लक्षणेन (for शुक्लेन)
1.194 ^b परायणम् (for सनातनम्)	132.8 ^d कार्यं साधु (for कार्येथा)
2.77 ^b गरुडस्य (for गन्धर्वाणां)	134.22 ^a अग्निना दाहदग्धेषु
2.96 ^b सप्त श्लोकशतानि (for तथा नव श०)	147.18 ^d सुदुःखिता (for सुखान्विता)
2.104 ^a श्लोका ग्रन्थसहस्रे तु	158.18 ^a विष्णुपदी (for चैकवप्रा)
2.136 ^d महात्मसु (for जिगीषया)	158.50 क्षत्रं वज्रस्य भाजनं
2.139 ^c समरे (for साचिवं)	178.5 ^b नयनैः (for हृदयैः)
2.214 ^{cd} प्रीतः पश्यन्पुरवरे यथा (for वीरानपश्यन्पुरागतान्)	179.19 ^d सैनिकाः (for सुस्वनाः)
7.11 ^d जुह्वते (भुञ्जते)	180.9 ^b सुखानि (for वस्तूनि)
13.15 ^a एकमनुव्रतः (for एव समास्थितः)	186.7 ^c चित्राणि (for चाड्याणि)
13.44 ^c प्रसन्नात्मा (for सुमहता)	190.8 ^a अश्वजनोपपन्नं (for अर्थिजनोप- शोभितं)
20.12 ^a ज्ञाता ततः (त्वमुत्तमः)	191.6 ^a कद्धिः (for भद्रा)
43.25 ^b भार्या (for भर्त्रा)	194.2 ^d नैवेह शकिताः प्रभो
57.12 ^d स (for यद्भवत्)	195.5 ^a निजं (for यथा)
59.41 ^d तथाष्टमः (for च सप्तमः)	199.32 ^c शस्त्रैः (तल्पैः)
67.30 ^d हेतुज्ञो (for क्षेत्रज्ञो)	201.18 ^a महादेवं (for प्रभुं देवं)
68.66 ^c बाला (for राजन्)	207.18 ^b प्रपद्य शरणं प्रभुं
71.58 ^b पञ्च (for दश)	207.23 ^d त्रीणि दत्सरान् (for त्रिहिमाः समाः)
79.21 ^d तज्जरायां न कामये	211.24 ^c दिव्यान् (for राजन्)
84.17 ^d पुण्यान् (for पश्यन्)	214.30 ^b प्रार्थयन्कनकप्रभः
88.25 ^d लभेद्वरमत्सलोकताम्	218.18 ^a संप्रतीकार०
102.16 ^b वेदाध्ययनसंगताः	218.22 ^c दिग्भ्यश्चैव० (for विवशाश्चा०)
108.1 ^d वैशंपायन (for आनुपूर्व्येण)	223.9 ^d अस्मात्परिविधै० (for हि नः परि रक्षे०)
112.27 ^b कुशास्तरणशायिनी	
114.38 ^d सुमहान् (for तुमुलः)	

Our Emendations

Now we may turn to what is perhaps the most surprising feature of our MS. That is the support our MS. affords to the constituted text of the Critical Edition, with regard to the *emendations* attempted therein. It is remarkable to find that this single MS., which is certainly older than any of the MSS. we had before, supports and confirms, as already remarked, fifty per cent of these emendations. Out of the total of thirty-six emendations

made in the Critical Edition the following eighteen are corroborated by our MS. :

30.7 प्रतिगृह्यतामिदानीं* मे (hyper-metric !)	110.20 नाहं श्वाचरिते मार्गे *अवीर्यं (hiatus)
37.10 दिवं स्तववेव* विष्टितः	110.28 यदि *आवां महाप्राज्ञ (hiatus)
51.8 अथो*इन्द्रः स्वयमेवाजगाम (hiatus)	147.2 रोरवीथो *अनाथवत् (hiatus)
57.20 क्रियते *उच्छ्रयो नृपैः (hiatus)	149.6 श्रेयो *आत्मवधो मम (hiatus)
84.13 ततो लोकान्महतो *अजयं वै (hiatus)	157.13 पञ्चकृत्वस्त्वया *उक्तः (hiatus)
92.50 अष्टमे* वसवो देवा (double sandhi)	207.17 कुले *अस्मिन्बभूव ह (hiatus)
98.8 अन्तर्वत्नी *अहं भ्रात्रा (hiatus)	214.9 धर्मराजे *अतिप्रीत्या (hiatus)
103.5 श्रूयते यादवी कन्या *अनुरूपा (hiatus)	219.3 *संत्रासित इवाभवन्* (shortening metri causa)
	224.5 संतप्यमाना *अभितो (hiatus)
	224.9 तथाग्नौ ते *परीक्षाश्च ¹

Now, even though these emendations were put forward more as a hypothesis than as a dogma (Prolegomena, p. XCIV), they have evoked severe criticism from certain scholars. It will therefore be advisable to consider here some of these criticisms in the light of the readings of our new MS.

Professor A. B. Keith, in his review² of the *Ādiparvan*, admits that, "the editor has quite justly relied often on the maxim that the more difficult reading is to be preferred to the simpler, since it is easy to explain the latter as correction of what was poorly understood by careless scribes", but continues, "we need not, therefore, accept as a necessarily correct theory the view that we are to restore hiatuses, whenever we find variants in the MSS., which might be explained by assuming that they are the different efforts made by scribes, who were not accustomed to hiatus to remedy the irregularity". Whether the said view represents a correct theory of Mbh. text-reconstruction or not may be best judged from the circumstance that out of the eighteen emendations which are actually documented and attested by this new MS., not less than thirteen were made just on the ground of

¹ One stanza 1. 71. 36 in which there is an emendation is unfortunately omitted in the new MS.

² *Indian Culture*, vol. 3, pp. 766-771.

hiatus! A glance at the above list will convince the reader of the truth of this contention.

In all these thirteen instances there are violent fluctuations in the MS. readings. These uncommon fluctuations pointed towards the possibility, which this MS. has turned into a certainty, that they represent more or less independent attempts at correcting some solecism to which the scribes, editors or commentators would naturally take violent objection. It is natural to infer that this solecism is the hiatus to which a steadily increasing antipathy is noticeable as we pass from the earlier to the later Sanskrit literature. It is well known that Vedic texts frequently contain hiatus which does not cause any serious offence to the susceptibilities of the modern reader, but the same hiatus in the work of a poet of the classical period would be rated as a capital blunder. The view of Hopkins (which Prof. Keith endorses) to the effect that there is nothing peculiarly epic in hiatus, and that it is found in precedent and subsequent poetry, is quite non-committal, and, if anything, favours our position. The point at issue is the legitimacy of the hiatus in the subsequent literature and not merely its occurrence. It is quite legitimate in the earlier literature, but comes to be progressively regarded as a solecism and therefore is an anathema to scribes bred and brought up in the classical tradition. It is no doubt carelessness only, as Prof. Keith observes, in the later stages of the growth of Sanskrit literature, but not necessarily so throughout its history. Prof. Keith himself has not much faith in his own scepticism and consequently much of his criticism loses point, as he concedes, though reluctantly, the validity of certain restorations of hiatuses.

Prof. Keith has altogether missed the significance of the variation of MSS. between particles like, *hi*, *ca*, *tu*, *vā*, in these instances of emendations. It is true that these particles show great variation from MS. to MS., as is only natural in the corpus of a fluid text. But the scribes did not go out of their way to vary the text and to replace deliberately one particle by another. Often enough these small particles are very instructive in determining the complex relationship of MSS. Our present MS., for instance, agrees with $\tilde{N}$ scores of times in the choice of just

these particles against all other MSS. But we need not press the point too far. It is sufficient to note that the variation is not as arbitrary as it might at first sight appear. Moreover, it is easy to understand that these small particles do come in very handy whenever the question of avoiding a hiatus arises and can be sandwiched between the vowels without disturbing the metre¹. This is clearly the simplest and most natural mode of avoiding the hiatus and explains the violent fluctuations of the text. That it is not the only mode of avoiding the seeming blunder may be seen from 1. 57. 20 *kriyate *ucchrayo nrpaiḥ*, where TG have entirely recast the pāda, changing it to: *kurvanty ete dhvajocchrayam*. So the proof of an original hiatus does not always rest upon a mere variation of particles, as Prof. Keith thinks.

Prof. Keith starts from the conviction (which is quite a *priori*), that if at all a hiatus occurs, it must occur either between the *pādas* where the absence of *sandhi* is natural; or else before a vocative, where it is easy to feel a natural pause. He does not grudge the restoration of hiatus in 1. 99. 15; 103. 5; 110. 20; 119. 11 etc. on these grounds. In 1. 57. 20 *kriyate *ucchrayo nrpaiḥ* and 1. 100. 2 *niśithe āgamiṣyati*, he haltingly admits the validity of the restoration of hiatus and tries desperately to defend it on grounds of metrical facility. He is adamant, however, when it comes to—what he styles—“ unmotivated ” hiatus. He has exemplified his scepticism in the following instances.

In 1. 147. 2 he considers *roravīthas tv anāthavat* as more legitimate.

Proceeding further, Prof. Keith says that it is very difficult to believe in 1. 207. 17 *kule asmin babhūva ha*; since such a hiatus as this is “ unmotivated ”. He can, however, easily persuade himself to believe that “ the *sambabhūva* of a large body of MSS. was erroneously curtailed to *babhūva* with the result that *kule 'smin* had to be extended ”¹

In 1. 119. 11 *tathety ukte Ambikayā*, the position according to Prof. Keith is “ uncertain ”; *tv* may be right before *Ambikayā*.

¹ Cf. Hopkins, *The Great Epic*, p. 199f. : “ In both metres, to avoid hiatus, irrational particles are often inserted. A good example is: *purā kṛtayuge tāta hy āsīd rājā hy Akampanah*, vii, 2,029, where B., 52, 26, omits the first *hi* ”.

In 1. 98. 8, *antarvatnī aham bhrātrā* may be explained, in the opinion of Prof. Keith, "by emphasis"; but it is quite probable, he adds, that "*tv* is original, *ty* would be a blunder for it and *hy* a correction".

1. 224. 5, *saṁtapyamānā abhito* is quite "needless", according to Prof. Keith. The MSS. suggest, according to him, *saṁtapyamānān* as "clearly correct". "Misunderstanding of the accusative", we are told, "as following on the previous line has led to the mere corrections *saṁtapyamānā bahudhā* or *purato*".

In 1. 157. 13, *pañcakṛtvā tvayā uktaḥ* "seems unmotivated and the variants of the MSS. hardly justify it".

Prof. Keith calls 1. 110. 28, *yadī āvām mahāprājña*, "very dubious", and in 1. 51. 8, *atho Indraḥ svayam evājagāma* according to him is "not at all certain".

1. 214. 9, is an interesting case. The pāda in dispute reads *Dharmarāje *atiprītyā*, which is an emendation. It was first criticized by the late Prof. Winternitz as being "really unnecessary". A reply was given to his criticisms in these *Annals* by me and I have devoted three pages of the journal (vol. 16, pp. 108-110) to explain the circumstances which, in my opinion, necessitated the emendation. Prof. Keith was left unconvinced by these arguments. Rejecting this explanation, he dogmatically lays down: "in 1. 214. 9, *Dharmarāje hy atiprītyā* should be read; the variant *tv* is normal, and the hiatus is unmotivated".

Now that most of these unmotivated, needless, dubious, illegitimate, unnecessary hiatuses are actually documented and are no longer merely my conjectures, I am intrigued to know what hidden motives Prof. Keith will discover in them in order to explain their occurrence in an authentic MS. in the possession of the Rajaguru of Nepal.

It is sad that Professor Winternitz should not have lived to see some of his doubts about the readings of the constituted text finally dispelled by the evidence of this MS. The discovery of this valuable MS., so consequential for the text-criticism of the *Ādiparvan*, would certainly have delighted the heart of this veteran scholar, who took a passionate and life-long interest in epic studies. The text of the Critical Edition objected to in the

following places by the late lamented Professor Winternitz is supported by our MS.

57.20 ^b क्रियते *उच्छ्रयो नृपैः	93.11 देवदेवर्षिसेवितम्
57.21 ^b हास्यरूपेण शंकरः	214.9 धर्मराजे *अतिप्रीत्या
57.58 ^c दृश्यतोर्	215.2,5 प्रयच्छतां and सप्रयच्छतं
91.8 ^{cd} मनसाध्यायम्	216.10 ^a यत्
92.45 ^c न च तां किंचनोवाच	218.14 ^a जलधारामुच्चाऽऽकुलाच्च
92.50 ^a अष्टमे*	218.27 व्यातिष्ठन्त

I append below the collations of the new Nepālī MS. exactly as they were received from Panditjiu Hemaraj, omitting only a few corrupt readings which are obvious mislections by copyists.

COLLATIONS OF THE NEPĀLĪ MS. OF THE ĀDIPARVAN
OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA BELONGING TO GURUJĪU
HEMARAJ PUNDITJĪU, C. I. E., OF NEPAL

 Corrupt readings have been mostly ignored in this list. The readings in parenthesis () are those of the Critical Edition. [U] after a reading shows that it is *unique* to this MS., and not found in any other MS. collated for the Critical Edition. The MS. symbols after a reading show that the reading is elsewhere found in those MSS. *only*.

Adhy. I

9 ^a तु (for वै) [U]	48 ^c इति (for इह) [U]
18 ^c यथावत्सर्षिभिस्तुष्ट्या	49 ^a महाज्ञानं (for महज्ज्ञानं)
27 ^a अक्षरम् (for अक्षयम्)	^a समासग्रन्थधारणम्
29 ^a अक्षतं (for अचिन्त्यं) [U]	50 ^a पर्व्वीदि (for मन्वादि) [U]
34 ^c तथा (for आपो)	51 ^b विशेषतः (for मनीषिणः)
^a समाः (for तथा) [U]	[V ₁]
35 ^b क्षणाः (for कमात्) [U]	54 ^b तदा (for पुरा) [U]
40 ^a दिवःपुत्रो (for दिवस्पुत्रो)	57 ^a यत्पृष्टो (for पृष्टः सत्) [U]
^c स (for च)	60 ^c वृत्तश्च (for दुर्वृत्तं)
41 ^a पूर्व्वं (for सर्व्वं) [U]	63 ^c अतिरूपेभ्यः (for अनुरूपं)
^b पुत्रास्तेषां तथापरः	67 ^{cd} अरण्य एव सजनो न्यवस-
48 ^a इतिहासस्य वैयाख्या [U]	न्युगयारतिः [U]
	70 ^c सर्व्वेष (for पुण्येषु) [U]

- 71 ^a) यत् (for च)
 73 ^a) श्रुत्वा (for दृष्ट्वा)
 77 ^c) पुरप्रवेशे (for आसन्प्र^o)[V₁]
 79 ^a) तेषीत्य वेदानाखिलाद्
 95 ^c) कृत्वा (for ज्ञात्वा) [U]
 97 ^b) कुरुक्षयम् (for कुरुक्षये)
 98 ^c) अचेतसम् (for अचेतनम्)
 99 ^b) पाण्डवस्यामितौजसः [M]
 100 ^a) श्रियन्तां क्षत्रियो (for श्रियमक्ष^o)
 101 दृष्ट्वा(read °ष्टा)नि (for युक्तानि)
 102 Om.
 104 ^b) Om. च
 109 ^c) यत् (for तत्) [U]
 112 ^b) मोक्षितं (for मोक्षणं)
 118 Om.
 122 Om.
 125 ^c) न चैषां (for नैषां)
 129 ^a) यदा वायुः शक्र^o (for यदा-श्रौषं शक्र^o)
 133 ^c) अन्यं (for पार्थं) [U]
 134 ^c) तस्य चैवार्जुनेन (for सैन्धवे चार्जु^o) [U]
 138 ^a) नागपुरं (for °बलैर) [U]
 140--141 Om.
 142 After 142, ins. :
 यदाश्रौषं महाधनुर्वेदकल्पं
 विप्रं सेतुं समरे बाहिनीनाम् ।
 भारद्वाजं संयुगे सीदमानं
 तदा नाशंसे विजयाय सक्षयम् [U]
 143 ^a) रण आचार्यं (for द्रोण-माचार्यं) [Corrupt]
 150 ^c) भग्नपक्षं (for °दपं)
 154 ^c) तेन (for येन)
 155 ^c) मुक्तं (for दत्तं)
 156 ^c) द्वैपायनं केशवं (for °नः °वो)
^a) शपात्ताम् (for शशाप)
 166 ^a) काक्षीवन्तं तमोविसम्
 167 ^b) महाभिमजितं धमम् [M₁]
 169 ^c) चित्य^o (for चैत्य^o)
 173 ^a) हृदः (for हुमः) [K₄]
 174 ^a) वेणुः (for वेनः)
 175 ^a) निषधो नटः (for नैषधो नलः)
 178 ^b) दृढागुधः (for दृढेषुधिः)
 181 ^b) विनयः (for विक्रमः) [U]
 184 ^c) शास्त्रा(read °स्त्र)कृता (for शास्त्रानुगा)
 186 ^a) [S]तिवर्तितुं (for निवर्तितुं)
 187 ^a) विधिना विहितं (for विधातृवि^o) [U]
 188 ^b) संक्षिपति (for संहरति) [U]
^c) निर्दहेत्तु प्रजाः कालः [U]
 194 ^b) परायणम् (for सनातनम्) [U]
 195 ^a) असच्च (for असत्सत्)
 196 ^a) तत् (for यत्) [U]
 197 ^a) यतं यतिवरा मुक्ता
 198 ^a) विमुच्यते (for प्रमु^o)
 199 ^c) श्रुत्वा (for शृण्वन्) [M₁]
 200 ^a) चिन्तितम् (for संचितम्) [K₅]
 202 Om.
 204 ^a) मयायं प्रचरिष्यति
 205 ^c) चैव (for चापि) [U]
^a) असंशयः (for न सं^o)
 208 Om.
 209 ^a) भारतत्वात् (for भारवत्त्वात्)

Adhy. 2

- 2 ^a) मम वै (for यदि वो)
 3 ^b) प्रहरतां (for शस्त्रभृतां)
 7 ^a) परिकीर्त्यते (for °कीर्तितम्)
 8 ^b) लिङ्गितः ख्यायते भुवि [U]
^c) तथैव (for तेनैव) [U]
 12 ^b) द्विजसत्तमाः (for मुनि^o)
^a) सुव्रताः (for विश्रुतः)
 16 ^a) अभिसंज्ञितः (for अभिधीयते)
 [B₄ V₁ G₁]
 20 ^b) रथा (for तथा) [U]
 21 ^b) नवैव च (for तथा नव) [K₄]
 23 ^c) यत्ते (for यां वः) [U]
 29 ^a) आस्तीकं चादितः स्मृतम्

- 31 ^a) Transp. आत्मेव and वेदि-
तव्येषु [U]
32 ^b) निर्मिता (for अर्पिता) [U]
37 ^d) राज्यलाभः (for राज्यलम्भः)
38 ^d) ज्ञेया हरणहारिका
42-43 Transp. 42^{cd} and 43^{ab}
46 ^b) मृगस्वप्नभवं (for °भयं) [U]
50 ^e) Transp. प्रजागरं and ततः [U]
52 ^a) निर्वेदपर्व (for विवाद°) [U]
 ^c) नियार्त्रा पर्व विज्ञेयं
54 Reads 54^{cd} after 55 [M₁]
 ^d) ततश्चाद्भुतमुच्यते
57 ^b) चोत्तमम् (for चोच्यते)
60 ^b) तीर्थवंशमनुत्तमम् [U]
 ^c) सुवीभत्सं (for तु वी°)
71 ^a) पर्वसंग्रहे (for °ग्रहः)
 After 71, ins. 93* (om.
 line 4)
74 ^b) ह (for च)
77 ^b) गरुडस्य (for गन्धर्वाणां) [U]
78 ^d) दिवः (for दिवि) [U]
89 ^a) राज्यार्थसर्जनम् (for °शास-
 नम्)
90 ^{cd}) तदुपाख्यानं (for तत्र उपा°)
 [Corrupt]
95 ^f) उत्तममेधसा (for °तेजसा) [U]
96 ^b) सप्त श्लोकशतानि (for तथा
 नव श°) [U]
101 ^a) मन्युरभवत् (for मन्युरुद्भूतो)
 ^b) अकल्पयत् (for अकारयत्)
103 ^b) तवाख्यातं मया मुने [Ko.6]
104 ^a) श्लोका ग्रन्थसहस्रे तु [U]
105 Om. 105^{cd} [Ko.1]
106 ^f) पाण्डवस्यामितौजसः [U]
108 ^a) परिदेवितम् (for °देवनम्)
111 After 111^{ab}, reads 127^{ab}
 [G4-6]
 Om. 111^{cd} [T₁ G₄]
113 ^e) महाभागैः (for °वीर्यैः) [U]
122 Om. 122^{cd}
123 Reads 123^{ab} after 126
124 ^b) वातवेगसमो (for वायु°) [G₁]
128 ^c) आख्यानशते (for अभ्याय°)
 [U]
 ^e) एकान्नसप्ततिः (for एकोनस°)
 [U]
136 ^d) महात्मसु (for जिगीषया) [U]
137 ^b) नः (for नौ)
 ^d) महात्मनोः (for °मतिः) [U]
139 ^c) समरे (for सचिवं) [U]
145 ^c) स्वयं गतः (for स्वयमागतः) [U]
151 ^d) संधिविग्रहसंज्ञितम्
152 ^d) नव श्लोकशतानि च
159 ^a) यत्र (for पञ्च) [U]
164 ^b) जरासंधश्च पार्थिवः [U]
170 ^b) विवादः (for संवादः) [M₁]
 ^d) आख्येयसंज्ञितम् (for आक्षेप-
 संहितम्) [Corrupt]
172 ^c) एकान्नसप्ततिः (for एकोनस°)
 [U]
176 ^b) उच्यते (for अर्थवत्) [U]
 ^c) एकान्नषष्टिः (for एकोनषष्टिः)
 [U]
183 ^a) यत्र शौकार्ता (for पुत्रशो°)
186 ^a) नैवम् (for मैवम्) [U]
192 ^a) यत्र ताः क्षत्रियाः शूरा
 ^b) निष्ठान्तात् (for दिष्टान्तात्)
194 ^d) प्रकीर्तिताः (for उदाहृताः)
195 ^f) °वैकुण्ठ्याश्रुप्रवर्तनम्
196 ^c) आपेदे (for आपन्नो)
 ^d) कुरुराजो (for धर्मराजो) [U]
 ^f) संबन्धिमातुलात् (for °बान्ध-
 वात्)
200 ^b) द्वादशैतत्प्रकीर्तितम् [U]
202 ^b) नु (for नि-) [U]
204 ^b) यत्र शासनम् (for चानुशा°)
 [U]
205 ^d) षष्टिश्चान्यन्यदर्शितम्
 [Corrupt]
206 ^b) पर्वोक्तं तदनन्तरम् [U]
212 ^c) समुत्सृज्य (for परित्यज्य)

- 214 ^{cd} प्रीतः पश्यन्पुरवरे यथा (for वीरानपश्यत्पुनरागतात्) [U]
 215 ^b तदृष्ट्वा स्वयमुत्तमम् (for दृष्ट्वा-
 श्रयमनुत्तमम्) [U]
 218 ^c द्वाचत्वारिंशत् (for द्विच°)
 [K₄]
 219 ^a एव (for एकं) [U]
 229 ^{cd} अष्टाध्यायाः प्रसङ्ग्याताः
 श्लोकाग्न्यश्च शतञ्च यत्
 231 ^b Transp. शतं and तथा
 234 ^a निखिलं (for अखिलं)
 [K₄ D₂]
 243 ^b विज्ञेयं (for विन्यस्तं)

Adhy. 3

- 1 After तस्य ins. आसन्
 [N₁ M₁]
 Transp. उग्रसेनः and भीम-
 सेनः [B₁₋₃]
 2 चाभ्यगच्छत् (for श्वाभ्या-
 गच्छत्)
 3 रौपि (for रोदिषि)
 4 Om. तत्र
 6 After स तां ins. मातरं [N₁ D₅]
 7 पुत्रदुःखार्ता (for °शोकार्ता)
 अभ्यगच्छत् (for उपागच्छत्)
 8 नापराधी (for अनपकारी)
 11 गतः (for यातः)
 After गतः, ins. सन्
 12 अभिहतः (for अभिमतः)
 15 Om. तस्याः (after मच्छुक्रं
 पीतवत्याः)
 Om. सर्वोः (before पापकृत्याः)
 20 प्रवेशयामास (for प्रेषयामास)
 [U]
 22 Om. उपायम्
 24 अयोदो (for आ°)
 25 भवता (for भगवता)
 Om. गच्छ

- 27 आह्वानशब्दं (for आह्वानाय
 शब्दं)
 28 रोद्धुं (for संरोद्धुं)
 भवन्तं (for भगवन्तम्)
 29 नाम्नास्त्विति (for नाम्ना
 भविष्यतीति)
 30 Om. इति (after अवाप्स्यासि)
 38 Before रक्षित्वा, ins. स
 39 पीवानमपश्यत् (for पीवानमेव)
 दृष्ट्वा चैनमुवाच (for दृष्ट्वावाच)
 42 उपाध्यायस्याग्रतः (for उपा-
 ध्यायगृहमागम्योपाध्यायस्या°)
 43 Om. अपि (after तथा)
 Om. च (before अन्यत्)
 पीवानेव चासि (for पीवानासि)
 45 नाभ्यनुज्ञातम् (for अननु°)
 47 Before आसि, ins. एव च
 48 स्तनात् (for स्तनं)
 52 Om. स (before तैः)
 54 Om. भो (before उपमन्यो)
 60 ^a पूर्वौ (for पूर्वगौ)
^b Om. वा
^c सुवर्णावरजौ (for सुपर्णौ
 विरजौ)
 62 ^a सासत्रा (for सत्तमा)
 64 ^b प्रतिष्ठान्या (for प्रधिष्वन्या)
 65 ^a द्वादश (for द्वादशारं)
^b एकम् (for एकाक्षम्)
^a विषीदथः (for °दतम्)
 67 ^a Om. दश
 69 ^{cd} नासत्यावमृतावृधासते (for
 °मृतावृतावृधावृते)
 76 अभ्यवादयत्तदाचचक्षे (for
 अभिवाद्याच°)
 80 किञ्चित्कालं (for कञ्चि°)
 शुश्रूषणा च (for शुश्रूषमाणेन)
 81 गुरुधूर्तु (for गुरुषु धूर्तु)
 86 परिहीयेत् (for °हीयते)

- 87 आदिश्य (for प्रतिसमादिश्य)
 88 उत्तङ्कः स शुश्रूषुः (for °ङ्को
 गुरुशु°)
 89 Om. स (before वसन्)
 92 भवतः (for भवन्तस्)
 95 ते वयमनुज्ञाता (for सोऽहम-
 नुज्ञाते)
 गच्छाम (for इच्छामीष्टं)
 97 After आज्ञापयतु, ins. मा
 98 तां (for एनां)
 99 Om. गृहं (before गन्तुं)
 After आज्ञापयतु, ins. मा
 After भवति, ins. इति
 100 तमुपाध्यायिनी (for सैव-
 मुक्तोपा°)
 कुण्डले भिक्षितुं तस्य क्षत्रियया
 पिनद्धे (for भिक्षस्व°)
 101 प्रातिष्ठत् (for °ष्ठत)
 104 After तमाह, ins. स
 106 Transp. उत्तङ्कः and आसी-
 नम्
 111 Om. स
 113 Om. शीघ्रं
 115 Om. त्रिः पीत्वा
 118 Transp. तेन तस्य and सज्जा-
 वेन
 121 पौष्यसकाश अगच्छत् (for
 °काशमाग°)
 123 प्रकरिष्ये (for तत्करिष्ये)
 124 उपाहृतं (for उपहृतं)
 125 संयोजयामास (for भोज°)
 126 Om. सकेशं
 128 अन्नस्याशुद्धिभावम् (for
 अशुचिभावमन्नस्य)
 132 ^b निशितः (for निहितः)
^a नावनीता (for °नीती) [K1.3]
 134 After शापो, ins. न
 137 After अभिसृत्य, ins. अथ
 139 ^a यदैरावतराजानः (for य ऐरा°)
 140 ^a सुरूपा बहुरूपाश्च
^b अप्यथो (for तथा)
 143 ^a ये चेदमुपशृण्वन्ति
 145 ^a ह्यवसतां (for निव°) [N̄1
 M1.3.5]
 146 ^a हि सयुग्नि (for महद्युग्नि)[U]
 147 Transp. एवं and स्तुवन्
 अधिरुह्य (for अधिरोप्य)
 154 Transp. स and एनं
 155 उपेयुः (for ईयुः)
 156 आधमस्व (for धमस्व)
 157 आधमत् (for अध°)
 158 उपधूपितः (for धूपितः)
 159 इमे ते (for एते)
 160 जग्राह (for प्रतिजग्राह)
 161 तम् (for एनम्)
 एतत्क्षणम् (for क्षणादेव)
 162 मर्ति (for मनो)
 166 After तक्षकेण, ins. मे
 167 तन्त्रं (for तन्त्रे)
 Om. अधिरोप्य पटं
 177 Om. स
 181 ^a अथ देव (for अन्यदेव)[U]
^b किमिदं कुरुषे नृप
 183 ^b परिवर्जयामि (for परिपाल-
 यामि) [U]
^c नस्तत्क्रियां तां (for वा किं
 क्रियतां) [U]
 186 ^a कामं कालं (for कार्यकालं)[U]
 193 ^a उत्तङ्कवाक्यमाविष्टो [U]

Adhy. 4

- 1 Om. पौराणिको
 Om. द्वादशवार्षिके
 2 कृतातिश्रमः (for कृतश्रमः) [U]
 Om. तात्
 करवाणि (for ब्रुवाणि) [U]
 3 प्रवक्ष्यामः (for प्रक्ष्यामः)
 भवान् (for तद्भगवान्)
 4 ^b वेद चासुरसंकथाः [K2 G2.3]
 5 ^b गृहपतिः (for कुलपतिः)
 10 ^a सप्तपुत्रपुरःकृताः

11 ^b) द्विजः (for ततः)

Adhy. 5

- 2 ^a) श्रुतपूर्वं (for श्रुताः पूर्वं)
 5 ^a) भार्गवा द्विजसत्तम [U]
 8 ^a) पूर्वपितामहः (for °महात्)
 9 ^a) नियतव्रतः (for नियतेन्द्रियः)
 [B₅]
 12 ^a) यतव्रतः (for यशस्विनः) [U]
 13 ^a) दुल्लभो (for पुल्लभ) here and
 in the sequel [U]
 16 ^a) तत् (for तां) [U]
^b) हृच्छयातिनिषिद्धितः [U]
 18 ^b) पृष्ठमनेन ते (for पृष्ठ ऋतेन वै)
 [U]
^c) वै (for मे)
 26 After 26, ins.(marg. sec. m.)
 सेयमित्यवगच्छामि नानृतं वक्तुमुत्सहे ।
 अनृतं हि सतां लोके हृदि नैवावतिष्ठति ।

Adhy. 6

- 5 Om. (? hapl.) 5^{edef}
 6 ^c) सृतं (for सृतिं)
 8 ^a) Transp. स and एवम् [K_{0.1}]
 12 ^c) तु (for च)
 13 ^c) अतिकृद्धः (for अभिकृद्धः)

Adhy. 7

- 9 ^a) सर्वशः (for पर्वसु) [D_{6.7}]
 11 ^a) जुह्वते (for भुज्जते) [U]
 16 ^c) देवमुखं (for °मुखो)
 21 ^a) Transp. सर्वं and शुचि [U]
 23 ^a) त्वग्निः (for वह्निः) [U]
^b) प्रत्युक्त्वाथ (for प्रत्युवाच)
 24 ^a) तत्र (for सर्वाः) [U]

Adhy. 8

- 2 ^a) शुनकस्त्वे यतोभवत् [U]

- 7 ^a) Transp. तं and गर्भं [U]
 10 ^b) सर्वै रूपगुणैर्विता [Corrupt]
^c) प्रमद्वरेति वै तस्या [U]
 13 ^a) वह्निदैवते (for भगदै°) [U]
 16 ^a) स दृष्टाङ्गे (for भृशमङ्गे)

Adhy. 9

- 3 ^a) शेतेसौ (for शेते सा)
 5 ^b) यतव्रतः (for धृत°)
^c) तथायासौ (for तथायैव)
^d) उत्तिष्ठतु यशस्विनी [K₁]
 6 ^b) दुःखान्न (for दुःखेन)
 8 ^a) लप्स्यसेथ (for प्राप्स्यसीमां) [U]
 9 ^c) करिष्येहं (for °ष्ये तं)
 11 ^a) Before उत्तिष्ठतु, ins. च
 12 ^a) तथा (for ततो) [U]
^c) एवं (for इदं)
 16 ^a) एतच्च चरितं सर्वं [U]
^c) तपसाथ प्रवृद्धस्य
 18 ^b) °वर्चसाम्

Adhy. 10

- 2 ^a) भुजगं सदैव हन्यां [U]
 5 ^b) डुण्डुभस्य (for भुजगस्य)
^c) अहनत् (for अवधीत्)
 6 ^b) गिरा (for इव)

Adhy. 11

- 1 ^c) त्राता (for तात) [U]
 2 ^b) इव (for अथ)
 3 ^a) Transp. लब्ध्वा च and स [U]
 6 ^c) हसतेतत् ते (for °तेदं ते)
 [Corrupt]
 8 ^a) च निःश्वस्य (for विनिः°)
 9 ^a) तथ्यं (for वाक्यं) [B₅]
^b) मे संशितव्रत (for तन्मे धृत°)
^c) हृदये (for हृदि ते) [U]
^d) सदा तव (for तपोधन) [U]
 12 ^b) वर (for स्मृतः)

- 12 ^a हिंसेत् (for हिंस्यात्) [G₆ M₁]
 17 ^b इति (for अपि) [U]

Adhy. 12

- 3 ^a वत्स (for सर्वम्)
 4 ^a त्वथ (for चापि)

Adhy. 13

- 1 ^a पुरा (for राजा)
 3 ^a ब्रवीहि तम् (for वदस्व मे)
 5 ^a तपस्विनः (for यशस्विनः)
 6 ^a °वासिषु
 8 ^c Transp. आस्तिकं and आख्यानं
 11 ^a अवाङ्मुखात् (for अधोमु°)
 12 ^a वै ह्यधोमुखाः (for वा अधो°)
 15 ^a संततावेको (for संततिस्त्वेको)
 ^b श्रुतिः (for श्रुतः)
 ^a एकमनुव्रतः (for एव समास्थितः)
 [U]
 17 ^a पुत्रक (for सत्तम) [G₁]
 18 ^a अनुशोचितुम् (for अनुकम्पितुम्)
 23 ^a करिष्येति (for करिष्यामि)
 25 ^a उपायास्ये (for उपयंस्ये) [U]
 28 ^a मोदन्तु (for मोदन्तां)
 36 ^b तां ददौ (for प्रददौ) [U]
 43 ^a सहस्रैः (for सहितः स्वेः) [U]
 44 ^c प्रसन्नात्मा (for सुमहता) [U]

Adhy. 14

- 3 ^a आयुष्मन्नयम् (for आयुष्य-
 मिदम् [N₃]
 5 ^b पितामहसुते (for प्रजापति°)
 6 ^c परया मुदयान्वितः [K₂ N₃]
 9 ^b ईदृशम् (for ईप्सितम्) [N₃ T₂]
 13 ^b परिचारकाः (for °चारिकाः)
 ^a तु (for च)
 15 ^a अपश्यत (for अदृक्षत*)

- 16 ^c रोषसंतप्तः (for °संपन्नः)
 17 ^b लोभाभिभूतया (for लोभपरी-
 तया) [N₃]
 21 ^a तदा (for सदा)
 23 ^a बुभुक्षितः (for °क्षतः)

Adhy. 15

- 8 ^a सुमनोहरम् (for °हरैः)
 9 ^b बहुरन्नमयं शिवम् [N₃]
 ^c उद्विग्नाः (for उद्विद्धं)
 10 ^a तदा नियमसंभृताः
 11 ^{cd} अचिन्तयत्सुरष्वेतन्मन्त्रयित्वाथ
 सर्वथा [N₃]

Adhy. 16

- 3 ^c अभूत् (for अधो) [U]
 8 ^c अमृताथ (read °र्थन्तु (for
 अमृतार्थीय)
 ^a निर्माथिष्याम ते (for °महे)
 10 ^a तमूचुः (for ऊचुश्च) [U]
 11 ^c स शैलस्तस्य (for तस्य शैलस्य)
 12 ^b ततो (for तथा)
 ^c देवदानवाः (for दैत्यदा°)
 14 ^a अथाक्षिपत् (for अवाक्षि°)
 19 ^b विनिर्भूता (for विनिष्पिष्टा)
 24 ^a सर्वशः (for सर्वतः)
 25 ^a नानारसाः (for नानाविधाः)
 26 ^b सर्वेषां तपसा (for रसानां पय-
 सा) [N₃]
 31 ^a ददानि (for °मि) [U]
 ^c श्रान्तैः (for सर्वैः) [N₃]
 34 ^b [अ]मृतात् (for घृतात्) [U]
 35 ^c मरीचिकवचः (for °विकचः)
 [U]
 ^a नारायणाशरोग्रः [U]

Adhy. 17

- 1 ^b महाप्रहरणानि (for नानाप्र°)

- 4 ^a) पीतवान् (for प्रापिबत्) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 6 ^c) देवेन (for चक्रेण) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 8 ^a) जग्राह (for ग्रसति) [$\tilde{N}_{1,3}$]
 13 ^c) °मालीनि [$\tilde{N}_3 D_n$]
 ^a) प्रपेतुः (for निपेतुः) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 14 ^b) निपेतुः (for निहताः) [$K_4 \tilde{N}_3$]
 15 ^a) हाहारवाः संवभूवुः [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 ^b) समन्ततः (for सहस्रशः)
 16 ^b) संनिकर्षेण (for °र्व च) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 18 ^b) महाभये (for भयावहे)
 20 ^a) अजय्यविक्रमं (for °यमुत्त-
 मम्) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 22 ^c) दितिजवरान् (for दितिदनुजान्)
 [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 23 ^a) अतिलेलिहत् (for अवले°) [U]
 24 ^a) तथासुरा गिरिभिरदीनमानसो
 ^a) गिरिमभितः प्रतन्य (for गगन-
 मभिप्रपय) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 25 ^c) प्रतिगलिताग्रसानवः (for प्रवि-
 ग°) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 27 ^b) पवनपथं (for गगन°)
 28 ^a) ह (for च) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 29 ^c) सर्वतः (for सर्वशः) [U]
 30 ^c) ददुः (for ददौ)
 ^a) बलिभिरिह (for बलभिदथ)

Adhy. 18

- 1 ^c) तत्र (for यत्र)
 4 ^b) and 5 ^b) दासभावाय (for
 दासीभा°)
 9 ^a) स (for ऽ)
 10 ^b) शापन्तश्चान्वमोदत
 11 ^a) कश्यपाय (for काश्य°)

Adhy. 19

1-3 For 1^a-3^b subst.:
 ततस्ते पणितं कृत्वा भगिन्यौ द्विजसत्तम ।
 जग्मतुः परमप्रीति परं पारं महोदधे ॥

कद्रु च विनता चैव दाक्षायण्यौ विहायसा ।
 महान्तमुदकागारं क्षोभ्यमाणं महास्वनम् ॥

- [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 3 ^c) तिर्मिगलगणार्काणं [D₅]
 ^a) तदा (for तथा)
 4 ^a) संयुतं (for सत्त्वैश्च) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 ^{ca}) Om.
 5 ^{ab}) Om. [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 6 ^{ca}) Om. [$\tilde{N}_3 M_5$]
 After 6^{ab}, ins. (marg. sec. m.)
 महानदीभिर्वह्नीभिस्तत्र [तत्र] सहस्रशः ।
 (cf. v. l. 15^{ab})
 आपूर्यमाणमत्यन्तमुह्यन्तमिव चोर्मिभिः
 (cf. v. l. 291*)
 9 ^b) क्षोभद्वैधसमन्वितम् [U]
 ^a) सर्वतः (for सर्वशः)
 10 ^a) रत्नागारं (for रत्नाकरं) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 11 ^b) अमितौजसम् (for °जसा) [U]
 15 ^b) स्पर्धमानं (for स्पर्धयेव) [$\tilde{N}_3$
 G_{2,3}]
 ^a) तत्र तत्र समन्ततः
 17 Om.

Adhy. 20

- 3 Om. [$K_1 D_5 M_1$]
 4 ^a) चापि (for चैव)
 7 ^c) स महान् (for सुम°)
 8 ^b) असुरोत्तमाः (for असुरार्दनाः)
 [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 9 ^c) अदुरम् (for अदूरात्) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 10 ^a) अनुत्तमः (for °त्तमम्) [U]
 12 ^a) त्राता ततः (for त्वमुत्तमः) [U]
 13 ^b) हरासि (for दहसि) [$\tilde{N}_3$]

Adhy. 21

- 1 ^b) कामवीर्यो (for महावीर्यो)
 2 ^a) दासभावम् (for दासीभावम्)
 3 ^a) उवाच ह (for अभाषत) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 7 ^a) सर्वदेवेश (for देवदे°)

- 13 ^c स्थितिः (for तिथिः)
 14 ^a शुक्लश्च (for शुक्लत्वं) [U]
^b By transp. तथा वृष्टिः
 17 ^a त्वं वेदान्यभिगमयन्ति (for वेदा-
 ज्ञान्यभिग^o) [U]

Adhy. 22

- 3 ^a असक्तं (for अजस्रं) [G₃]
 4 ^a संप्रवृत्तम् (for संप्रनृत्तम्)

Adhy. 23

- 1 ^b द्वीपम् (for देशम्)
^a पाक्षिसंघविनादितम्
 4 ^a उपपन्नद्विरिव (for उपजिघ्रन्तिः)
 5 ^e पुण्यं (for रम्यं) [M₁]
 11 ^a तथ्यं (for सत्यं)

Adhy. 24

- 8 ^a मरुतः (for मारुतः)
^b च (for तु)
^c Transp. ते and वह्निः
 10 ^a निशाम्य (for निशम्य)
 12 ^c स्वरितं (for स्वरिताः)

Adhy. 25

- 2 ^a विनिः]सर्प (for विनिर्गच्छ)
 [N₃ M₁]
 4 ^b निष्क्रम (for निष्पत) [N₃]
 7 ^b प्रभुः (for पितुः)
^a उत्तमः (for उद्यतः)
 9 ^a अन्नव्यम् (for भोक्तव्यम्)
 [K₁ N₃]
 10 ^a चास्य (for तस्य) [U]
 12 ^a तु (for च) [K₁]
^a कृतम् (for कर्तुम्) [U]
 15 ^a गुरुशास्त्रेण बद्धानाम्
 17 ^a एतं (for एव)
 21 ^a यस्य (for तस्य)

- ^c हि (for असौ) [N₃]
 22 ^a यं (for तं)
 31 ^b रोहिणिपादपः (for रोहिणपा^o)
^c अथ वृद्धं महाकायम्
 32 ^a इयं (for एषा)
 33 ^c अभिहत्य (for अभिपत्य)
 [G₃ M₁]
^a पतन्स (for बभञ्ज)

Adhy. 26

- 2 ^a तां भङ्क्त्वा सुमहाशाखां
 3 ^b उपतत्य (for अनुपत्य)
^a चैव (for एव) [N₃]
^c पर्वतांश्च विञ्चालयन् [N₃]
 7 ^c अनभिध्येयं (for °भिज्ञेयं)
 20 ^a Transp. ततः and स
 23 ^b महात्मनः (for समन्ततः) [N₃]
 24 ^b तदा (for तया)
 25 ^b युताः (for युक्ताः)
 27 ^c प्रावर्तन् (for प्रावर्तन्त) [U]
^a भयदर्शिनः (for °वेदिनः)
 [N₃ B_{3m}]
 28 ^b व्यथञ्चिव (for व्यथान्वितम्)
 [N₃ G₁ M₃]
 29 ^a येषां (for तेषां)
 30 ^b देवासुरेष्वपि (for °रेऽपि च)
 31 ^a इव (for अपि) [K₃ N₃]
 32 ^b ह (for हि)
^a ववृषुः (for ववर्षुः)
^c मुकुटांश्चैषां (for मुकुटान्येषां)
^c व्युत्थितानि (for उत्थितानि)
 39 ^b Transp. स and न

Adhy. 27

- 1 ^{ab} Transp. अपराधः and प्रमादः
 3 ^a कामरूपी (for कामचारी)
 8 ^a वृंहिताम् (for सहि^o) [U]
 9 ^b तपोनिताम् (for तपोधनाम्)
 [Corrupt]

- 13 ^b) देवराजभयङ्करः
^c) भूतानां (for °देवानां) [N₃]
 14 ^c) स्यात् (for अय) [N₃]
 21 ^d) देवश्रेष्ठं (for मुनिश्रेष्ठ) [U]
 23 ^a) सगुणं (for सफलं) [N₃]
 27 ^d) त्रैलोक्यपूजितौ (for ते लोकपू°)
 29 ^a) एतौ (for एकः)
^b) कारयिष्यतः (for °ति)
^c) लोकसंभावितौ वीरौ
^d) कामवीर्यौ विहंगमौ

Adhy. 28

- 2 ^a) चापि (for चैव)
 8 ^c) निक्षिपेमां (for विक्षिपे°)
 9 ^d) अर्दयन् (for आर्द°)
 17 ^d) युध्यमानमनेकशः
 18 Transp. 18^{cd} and 19^{ab}
^a) पतगेन (for तपनेन)
 20 ^b) विनतात्मजः (for °तासुतः)
 21 ^a) महाबला महावीर्याः

Adhy. 29

- 1 ^b) मरीचिकनकोज्ज्वलः [N₃ T₂]
 2 ^a) क्षुरधारम् (for तीक्ष्णधारम्) [N₃]
 3 ^a) ज्वलितार्कप्रभं (for ज्वलनार्क°) [N₃ B₄]
^c) घोररूपिणमत्यर्थं [N₃]
 4 ^b) पर्यावर्तत (for पर्यव°) [U]
^c) अनन्तरेण (for अरान्तरेण) [N₃]
 5 ^c) महारौद्रौ (for °घोरौ) [U]
 6 ^d) ददुशे (for ददर्श)
 11 ^b) वीर्यतः (for वीर्यवान्) [D₅ T₂]
 20 ^d) कथंचन (for कदा°)

Adhy. 30

- 1 सुपर्ण उवाच (for गरुड उ°)
 2 ^b) सन्तोत्सबलसंस्तवम् [N₃]
^c) यदि (for तव)

- 15 ^d) सत्तमाः (for पञ्चगाः) [N₃]
 20 ^a) द्विधाकृता (for द्वैधीकृता)

Adhy. 31

- 4 ^d) एव (for तु) [U]
 7 ^a) नीलानलौ (for नीलानीलौ) [N₃]
 9 ^a) निष्प्रारको (for निष्ठनूनको)
^d) मुद्गलपिण्डकः (for मुद्गरापि°) [N₃]
 18 ^b) अयुतानि (for अर्बुदानि) [N₃ G₄₋₅]

Adhy. 32

- 1 ^c) त्वभिविज्ञाय (for त्वथ वि°)
 2 ^c) आस्थाय (for आतस्थे) [N₃ G₁]
 3 ^b) तपोधनः (for तपोरतः)
 4 ^d) नियतेन्द्रियः (for विजिते°) [K₂ N₃]
 5 ^c) प्रशृङ्कमांसत्वक्स्त्रायुं [N₃ G₃]
^d) जटामुकुटधारिणम् [N₃]
 8 ^a) [ऽ]पि (for हि) [N₃ M_{1,5}]
^b) प्रायशो (for भ्रातरो) [N₃]
^a) भवता अनुमन्यताम् (for तद्भवाननु°) [Corrupt]
 9 ^c) आतिष्ठं (for आतिष्ठे)
 12 ^b) त्यक्ष्यामि (for मोक्ष्यामि) [K₁ N₃]
 18 पितामह उवाच (for ब्रह्मोवाच)
 20 ^b) भुजगपतिः (for भूतपतिः) [N₃]
 23 ^c) सर्वं (for सर्वा)
 24 ^a) अन्तर्भूमौ (for अधो भूमेः)

Adhy. 33

- 3 ^a) यथासृष्टो (for यथोद्दिष्टो)
 12 ^a) Transp. नागाः and तत्र [N₃]
 16 Transp. 16^{cd} and 19^{ab} [U]
 19 ^d) ब्रह्मवध्यं भविष्यति
 21 ^a) समन्ततः (for सविद्युतः) [N₃]

21 ^a) समन्ततः (for सविद्युतः) [Ñ₃]

27 ^a) कृतं कार्यं (for कृतमेवं)

Adhy. 34

9 ^b) विषोऽज्ज्वलाः (for विषोऽज्ज्वणाः)

Here and in 10^b [U]

^a) वारायितवान् (for निवारितवान्)

12 ^b) जनिष्यति (for भविष्यति) [U]

Adhy. 35

4 ^c) संस्थाप्य चैव (for समाप्यैव च)

^a) उदागमन् (for उपागमन्) [U]

7 ^c) अस्य त्वं (for देवेश) [Ñ₃]

^a) इह (for अस्य) [U]

Adhy. 36

7 ^b) शीलगुणोपपन्नः (for वीतभय-

कलमः सन्) [Ñ_{1.3}]

8 ^c) अवरेणासीत् (for इति विख्यातो)

[Ś₁ K₁ Ñ₃]

9 ^b) धनुर्धरवरायुधः [U]

13 ^c) परिक्षितो नरेन्द्रस्य

16 ^b) संशितघ्नतः (for °व्रतम्)

22 ^c) गृहमेधिना (for गृहमीयिवान्)

[Ñ₃]

Adhy. 37

1 ^b) क्षेपसमन्वितः (for कोप°)

4 ^a) तात (for तस्य)

5 ^a) मृगयायां वै (for मृगयां यातः)

[Corrupt]

8 ^a) मृतं सर्पं (for सर्पं स्कन्धे)

[Ñ₃ G₆]

9 ^a) तेसौ (for अयासौ)

[Corrupt]

10 ^a) एतत् (for एवम्)

25 ^a) विभो (for तथा)

26 ^a) एतय (for अय)

Adhy. 38

3 ^b) तात (for पुत्र)

4 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

5 ^a) मनीषिणाम् (for महात्मनाम्)

7 ^b) आचरन् (for आहरन्)

9 ^a) परश्चापि तपास्विनाम्

11 ^c) तत्करिष्याम्यहं तात

13 ^a) महात्मनाः (for महातपाः)

[K₁ G_{1.4.5}]

22 ^a) ब्रह्मन्महामनाः (for राजा महा-

तपाः) [Ñ₃]

27 ^a) स (for वै) [Ñ₃]

37 ^c) त्वरितः (for त्वरितं)

Adhy. 39

1 ^c) दग्धम् (for दष्टम्) [K_{0.5} Ñ₃]

3 ^b) एवम् (for एनम्) [Ñ₃]

12 ^a) तद्विषं हत्वा (for यद्विषं हन्या)

[Ñ₃]

14 ^c) यतमानस्य (for घटमानस्य)

[Ñ₃ G₂]

15 ^a) इह (for इतो)

16 ^a) गृहीत्वा (for गृहाय)

17 ^a) निवर्त द्विजसत्तम [Ñ₃]

25 ^c) तदा (for तथा)

32 ^a) तं निवेश्य (for संनि°) [U]

33 ^b) अन्ववेष्टितः (for अभिवे°) [D₄]

Adhy. 40

6 ^b) समान्त्रिणस्तत् (for समेत्य सर्वे)

7 ^a) अग्रमतिः (for आर्यमतिः)

[Corrupt]

10 ^a) नगेषु (for वनेषु)

11 ^c) Om. वै [U]

Adhy. 41

5 ^b) गर्तेषु त्राणम् (for गर्तेऽ*ताँक्षा-
णम्)

8 ^a) ब्रह्मन् (for अस्मिन्)

9 ^a) तस्य (for ततो)

13 ^a) Transp. तात and तपसः

^c) त्वस्मिन् (for ब्रह्मन्)

17 ^b) अय (for अस्ति) [U]

- 23 ^a) चैव त्वं (for वै ब्रह्मन्)
 25 ^a) तपोरतिं (for °रतं)
 27 ^b) सहान्वयैः (for पितामहैः)
 29 ^a) तं (for स)
^c) यथावृत्तम् (for °दृष्टम्) [$\tilde{N}_3$]

Adhy. 42

- 6 ^a) सनामां (for सनाम्नीं)
 11 ^b) जङ्गमानि स्थिराणि च
 15 ^a) सनामा (for सनाम्नी)
 18 ^a) च स (for स तां)
 20 ^c) वासुकिं (for वासुके)

Adhy. 43

- 2 ^a) कन्यां (for भार्यां) [$\tilde{N}_{1,3}$]
 20 ^a) पश्चिमस्यां (for पश्चिमायां)
 25 ^b) भार्या (for भर्त्रा) [U]
 30 ^a) चिन्ताशोकसमन्विता
 32 ^c) Transp. स्थितां and स्थितो
 [$\tilde{N}_3$]

Adhy. 44

- 2 ^a) दीनाशयां (for दीनां तदा).
 [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 11 ^a) तथा (for कुतो) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 12 ^c) मे (for ते)
 13 ^b) तपोधनः (for तपोवनम्)
 14 ^a) जगृहे तदा (for प्रत्यगृहृत)
 [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 19 ^a) चीर्णव्रतः (for चरितव्रतः)
 21 ^a) समन्तात् (for प्रयत्नात्)

Adhy. 45

- 1 ^a) ततो (for तदा)
 2 ^a) राज्ञा (for ब्रह्मन्) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
^b) भूपतेः (for नृपतेः) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 3 ^a) जानन्ति हि भुवन्तः
 [Corrupt]
 11 ^b) दृढसङ्गतः (for दृढविक्रमः)
 13 ^b) अजीजनत् (for अजायत)

- 15 ^a) सर्पेणाप्यनिवर्तितम् [U]
 16 ^a) पुरुषव्याघ्र (for °श्रेष्ठ)
^a) सर्वभूतानुपालनम् (for °पालकः)
 17 ^b) प्रियकृत् (for हितकृत्)
 18 ^c) आचक्ष्व वै (for आचक्ष्वं)
 [$\tilde{N}_3$]

- 22 ^b) ततायुधकलापधृक् [$K_1 \tilde{N}_{1,3}$]
^a) Transp. मृगं and पिता [U]

Adhy. 46

- 2 ^b) महातपाः (for °यज्ञाः)
 3 ^c) स यज्ञाय (for अनुज्ञातो)
^a) तदा (for तथा)
 7 ^c) सर्वभूतेषु (for °भूतानां)
 11 ^a) स्वं (for तं) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 14 ^a) Here and in the sequel
 कश्यपः (for काश्यपः)
^a) उद्यत (for एच्छते) [U]
 17 ^c) तथा विपन्नं (for मयाभिपन्नं) [U]
 18 ^c) कं ते (for तेऽय)
 25 ^a) एनं (for एतं)
 26-32 Om.
 34 ^a) नेत्रयोः प्राप तं (for नेत्राभ्यां
 प्रततं) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 36 ^b) महात्मने (for दुरात्मने)
 [$\tilde{S}_1 \tilde{N}_3 D_{6,7}$]
 38 ^c) प्रयोगेण (for प्रसादेन)

Adhy. 47

- 1 ^c) वै (for स) [$\tilde{N}_{1,3} G_6$]
 3 ^a) नो (for मे) [$\tilde{S}_1 K_1 \tilde{N}_3$]
 4 ^a) प्राप्स्येयं वै सवान्धवम् [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 6 ^a) परिपठ्यते (for कश्यते नृप)
 7 ^b) जनाधिप (for नरा°)
 8 ^a) इव (for इति)
 10 ^c) Transp. देशं and तं
 11 ^b) द्विजनायुतम् (for द्विजगणा-
 युतम्)
^c) प्रभूतधनधान्यैश्च

- 15 ^f) संस्थाप्यते (for संस्थास्यते)
 22 ^c) रावान् (for नादान्)
 24 ^a) तुरगाः (for इन्दुराः)

Adhy. 48

- 1 ^a) पुरुषर्षभाः (for परमर्षयः) [N₃]
 2 ^b) तत्र सत्रे (for सर्पसत्रे)
 ^d) भयावहे (for महाभये)
 4 ^a) वर्तयिष्यामि (for कथ°) [N₃]
 6 ^b) कौत्सेर्यजौमनिः (for कौत्सार्य°)
 [N₃]
 ^d) बोधिपिङ्गलः (for बोध°)
 7 ^c) कमठकः (for शम°)
 8 ^a) कुणिघटः (for कुटि°)
 9 ^b) वयःस्वाध्यायशीलवान्
 ^c) काहलो (for कहोडो)
 ^d) शमसौरभः (for °सौभरः)
 10 ^a) यज्ञे (for सत्रे) [N₃]
 12 ^a) तेषां मेदोवहाः (for वसामे°)
 [N_{1.3}]
 18 ^c) तस्य (for तत्र)
 26 ^b) वृत्तसंसृतम् (for वृद्ध°)
 [Corrupt]

Adhy. 49

- 4 ^a) Transp. सा and तस्मै [N₃]
 5 ^b) श्रुता (for श्रुतिः)
 6 ^a) उच्चैःश्रवस्याश्वराज्ञो [N₃ G₁]
 ^b) कुरुतेह मा (for न कृतो मम)
 9 ^a) पयिवान् (for ईयि°)
 12 ^a) तथा (for इति)
 13 पितामह उवाच (for ब्रह्मोवाच)
 16 ^a) न मोघं (for अमोघं)
 17 ^c) दुःखसंप्राप्तं (for °संतप्तं) [U]
 18 ^b) पन्नगेश्वर (for पन्नगोत्तम)
 [N_{1.3} T₂]
 20 ^a) ज्ञपयिष्ये (for तोषयिष्ये)

Adhy. 50

- 1 ^c) भारताय (for °ताग्न्य) Here
 et seq. in this adhy.

- 2 ^b) तथापरं (for °परः)
 8 ^a) सूर्यसमानवर्चसः (for सूर्य-
 हुताश°)
 ^c) अन्यत् (for अय)
 ^d) कदाचित् (for कथांचित्)
 9 ^c) महीं (for क्षिति)
 ^d) चैव (for स्वेषु)
 10 ^b) विश्वकुत् (for °भुक्) [N₃]
 ^c) प्रतीतो (for प्रदीप्तो)
 12 ^b) तथा वै (for तथेह) [N_{1.3}]
 13 ^a) कट्वाङ्ग°
 15 ^a) व्रतानाम् (for कृतानाम्) [N₃ M₄]

Adhy. 51

- 2 सभ्या ऊचुः (for सदस्या ऊचुः)
 3 ^c) वाचं (for वाक्यं) [K₃ M₂₋₄]
 7 ^a) प्रसहिष्यति (for प्रदहि°) [U]
 8 ^c) प्रमत्तः प्रजुहाव (for च यत्तः
 स जु°) [N₃]
 9 ^b) परितः स्तूयमानः (for परिसंस्तू°)
 ^c) अवगीयमानो (for अनुगम्य°)
 ^d) After विद्याधरैः, ins. च [B₁]
 12-15 Transp. 12-13 and 14-15
 12 ^a) नदतो (for रुवतो)
 15 राजोवाच (for जनमेजय
 उवाच)
 ^a) बलाभिपन्नाय (for °भिरूपस्य)
 [N₃]
 ^b) तवानुरूपम् (for यथानु°)
 ^c) हृदिस्थं (for हृदि स्थितं)
 16 ^b) जातवेदसम् (for °दसि)
 [K₂ N₃]
 18 ^a) विप्रं (for इहम्) [N_{1.3}]
 20 ^a) च (for नः)
 22 ^a) अन्यत् (for अन्यं) [N₁ G_{1.2}]

Adhy. 52

- 4 ^a) महावान् (for विषोल्बणान्)
 [N₃]

- 5 ^b) सदः पालो (for सहः पैलो)
 7 ^a) पिण्डसेक्ता (for °भेक्ता)
 8 ^a) उच्छिरः सुतपो (for उच्छिरः
 सुरसो) [N₃]
 °) शिलीशलकणो (for °करो)
 10 ^a) मेदः (for मोदः)
 °) प्रमोहः संहताङ्कः [N₃]
 11 ^b) पतिता (for प्रविष्टा)
 12 ^a) एभिलः (for पेण्डिलः) [N_{1.3}]
 °) वेणुस्कन्धः (for वेणि°)
 °) शृङ्गवेरः (for °वेगः)
 15 ^a) आमाकुटः (for आमाहुटः)
 °) हवनो (for मानवो) [N₃]
 °) मण्डवेदाङ्गः (for मुण्ड°)
 16 ^a) नागः (for नाम)
 17 ^b) सुचित्रः (for सुभिन्नः)
 °) पराशकः (for °शरः) [G₆]
 °) कोणिस्कन्धः (for मणि°) [N₃]
 21 ^a) योजनायुतविस्तारा [N_{1.3}]
 22 ^a) कामवला (for कामगमा)

Adhy. 53

- 1 ^a) छन्दमानो (for °माने)
 4 ^b) महात्मनाम् (for मनीषिणाम्)
 °) न वै संप्रतिभाति स्म येनाद्यौ न
 पपात सः [N₃]
 5 ^a) अभ्युदीरयत् (for अभ्युदैरयत्)
 6 ^a) वितस्थौ (for वितस्थे) [K_{0.2}]
 °) गाश्चक्रश्चान्तरा (for गोचक्र-
 स्यान्तरा) [K₃ N_{1.3}]
 7 ^b) अभिचोदितः (for चोदितो
 भृशम्) [U]
 18 ^a) च (for वै)
 22 Om. [U]
 24 ^a) तु (for स)
 27 ^b) कीर्तितं (for कथितं)
 °) अनेन (for तेन) [U]
 28 ^a) प्रवक्ष्यामि च (for प्रक्ष्यामि
 चैव)
 °) विचक्ष्व (for प्रचक्ष्व)

- 29 ^a) तथा कवे (for महाकवे)
 30 ^a) तत्ते विचक्ष्व नः (for त्वं वै
 विचक्षणः)
 34 ^a) कथ्यते (for सूतज) [N₃]
 35 ^a) तेहं प्रवक्ष्यामि (for ते कथायि-
 ष्यामि)

Adhy. 54

- 1 ^a) अभ्यगच्छत् (for अभ्यागच्छत्)
 5 ^a) धर्मज्ञः (for ब्रह्मर्षिः) [N_{1.3}]
 °) सत्यः शुचिः प्रभुः (for सत्य-
 व्रतः शुचिः)
 13 ^b) राज्यं (for अर्ध्यं) [K_{0.2} M]
 15 ^b) प्रयत्नात् (for यत्नेन) [N₃]
 20 ^a) यथावृत्तं द्विजात्तम
 24 ^a) Transp. तस्मै and राज्ञे

Adhy. 55

- 3 ^a) श्रोतृपात्रं (for श्रोतुं पात्रं)
 °) प्राप्तेयं भारतीं शुभाम् [K₄ N₃]
 17-21 For 17-21 (both incl.),
 subst. 476.* (for v. l. see below)
 476* [(L₃) Transp. सहिता and
 नगरात्
 (L₄) मित्रं (for मन्त्री)
 (L₁₁) तत्र (for चैव)
 (L₁₂) न्यवसन्तु महात्मानो (for
 प्राद्वन्भयसंविज्ञा)
 (L₁₅) मात्रा सह परंतपाः (for
 धार्तराष्ट्रभयार्दिताः)
 (L₂₄) पाश्चालेषु (for पश्चा°)]
 23 ^a) अभिरोचितः (for अनुचिन्तितः)
 [N₃]
 26 ^a) Transp. तत्र and ते [N₃]
 30 ^a) बभौ (for आबभौ) [N₃]
 31 After 31°, ins. 478*, read-
 ing in 31°, सव्यसाचिनं (for
 वै धर्नजयम्).
 After 31, ins. 479*.

Adhy. 56

- 6 ^a) नागशतप्राणो (for नागायुत°)
[U]
8 Om. [K_{1.3} N₁]
10 ^a) परलोकं (for पितृ°) [U]
12 In place of 12, ins. 485*
[N₁]
19 ^c) महीं चापि जयेत्कृत्स्नां [N₃]
24 Om. [N₁]
26 After 26, ins. 494* & 495*
27 Om.
28 ^a) इमां (for इदं) [U]
^d) ब्रह्म गच्छेत्स शाश्वतम्
29 ^a) श्रावयेद्ब्राह्मणान् श्राद्धे
^b) यश्चेदं (for ब्राह्मणान्)
^d) उपावर्तेत्पितृनिह
31 ^a) स मुच्यते (for प्रमुच्यते) [U]
31 After 31, ins. (with v. l.)
App. I, No. 33. (om. lines
3-11)

Adhy. 57

- 1 सदा किल (for स कदाचित्)
3 ^b) तपोधनम् (for °रतिम्)
^{ca}) देवाः शक्रपुरोगास्ते राजानमुप-
तस्थिरे
5 देवा ऊचुः (for इन्द्र उवाच)
^a) पालयते (for धारयते)
8 ^c) धन्यश्च ((for सौम्यश्च)
9 ^a) भूमिह[?] (for चेदिप)[Corrupt]
12 ^a) स्वकर्मस्थाः (for स्वधर्म°)
^d) सत्तम (for यद्भवेत्) [U]
14 ^a) सर्ववर्णेषु (for °मर्त्येषु) [N₃]
16 ^a) लोकानाश्च तद् (for लक्षण
चैतद्)
17 ^c) इष्टप्रमाणम् (for °प्रदानम्)
18 ^b) भूयः (for भूमौ) [U]
20 ^a) तस्याः (for चास्याः)
24 ^c) तस्य (for तथा)
26 ^b) जनाः (for नराः)

- ^e) नरा दानमहायज्ञैः (for वरदान°)
[N₃ B_{5m}]
27 ^f) च सः (for वसुः)
29 ^c) माचेल्लः (for मच्छिल्लः) [K_{2.3}
B_{1.6} D₅]
31 ^f) परिश्रुतम् (for [अ]थ विश्रुतम्)
[N₃]
34 ^b) पर्वतद्वयम् (for पर्वतः स्वयम्)
[T₁ G_{1.3}]
41 ^a) तेजसः (for रेतसः)
42 ^b) च (for सः)
^c) आशु (for अथ)
45 ^a) आमिषकाङ्क्षया (for °शङ्कया)
[N₃]
49 ^f) स्त्रीपुमांसौ स्म मानुषौ [N₃]
52 ^{ca}) जनयिष्यत्यपत्यन्तु स्त्रीपुमांसौ
तु भामिनी [N₃]
53 ^a) अतः (for ततः) [D₅]
^d) वै (for च) [U]
54 ^c) सत्त्वरूपसमायुक्ता [K₃ N₃ M₅]
55 ^a) गन्धवती (for सत्यवती) [N₃]
58 ^b) पारावारम् (for पारावारं)
59 ^a) तदा स (for तयोक्तः) [N₃]
60 ^c) विस्मिताथार्थभवत् (for °ता
चाब्रवीत्) [Corrupt]
26 ^c) गृहं गन्तुं सुदा (for गन्तुं गृहं
गृहे)
68 ^a) अतः (for ततः)
^b) प्रतिष्ठितम् (for परिश्रुतम्) [U]
73 ^b) अनुग्रहकाङ्क्षया (for °काम्यया)
77 ^c) आणीमण्डव्यः (for अणी°)
81 ^a) अकिल्बिषः (for °ल्विषी) [U]
84 ^b) कर्ता हर्ता जगत्प्रभुः [N₃]
86 ^c) दिव्यं (for नित्यं)
87 ^b) सर्वलोकपितामहः [N₃ G_{1.3}]
^c) धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय
88 ^f) अर्थविदाबुभौ (for अन्नविशा-
रदौ)

89 ^{ab}) Transp. स्कन्नं and द्रोण्यां

[N₃]

91 ^a) पञ्चालपात् (for पावकात्)

[Corrupt]

93 ^a) देवप्रकोपनी (for °पनात्) [U]

101 ^a) सर्वशास्त्रविशारदाः

103 ^a) ततो (for वने) [U]

106 ^b) सर्वतः (for सर्वशः)

^c) कृतम् (for ततम्) [N₃ G_{1.2}]

Adhy. 58

1 ^c) ज्ञातुम् (for श्रोतुम्)

2 ^b) महौजसः (for महारथाः) [N₃]

10 ^c) शतशो (for सर्वशो)

11 ^a) सशैलवनपत्तनाम्

13 ^a) कामक्रोधभवान् (for °क्रोधोद्भवान्) [N₃]

^b) जनाधिपाः (for नरा°)

21 ^c) अनुवर्तन्तः (for °पश्यन्तः) [U]

22 ^a) स्वधर्मनिरताः (for स्वकर्म°)

27 ^b) पुनः पुनः (for मनस्विनः) [N₃]

28 ^b) खरोद्भमानुषेषु (for °द्भमहिषेषु)

29 ^c) तदा (for आत्मना) [N₃ D₄ G₃]

30 ^b) बलमदान्विताः (for बलसम-

न्विताः) [N₃ B₃ D_a]

^a) देवलोकात् (for तस्माल्लोकात्)

32 ^b) प्रपीडयन् (for अप्यपीडयन्)

33 ^c) सर्वशः (for सर्वतः)

34 ^a) बलमदेन (for मदबलेन)

41 ^a) तस्याः प्रसादार्थं तदा [N₃]

42 ^c) सर्वेषाम् (for लोकानाम्)

[N₃ G₆]

45 ^c) ततो देवात् (for तदा सर्वात्)

[U]

46 ^a) सर्वशः (for चाब्रवीत्) [N₃]

Adhy. 59

7 ^a) देवानां दानवानां च

^a) [अ]हं (for वै)

11 ^b) Transp. इमाः and प्रजाः

12 ^b) दनायुः (for अनायुः)

^c) प्रधा (for प्रावा)

16 ^c) जघन्य(read °न्यो)यः (for ज-
घन्यजः)

25 ^a) इश्वपा (for इसृपा)

^b) विरूपाक्षहरावुभौ [N₃]

^a) कुपटा कपदास्तथा [N₃]

27 ^a) Transp. वंशे and प्रथिताः

^c) दनुपुत्रास्तदा राजन् [N₃]

29 ^a) गवेष्टः (for गविष्टः) [N₃]

30 ^a) सिंही तु (for सिंहिका) [N₃]

31 ^b) पुत्रपौत्रादि (for °पौत्रम्) [N₃]

36 ^b) म(?)मद्रकर्मिणौ (for मन्त्रक°)

[Corrupt]

37 ^b) कल्पितस्ते तपस्विनाम्

^c) Transp. असुराणां and सुराणां

38 ^a) गुणान्भूतम् (for गुणभूतम्)

40 ^c) कुलकः (for कुलिकः) [G_{1.2}]

41 ^a) तथाष्टमः (for च सप्तमः) [U]

43 ^c) तेषां (for चैव)

44 ^a) अतः प्रभुतानि (for अतस्तु भू°)

[N₃ B₁]

^a) असुरां मार्गणां (for अनूनाम-

रुणां) [B₁ D_a]

^c) अन्येषां सुभगा वासाम्

^c) प्रावी (for प्रावा)

47 ^c) प्रसूताहि (for प्रावासूत) [N₃]

48 ^b) विद्युत्कर्णा (for विद्युत्पर्णा) [N₃]

52 ^{ab}) Om. [U]

54 ^b) ब्राह्मणवैद्यसंनिधौ (for °देवसं°)

^c) Transp. लभते and स

^a) मतिं (for यज्ञः)

Adhy. 60

1 ^a) परमतेजसः (for °मानसाः) [U]

3 ^a) वाहनोऽपुष्कलः (for दहनोऽ-
थेश्वरः)

- 4^a) मरीचिराङ्गराथीत्रिः
 5^a) धूष्णश्चेति (for संवर्तश्च) [N̄₃]
 6^a) अत्रेः पुत्रास्तु बहवः
 12^a) Transp. ददौ and स [N̄₃]
 13^b) निबोधत (for °ध मे) [U]
 14^a) Transp. क्रिया and तथा
 15^a) धर्मपत्न्यः (for सोम°)
 16^a) स्मृताः (for स्थिताः) [N̄₃ D₅]
 17^b) Transp. अनिलः and अनलः
 18^a) नामभिः (for अष्टाविति) [N̄₃]
 31^a) लोकधारणाः (for °धारिणः)
 [Da D₃]
 40^c) कवि ऋषिः (for कविर्विद्वान्)
 41^a) त्वृषिसुतो (for कवि°) [N̄₃]
 42^c) चैव (for चापि) [N̄₃]
 43^a) अनिन्दितः (for °न्दितम्)
 51^a) सुताश्चासुरनन्दिनीम्
 53 After 53, ins. 549* (transp.
 भायो and पुत्रौ)
 54^b) धृतराष्ट्रीमथो (for °ष्ट्रीं तथा)
 55^a) नराधिप (for जनाधिप)
 [K₁ N̄₃ B_{3.5}]
 56^a) [अ]पि (for तु)
 57^b) शुकानिवमनुव्रता [N̄₃]
 58^c) कल्याणगुणसंपूर्णा [U]
 58^b) अथ (for आपि) [N̄₃]
 59^a) हरिभद्रां मनामपि [N̄₃]
 60^a) सृमराश्च परंतप
 61^a) नाम (for नामं)
 62^a) ऐरावणः (for °वतः) [S₁K₁N̄₃]
 64^c) दिशां गजांस्तु श्वेता च
 65^a) श्वेतां जनयदाशुगाम्
 65^b) सुरसा (for सुरभिः)
 66^{ab}) Reads 66^{ab} after 67
 67^b) कद्रुः पन्नगसत्तमान् [N̄₃]
 68^a) तथा (for सुता) [N̄₃ V₁ Da]

Adhy. 61

- 2^a) चरितं (for तत्त्वेन) [N̄₃]
 4^b) पुरुषर्षभः (for दानवर्षभः)
 7^a) बभूव नरेश्वरः (for आसीन्मनु-
 जेश्वरः)
 7^a) मनुजेष्विह (for मनुजेश्वरः) [N̄₃]
 12^a) स जज्ञे पुरुषर्षभः
 13^b) जघन्यस्तु (for श्रीमान्यस्तु) [N̄₃]
 16^a) Om. सः
 18^a) Om. सः
 19^a) राजा (for राजन्)
 21^a) संख्यातविक्रमः (for विख्या°)
 24^c) सुवस्तुः (for सुवास्तुः) [N̄₃]
 25^a) सुरेहः (for अहरः) [N̄₃]
 30^a) बभूवर्षिकसत्तमः [U]
 32^c) द्रुम इत्यभिविख्यातः [U]
 34^a) सुवर्णः (for सुपर्णः) [U]
 35^c) क्रोडीकीर्तिः (for कालकीर्तिः)
 [U]
 36^b) [S]सुरो मया (for महासुरः)
 [Ko.1.3]
 39^a) दनायुषः (for अना°)
 41^a) वीर इत्यभिविख्यातः
 42^c) पौण्ड्रभक्षकः (for °मत्स्यकः)
 [U]
 45^a) कालेयानां (for कालकायाः)
 48^c) निषधाधिपतिः (for निषादाधि°)
 53^b) नराधिपः (for परंतपः)
 54^c) राजा (for राजन्)
 54^b) राजेन्द्र कीर्तितः (for राजन्म-
 की°) [U]
 55^b) कीचकः (for कीटकः) [N̄₃]
 56^a) नाम यः (for नामतः) [U]
 57^b) पार्थिवः (for नामतः) [U]
 58^a) वादधारो (for वादधानो)
 59^a) करुषकाः (for कारू°)
 60^c) उद्धतः (for उद्धवः)
 61^a) एष (for एवं)
 64^a) स जज्ञे (for संजज्ञे)

- 69 ^a) भयंकरः
 78 ^a) दोषेण वै (for दोषादुषेः) [N₃]
 79 Reads 79 after 81
^a) सुमहान्पुत्रात् (for °हाभागं)
 [Corrupt]
^b) वरात् (for वरम्) [U]
 80 ^b) स वै (for भुवि) [N₃]
 81 ^a) महद्दीप्तं (for समुद्दीप्तं) [U]
 86 ^a) स संज्ञे (for बृहत्कीर्तिः)
 [K₃ N₃ V₁ D₅]
^a) फाल्गुनस्यात्मजो वशी
 87 ^a) अंशात् (for अंशं)
 96 ^a) नातिदीर्घा न च ह्रस्वा [N₃]

Adhy. 62

- 10 ^b) रसवन्ति (for फल°)
 11 ^a) सवनकिञ्चरम् (for °काननम्)
 [U]

Adhy. 63

- 2 ^a) खड्गचापधरैः (for खड्गशक्ति°)
 [N₃ M_{3.5}]
^a) नागशतैः (for योधशतैः) [N₃]
 6 ^a) वज्रपाणिं (for शस्त्र°)
 18 ^b) गदामुसलकंपनैः
 19 ^a) स्म (for च)
 23 ^b) समेध्यन्तु (for समिध्य च) [U]

Adhy. 64

- 2 ^a) महादीरिणम् (for महद्दी°) [U]
 3 ^a) मतिप्रह्लादजननं [N₃]
 5 ^a) षट्पदाष्टुर्णिततलं
 7 ^a) हृष्टैः (for पुष्पैः)
 8 ^a) मारुताघट्टिताः (for °तागलि-
 ताः) [N₃]
^b) कुसुमशाखिनः (for °शालिनः)
^c) तु (for स्म)
 19 ^b) प्रत्यपूजयन् (for प्रत्यपयत्)

20--22 Stanzas 20--22 are ins.
 on the margin.

- 21 ^b) फेनपुष्पप्रवाहिनीम्
 23 ^a) After नदीम्, ins. च [U]
^b) तत्र (for दृष्ट्वा) [T₁ G₆]
 25 ^a) स तं (for तत्स) [N₃]
 26 ^b) पदातिजनसंकुलाम्
 29 ^a) आश्रममण्डलम् (for °ममुत्त-
 मम्)
 30 ^a) नानादिजगणैर्युतम् [U]
 34 ^b) कम्पानपि (for अपरोद्विजैः) [N₃]
 35 ^a) Transp.-तत्त्वार्थ-and-विज्ञान)
 [U]
 36 ^a) मोक्षशास्त्रविशारदैः [N₃]

Adhy. 65

- 1 ^a) After नापश्यत्, ins. च
 4 ^a) प्रतिपूजयन् (for °पूज्य च)
 [K₄ N₃]
 5 ^b) ह (for हि)
^c) अनन्तरं (for अनामयं) [N₃]
 6 ^b) तथा (for तदा)
 9 ^a) द्रष्टासि (for द्रक्ष्यसे)
 12 ^a) का त्वं कस्य च (for कासि
 कस्यासि)
 13 ^c) तेहं विज्ञातुं (for त्वामहं ज्ञातुं)
 [N₃]
 21 ^b) मा (for मां)
 36 ^a) आवर्तयेत् मा (for °येत्तथा) [U]
 37 ^a) जितेन्द्रियमतिं स्पृशेत् [K₁ N₃]
 41 ^b) राजन् (for देव) [N₃]
^a) भो (for देव) [N₃]

Adhy. 66

- 1 ^a) ततः (for तदा)
 4 ^b) अभिलङ्घनी (for °लिङ्गती)
 [N₃].

After 4, ins. 601*

- 5 ^a) लुब्धां वासासि संसक्तं
 6 ^a) रूपगुणान् (for °गुणं)
 10 ^c) शकुन्ताः (for शकुनाः)
 12 ^c) शून्ये (for [5]रण्ये) [N₃]
 13 ^a) धर्मसाधने (for °निश्चये)
 14 ^a) [इ]यं (for च) [K₄]
 16 ^a) मनुजेश्वर (for मनुजाधिप) [N₃]

Adhy. 67

- 2 ^a) सुवर्णमालां (for °माला)
 4 ^a) मे (for मां) [N₃]
 ^b) एव (for एहि)
 ^c) वामोरु (for रम्भोरु) [U]
 12 ^a) First च om. [NV₁]
 13 ^b) Transp. धर्म्यौ and तौ [N₃]
 15 ^a) नृप (for प्रभो) [N₃]
 16 ^a) सर्वे (for सत्यं) [U]
 ^b) याचामि (for वक्ष्यामि)
 17 ^b) ब्रवीमि ते (for ब्रवीहि मे)
 ^a) संगतं (for संगमः) [T₂ G_{4.5}]
 18 ^c) विनेष्यामि (for नयिष्यामि)
 [N₃]
 20 ^c) Transp. निवासं and स्वं
 [KN₃ D₅]
 24 ^a) Transp. च and तां
 27 ^b) पुरुषेश्वरः (for पुरुषोत्तमः)
 ^c) अध्यगच्छः (for अभ्यगच्छः)
 [K_{1.2}]
 28 ^c) स (for यः)
 29 ^b) Transp. चक्रं and तस्य [U]
 30 ^a) ते (for सा) [U]
 ^c) निधाय काये कान्तन्तु [U]
 33 ^a) दुःषन्तप्रियकाम्यया [N₃]

Adhy. 68

- 5 ^c) Transp. व्याघ्रान् and सिंहान्
 6 ^b) समीपतः (for समन्ततः)
 9 ^b) अपि (for अस्य) [K₂]
 10 ^c) सर्वलक्षणसंयुताम् [N₃ D₅]
 5 [Annala, B. O. R. I.]

- 11 ^a) गच्छत (for नयत) [N₃]
 12 ^a) सहपुत्रां गजाह्वयम् [N₃]
 16 ^b) परन्तपः (for सुरोपमः)
 20 ^a) स्थाण्विध्वनिच[?श्व]ला (for
 स्थाणुरिवाचला)
 23 ^a) राजानम् (for वचनम्)
 24 ^a) नाम (for अपि) [N₃]
 ^b) किन्तु देवं (for कस्मादेव) [N₃]
 25 ^a) तत्र (for अत्र)
 ^c) कल्याणं बत साक्षीणा(?) (for
 कल्याण* बत साक्षी त्वं)
 27 ^b) वेत्थ (for वेत्सि) [U]
 30 ^a) हेतुज्ञो (for क्षेत्रज्ञो) [U]
 31 ^a) वियातयति (for निर्यात°)
 32 ^a) अन्यथा (for आत्मना) [N₃]
 37 ^b) सद्पत्यं (for तद्°)
 38 ^a) पूर्वमेव (for स्वय°)
 40 ^a) मूलन्तरिष्यतः (for भिन्नं मरि°)
 43 ^b) जनस्याध्वनि वर्तते
 ^c) विश्वस्यः (for विश्वास्यः)
 50 ^a) स्वां रामां (for रामाणां) [N₃]
 ^a) हि (for च)
 51 ^a) रामा ऋते (for रामामृते) [S₁ K₁]
 53 ^a) इमं प्राप्तं (for अनुप्राप्तं) [U]
 54 ^a) बिभ्रतः (for बिभ्रति) [S₁ K₁
 B_{1m}. 4.5]
 55 ^b) तथाविधः (for तथा सुखः)
 57 ^a) भुवि (for लोके) [N₃]
 60 ^a) बाहुना स्वाङ्गम् (for ननु नामा-
 ङ्गम्) [N₃]
 61 ^c) जातकर्मसु (for °र्मणि) [S₁ K
 N₃ D₅]
 62 ^a) शरदां (for शरदः)
 66 ^c) वाला (for राजन्) [U]
 67 ^a) विप्रचित्तिः (for पूर्वचित्तिः)
 68 ^a) पतासां (for तासां मां) [N₃]
 75 ^b) Transp. च ते and पिता
 ^a) प्रधावासि (for [अ]भिधास्यसि)
 77 ^a) स चैव (for सदैव)

78 ^b) बालोऽतिबलवान् (for बालोऽपि ब^०)

79 ^d) त्वं मेनका (for मेनकया) [U]

Adhy. 69

2 ^a) त्रिदशांश्चापि (for त्रिदशेष्वेव) [N₃]

^b) अपि (for अतु) [N₃]

6 ^d) रूपवत्तमम् (for ^०त्तरम्)

14 ^a) ततः (for अतः)

^c) दुर्जनम् (for दुर्जनः)

18 ^b) विसर्जितात् (for विवर्धितान्) [U]

19 ^b) कीर्तिवर्धनाः (for प्रीतिव^०) [U]

20 ^f) त्वमावोदुम् (for वोढुं त्वमिह) [U]

28 ^a) एवमुक्त्वा तु (for एतावदुक्त्वा) [N₃]

29 ^a) भर्ता माता पिता (for भस्त्रा माता पितुः)

30 ^a) रेतोधः (for रेतोधाः)

^{ad}) आहितोयं त्वया गर्भो माव-
मंस्थाः शकुन्तलाम् [N₃]

35 ^a) अपि (for अस्य)

^c) चाप्येवमेवैतत् (for अप्येवमेवैनं)

^d) आत्मना (for आत्मजम्) [S₁ K₁ D₅]

37 After 37, ins. 678*

38 ^c) विप्रेन्द्रैः (for विप्रैश्च) [U]

40 ^b) मे (for वै) [D₅]

41 ^a) मन्यतैव हि (for मन्यते चैव) [K_{0.1} D₅]

42 ^a) Transp. क्षान्तं and ते [D₅]

45 ^c) अजरं (for अजितं) [N₃]

46 ^a) प्राप्य (for प्राप्)

48 ^c) गोविमंतं (for गोविततं) [K_{0.2} D_{a1}]

49 ^c) तु (for च) [U]

^d) भरता (for भारता)

51 ^c) यथामुख्यान (for ^०मुख्यं)

^d) भारतात् (for भारत) [N₃]

Adhy. 70

2 ^b) कौरवाणां (for पौर^०)

3 ^c) प्राचेतसः (for प्रचे^०)

5 ^a) संश्रितः सुतान् (for संशित-
वतान्) [U]

7^b) पुत्रिकात्वे (for पुत्रिका) [S₁ K_{0.1}]

8 ^a) सप्ताविंशतिम् (for सप्तविं^०)

9 ^c) मरीचं (for मारीचः) [U]

^d) अदित्यां (for आदित्यान्)

11 ^a) यतः (for ततः) [N₃]

^c) ब्रह्मक्षत्रादयो यस्मात् [U]

12 ^b) संहितम् (for संगतम्)

14 ^c) नाभागादिष्टदशमान् [K₂]

20 ^a) सर्षिभिः संकुद्वैः (for महर्षिभिः
कुद्वैः)

^c) बलमदात् (for मदबलात्)

22 ^c) शतायुश्च (for वनायुश्च) [N₃ G₄₋₆]

23 ^b) रजरं यमनेनसं [N₃]

28 ^b) पाञ्चिम् (for पाञ्चम्)

36 ^c) स[सा]ह्यं (for कार्यं)

40 ^a) ते तस्य न (for न ते तस्य) [N₃]

41 ^c) तवादाय (for समास्थाय)

[KN_{1.3} D₅]

46 ^b) ह (for च) [K₀ D_a]

Adhy. 71

2 ^b) त्वया द्विज (for द्विजोत्तम) [N₃]

^d) राज्ञो वंशकरान् (for पुरोवंश^०)

6 ^c) पौरोहित्याय (for ^०हित्येन)

8 ^c) Transp. न and तान्

10 ^a) ते[S]थ (for ते तु)

12 ^a) तु (for स)

^d) Transp. न and स [D₃ G₃]

13 ^b) मुनिम् (for कविम्) [N₃ D₅ G₁]

- 16 ^d) वचनमब्रवीत् (for वाक्यमुवाच
ह) [N_{1.3}]
17 ^c) कचम् (for कचः)
^d) मे (for मां) [U]
18 ^b) परवान् (for परमं)
^c) अनुजानीस्व (for °मन्यस्व)
[U]
20 ^d) काव्येन (for शुक्लेण) [N₃]
21 ^b) वै गृहीतवान् (for प्रत्यगृह्णत)
[N_{1.3}]
24 ^b) नियतव्रतचारिणम्
26 ^c) शकलीकृतम् (for तिलशः
कृतम्) [N₃]
28 ^d) चैव (for तात) [N₃]
30 ^a) शब्दाप्य (for शब्देन)
^b) तम् (for अहम्)
31 ^b) प्रयुक्ता[? read क्त्वा] (for
प्रयुज्य)
32 ^c) कचो (for ततो)
34 ^b) Transp. वाक्यं and पितरम्
36 ^a) एनं (for एवं) [D₅]
After 36^{ab}, ins. 708* (with
v. l.)
^c) सुरद्विषश्चैव (for सुराश्च विश्वे
च)
^d) उपस्थाने सन्नमति प्रभावात्
After 36, ins. 709* (with
v. l.)
37 ^b) तपोनिधिः पिता (for पिता तपो-
धनः) [N₃]
38 After 38, ins. 710*
39 ^b) शिष्या नागतान्दूषयन्ति (for
शिष्यं नागसं सूदयन्ति) [N₃]
40 Om.
43 ^c) आसुरीं त्वय मायां (for आसुरी
चैव माया)
48 ^c) अवेक्ष्यैषा (for समीक्षेथा) [U]
52 ^b) चैवमवाप्य घोरं (for चैव तथा-
तिघोरं) [N₃]

- 56 ^c) दैवाविमूढभावान् (for °बुद्धिर्न)
[N₃]
58 ^b) पञ्च (for दश) [U]
^d) त्रिदिवालयम् (for त्रिदशा-
लयम्) [K₂ N₃]

Adhy. 72

- 1 ^b) निसृष्टं गुरुणा तथा [U]
3 ^d) Transp. भूयो and मम
5 ^b) त्वं ज्ञातुमर्हसि (for भजितु °)
[N₃]
8 ^c) निवोध (for तथैव) [N₃]
9 ^a) मे पुत्रो (for पुत्रो वै) [N₃]
10 ^a) हन्यमानेन (for °ने च) [U]
^b) त्वया कच (for कच त्वयि) [U]
11 ^a) सौहार्देनानुरागेण (for °दे चानु-
रागे च) [U]
12 ^b) शुभव्रतम् (for °व्रते) [U]
^c) Transp. त्वं and मह्यं [S₁
K_{0.2} D₅]
20 ^a) च (for न)
^b) नेति यच्चात्थ (for यत्त्वं मामा-
त्थ)
21 ^c) क्षिप्रं (for शीघ्रं) [N₃]
^d) द्विजपुङ्गव (for °सत्तमः)
22 ^a) मुदा युताः (for मुदान्विताः) [U]
23 ^a) भागभाक्च (for °भाङ्गनो)

Adhy. 73

- 8 ^a) वस्त्रं त्वं (for मे वस्त्रं)
18 ^a) हि (for [अ]सि)
^d) सत्यं (for सर्वं)
19 ^a) Transp. स and न [N₃]
21 ^a) संश्रान्तं (for संशान्तं)
25 ^a) प्रत्वरितं (for वै त्व°) [M]
26 ^c) महाव्रह्मन् (for °भाग) [N₃]
30 ^a) वास्तु वा मा वा (for मेऽस्तु
वा मास्तु)
36 ^d) ईश्वरं (for ऐश्वरं) [Cd]

Adhy. 74

3 ^b) नियच्छति (for निरस्यति)

[Ko.2.4 N̄₃]

8 ^a) चातिबलाबलम् (for चापि ब°)11 ^a) अभिनन्दति (for अभिजानन्ति)After 11, ins. 750* (with
v. l. as in K)

Adhy. 75

6 ^c) Transp. धर्मश्च and सत्यं च

[N̄₃ B₅ G₃]

7 ^a) अवहाय (for अपहाय)^a) After अन्यद्, ins. नः [KD₅]10 ^c) च (for वा)11 ^a) यदस्ति किञ्चिद्भविणं [N̄₃]^c) चेत् (for ते)14 ^b) शर्मिष्ठाप्रतिकामये [U]^a) दद्याच्च (for दास्यति)18 ^a) Transp. सा and यं20 ^c) त्वामनुयास्यामि (for त्वां तत्र
या°) [N̄₃]

Adhy. 76

12 ^c) को नाम (for किंनामा)13 ^{ab}) Transp. कुत्सः and मे वेदः

[N̄₃ D₅]

15 ^a) माम् (for तन्मा) [N̄₃]18 ^c) After ऋषिश्च, ins. अपि19 ^a) एकभावोद्भवा (for एकदेहो-
द्भवा) [N̄₃]25 ^a) विषहामि (for विवहामि)

[K₁-₂ M₅ Cd Arj. (comm.)]

26 ^a) भजस्व तस्मान्मा (for वहस्व

पित्रा मां) [N̄₃]

^b) पित्रा (for त्वं हि)29 ^a) Transp. नान्यं and लोके32 ^b) वरये वरम् (for वरयस्व यथा)^c) तस्मिन् (for अस्मिन्)33 ^a) समवाप्नुहि (for °वाप्स्यासि)

Adhy. 77

16 ^a) अनुतं (for वचनं)^c) सर्वधनातिपाते (for °नापहारे)

[M]

18 ^a) वक्तुम् (for कर्तुम्)25 ^a) स (for च)

Adhy. 78

1 ^a) सा (for तु) [N̄₃]3 ^a) अभ्यागमत् (for °गतः)^b) वेदवेदाङ्गपारगः (for धर्मात्मा
वेदपा°) [N̄₃]5 ^a) श्रोतुम् (for वेत्तुम्) [N̄₃ D₅]6 ^b) Transp. रविं and यथा^a) Transp. शक्तिः and नासीत्
[N̄₃]8 ^b) संप्रधाय (for °हस्य)11 ^a) जगाम हरितं वनम्14 ^a) प्रवृत्त (for वि°)15 ^a) ताम् (for तस्य) [U]18 ^a) मे (for किम्)20 ^a) भर्ता (for राजा)23 ^c) त्वरितां (for °तं)25 ^a) च (for तु)28 ^c) मयि (for मम) [K₄ N̄₃]30 ^b) स्वयम् (for प्रियम्)32 ^a) यो (for वै) [Ko.3 N̄₃ D₅]35 ^b) मय्य° (for मद°)^c) मिथ्यावृत्तस्य (for °चारस्य)
[U]36 ^b) नहुषात्मजः (for नाहुषस्तदा)

[N̄₃ D₅ G₃]

37 ^a) न (for मा)

Adhy. 79

4 ^a) सहस्रवर्षाणां (for वर्षसहस्रे तु)6 ^b) स्वयौवनैः (for स यौ°) [D₄
G₃]

- ०) तात (for चैव) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 ०) तज्जराहं न कामये [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 7 ०) Transp. ते and चै
 9 ०) ते (for तु) [$K_1 \tilde{N}_3$]
 ०) प्रतिदास्यामि (for पुनर्दास्यामि)
 ०) प्रतिपद्येहं (for प्रतिपत्स्यामि) [U]
 10 ०) Transp. कामये and जरां
 16 ०) ते (for तु) [$\tilde{S}_1 \tilde{N}_3$]
 ०) दत्त्वा स्वं प्रतिपत्स्यामि [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 17 ०) जरायां न कामये (for जरां नाभिका^०)
 19 ०) नोदुपप्लवसंतारो [$\tilde{S}_1 K_{0.1}$]
 ०) प्राप्स्यसि (for [अ]वाप्स्यसि) [$K_{2.4} \tilde{N}_3 D_a$]
 21 ०) तज्जरायां न कामये [U]
 22 ०) तत् (for त्वं) [U]
 24 ०) वरः (for प्रियः) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 25 ०) किञ्चित्कालं (for कञ्चित्कालं)
 30 ०) पुत्र (for वत्स)
 ०) ददानि (for ददामि)

Adhy. 80

- 1 ०) रूपेण (for वयसा) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 ०) वयसा (for ययातिः) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 2 ०) ह (for हि) [$\tilde{N}_3 B_4 D_5$]
 10 ०) च मे (for चैव)
 11 ०) राजन् (for राजा) [D_5]
 12 ०) तु नृपे (for नृपति) [$\tilde{S}_1 K_1 D_5$]
 20 ०) तु (for मे)

Adhy. 81

- 2 ०) यदा (for यथा) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 3 ०) स्वर्गवासं (for सुरवासं) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 8 ०) पुण्य^० (for सत्य^०) [U]
 9 ०) सर्वपापप्रमोचनीम्
 13 ०) पूजयन्नित्यं (for पूजयामास)
 15 ०) पुनः (for नृपः)

Adhy. 82

- 4 ०) कथयस्व राजन् (for कथयेह सत्यम्) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 5 ०) ते राजन् (for त्वं राजा) [U]
 11 ०) नामर्मसु ते (for वा मर्मसु ये)
 12 ०) नास्तीदृशं संवदनं

Adhy. 83

- 2 ०) गन्धर्वेषु पतत्रिषु (for गन्धर्व-महार्षिषु)
 3 ०) यदभ्यमंस्थाः (for यदावमंस्थाः)
 ०) पतितोसि (for पातितोसि)
 11 ०) च (for तु)
 ०) चैवेन्द्रसमानरूप (for देवे^०)
 13 ०) साधुः सदा गतिः (for चाभ्यागतः प्रभुः) [$\tilde{N}_3 B_3 D_a$]

Adhy. 84

- 2 ०) युञ्जे (for प्रयुञ्जे) [$\tilde{N}_3 B_{3.4}$]
 3 ०) नाभ्यवादः कथंचन (for नाभ्यवदः कथंचित्) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 ०) यश्च (for *सन्स्म) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 4 ०) पारलोक्यम् (for पापलोक्यम्)
 ०) सन्तः सतां (for सन्तोऽसतां)
 5 ०) गतन्तत् (for महद्वै)
 14 ०) शतयोजनान्ताम् (for °नायताम्) [$K_{0.3} \tilde{N}_3 G_{4-6}$]
 15 ०) अमरं (for अजरं) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 ०) दुरासदम् (for दुरापम्) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 17 ०) अथ (for तथा) [$D_5 G_1$]
 ०) पुण्यान् (for पश्यन्) [U]
 19 ०) गगनात् (for नन्दनात्) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 ०) अनुक्रोशातां (for अनुक्रोशात्) [U]

Adhy. 85

- 1 ०) यदा वसन् (for °वसतो)

- 3 ^a) तत्र (for तस्मिन्)
 5 ^a) नरेन्द्र (for नरेण)
 6 ^a) तुदत् (for तु तात्)
^d) भौमं ह्यनन्तं (for न भौममन्यं)
 [N₃]
 7 ^a) ब्राह्मणो (for कर्मणो)
 8 ^c) प्रपतन्तः (for °ततः)
^d) दीप्तदंष्ट्राः (for तीक्ष्णदंष्ट्राः) [U]
 9 ^b) रौद्रा (for भौमा) [U]
 10 ^b) तद्वत् (for तद्वै) [M]
 14 ^d) क्षणेन (for क्रमेण) [U]
 16 ^c) उपाहितं (for उपाचितं)
 17 ^b) निकृष्यते (for निघृष्यते)
^d) नात्मानं वेदयते (for केनात्मानं
 चेतयते) [N₃]
 19 ^b) भजन्ते (for ब्रजन्ति) [S₁ K₁
 N₃ G₃]
 27 ^c) तन्नः श्रेयः (for तन्निःश्रेयः)
^d) प्राप्नुते (for प्राप्नुयुः)

Adhy. 86

- 5 ^a) व्यगृहश्च राजन् (for *नगृहश्च
 नित्यं)
 11 ^a) ग्राम्यान् (for ग्राम्यम्)
 12 ^{ab}) After अनिकेतश्च, ins. अपि
 13 ^c) हि (for [अ]स्य) [U]
 15 ^b) तथा (for सदा) [N₃]

Adhy. 87

- 2 ^a) अनिकेतं (for °केतो)
^b) संयतम् (for संयतः)
^d) एकतरं (for पूर्वतरं) [N₃]
 3 ^d) अन्यं (for सोऽन्यत्) [N₃]
 4 ^a) असत्यम् (for अपश्यम्)
 6 ^b) विप्रहीणः (for विप्रकीर्णः)
^c) अनन्तं (for अनन्तरं)
^d) त्वरयन्ति (for त्वरन्ति)
 9 ^d) ततो (for तथा) [N₃]
 12 ^b) वापि (for चापि)

- 14 ^b) सप्तान्यहानि (for सप्ताप्यहानि)
^c) घृतपृष्ठा (for °पृक्ता) [K₂₋₄ D₅]
 15 ^a) ददानि पत मा (for ददामि मा
 प्रपत)
 16 ^c) After देवादेशात्, ins. च [U]
 17 ^c) कुर्याच्च पूर्वं (for कुर्यामपूर्वं)
 [K₃ N₃ B₁ D₄]
 18 ^b) वसुमान् (for वसुमना)

Adhy. 88

- 1 ^a) पृच्छेहं (for पृच्छामि)
 3 ^a) ददानि (for ददामि)
 6 ^b) Om. इह [K N₃ D₅]
 7 ^a) हृदयेन चापि (for °येनापि
 विद्वन्)
^b) अवमन्ये (for अवमंस्थाः)
 8 ^d) अवहाय (for उपास्ते ह)
 11 ^a) यदर्होहं तद्दध्वं
^c) °नन्दामि (for °धृष्णोमि)
 [K₁ N_{1.3} D₅]
 12 ^a) संप्रदृश्यन्ते (for प्रतिदृ°) [N₃]
^{cd}) यानारुह्य नरा वाहानभिवाञ्छ-
 न्ति शाश्वतान्
 13 ^a) विवक्ष्यन्ति (for हि व°) [K₂]
^c) प्रकाशन्तो (for °शन्ते)
^d) ज्वलिता (for ज्वलन्तो) [N₃]
 14 ^b) विहायसम् (for °यसा)
^c) अत्र यास्यामो (for अनुया°)
^d) यथा (for यदा)
 15 ^c) विरजः (for विरजाः)
^d) देवसद्वगः (for °द्वगः)
 16 ^b) नृपते नृपाः (for नृपसत्तमाः)
 17 ^a) अहम् (for पूर्वम्) [U]
 20 ^c) नरपते (for नृपते) [N₃ G₄₋₆]
 24 ^b) मानवेषु (for मानुषेषु) [N₃ G₁]
 After 24^{cd}, ins. 868* (with
 v. l. as in K₁)
^e) सर्वेथ लोका मुनयश्च देवाः
 25 ^c) द्विजातिभ्यः (for द्विजाग्नेभ्यः)
 [N₃]

^{a)} लभेदस्मत्सलोकताम् [U]

Adhy. 89

- 1 ^{b)} वंशधरान् (for वंशकरान्)
 2 ^{a)} वीर्यहीनो (for शीलहीनो) [N₃]
 5 ^{a)} वंशधृत् (for वंशकृत्) [N_{1.3}]
 7 After 7, ins. 873*
 8 ^{a)} महोत्साहा (for महेश्वासा) [N₃]
 9-10 The ten names ending
 with पु are spelt with यु.
 After 10^{ad}, ins. 875*
 10 ^{e)} त्वासीत् (for तात)
^{f)} राजसूयाश्वमेधभाक्
 11 ^{ab)} मतिनार इति ख्यातो राजा परम-
 धार्मिकः
 14 ^{a)} ततः (for सुतान्) [N₃]
^{b)} पञ्चभूतोपमा नृपाः [N₃]
^{a)} सुतान् (for नृप)
 15 ^{a)} अथ सुषन्तं (for शूर भीमौ च)
^{b)} प्रभूतवसुमेव (for प्रपूर्वं व°)
 17 After 17, ins. 879*
 11 Transp. 18^{ab} and 20^{ab}
 20 ^{a)} नरेन्द्रस्य (for महीन्द्रस्य)
^{e)} ततो दिविरथो (for ततः स वि-
 तथो)
 23 ^{a)} कृत्स्नां (for सर्वां)
 25 ^{a)} तथा (for तदा)
 29 ^{a)} अपि महात्मनः (for अमित-
 तेजसः)
 30 ^{a)} जनरूपिणं यं (for °पिणयोः)
 [U]
^{b)} नराधिपम् (for जनाधिपम्)
 32 ^{b)} कृतैर्नानाविधैस्तदा [U]
^{e)} भरतान् (for भारतान्)
 33 ^{a)} चेमां (for चैव)
^{f)} संवरणं रणे (for स एनं समरे)
 [N₃]
 35 ^{e)} नदीविषमपर्यन्ते
^{f)} भरता (for भारता)
 37 ^{a)} भरताः (for भारताः)

^{f)} सुवर्चसः (for °र्चसे) [N₃D_aD₁]
 38 ^{a)} समाविष्टमुषितं (for समामष्टमी
 मुष्टं) [N₃]

- 42 ^{b)} सुषाव (for सुषुवे) [K₂ N₃]
 43 ^{b)} कुरुजङ्गलम् (for कुरुजाङ्गलम्)
 44 ^{b)} चैत्ररथं (for चित्र°)
^{a)} तस्य (for चास्य) [S₁ N₃]
^{f)} अजायत (for व्यजा°) [N₃
 T₂ G₃]
 45 ^{a)} अनिष्वतः (for अभिष्वतः)
 45 45^{ab} is repeated (with v. 1.)
^{a)} शिल्पसः (for शल्मलः) [U]
 47 ^{a)} सप्त (for सर्वे)
 51 ^{b)} सौण्डिकः (for कुण्डिकः) [N₃]
^{e)} हस्तो विकर्कः (for हस्ती वितर्कः)
^{e)} वहिःश्रवाः (for हविःश्रवाः)
 [N₂₋₃ B_{1.3m}]
 53 ^{b)} धर्महितेप्सया (for धर्मपरीप्सया)
 54 ^{b)} नराधिपाः (for महारथाः)

Adhy. 90

- 1 ^{a)} ये (for मे)
 2 ^{b)} मामिति (for मामति)
 3 ^{a)} पुण्याम् (for दिव्याम्) [N₃]
 5 ^{b)} सताम् (for अहम्) [N₃]
 6 ^{a)} यथा (for पुरा) [K₃ N₃]
^{b)} पुरा (for मया)
 11 After पुरोः, ins. तु
 12 परीतत्वं प्राचीन्वान् (for प्राचि-
 न्वन्तम्) [U]
 14 अहंयतिः (for अहंपातिः)
 15 कृतकार्यस्य दुहितरम् (for खलु
 कृतवीर्येदु°) [U]
 17-18 सुराचीनः (for अरा°) [N_{1.3}]
 19 अयुतानायुः (for अयुतनायी)
 आजहार (for आनयत्)
 23 अजीजनत् (for अजनयत्)
 25 After सरस्वत्यां, ins. गुणस-
 सुदितं)

- आहरत् (for आजहार)
 26 समाप्ते (for निवृत्ते)
 Before तस्यां, ins. स
 31 ^a) Transp. माता and भस्त्रा
 32 ^b) महौजसम् (for यमक्षयात्) [N₃]
 35 विजयां (for जयां)
 तस्य (for तस्यामस्य) [U]
 40-41 From तस्यामस्य up to सं-
 प्रिया नाम om.
 42 अभग्ना (for अरुग्वान्) here &
 below [N₃]
 45 अजनयत्पर्यश्रवसं (for अस्य जज्ञे
 पर्यश्रवाः यमाहुः) [K₂]
 46 Om. पुत्रान् [N₃ B5.6]
 48 ^a) कुमारः (for कराभ्यां)
^a) Here and in the sequel
 शान्तनु (for शान्तनु)
 50 Om. गङ्गां [N₃]
 51 भातरस् उदावहत् (for उदवह-
 न्मातरस्)
 गन्धकालीम् (for °काली)
 52 Before द्वौ, ins. अन्यौ
 56 आविचिन्तयत् कथं न (for
 चिन्तयामास) [N₃]
 उच्छेदं व्रजेत् (for उच्छिद्यते)
 61 Om. तत्र
 63 After कुन्ती, ins. पृथा
 66 After विवर्णरूपः, ins. तथा
 68 Om. त्वं
 70 Om. तां
 71 Om. स
 इति चाप्युक्तम् (for इत्युक्तः)
 [N_{1.3}]
 77 After 77. ins. 903* (with
 v. l.)
 78 शंकिता विदुरमुमन्त्रितेन (for
 शकिता विदुरमुमन्त्रितेन)
 81 आविन्दन्त (for °न्दन्)
 83 यौधिं (for यौधेयं)
 84 बलधारां (for बलधरां)
 85 भद्रभाषिणीं (for the first नाम)
 After उदवहत्, ins. स्वविषय-
 आभ्याजगाम कृशली; अतीव
 गुणवन्तं वासुदेवस्य दयितं
 अजनयत् (for जनयामास)
 87 After उपयेमे, ins. मद्राज्ञौ
 युतिमतो दुहितरम्
 88 नाम राक्षसं घटोत्कचं (for
 राक्षस्यां घटोत्कचं नाम)
 उत्पादयामास (for जनयामास)
 89 After 89, ins. तेषां वंशकरोऽ
 भिमन्यु
 90 Om. अभिमन्युः
 91 After 91, ins. 906*
 93 After उपयेमे, ins. त्वन्मातरं
 भवात् (for अस्य)
 94 भवतोपि (for जनमेजयानु)
 After पुत्रौ, ins. जज्ञाते
 95 शतानीकस्यापि वैदेह्यां पुत्र
 उत्पन्नोऽश्वमेधदत्तः
 96 ^a) Om. तु.
^{ca}) Om.
 After 96^{ab}, ins. the following
 passage followed by 909*
 ते धन्यः पुण्यः पवित्रः सततं
 श्रोतव्यो ब्राह्मणैर्नियमवद्भिरनन्तरं
 क्षत्रियैः स्वधर्मानिरतैः प्रजापालन-
 तत्परैः वैश्यैरपि श्रोतव्योऽधि-
 गम्यश्च तथा शूद्रैरपि त्रिवर्ण-
 शुश्रूभिः श्रद्धधानैरिति ॥ ९६ ॥
 909* Om. विमत्सरा भैत्रा देवपराः,
 Adhy. 91
 1 ^a) संशितव्रतः (for सत्याविक्रमः)
 2 ^b) राजसूयशतेन (for वाजपेय°)
 3 ^c) ह्यासन् (for *आसन्)
 6 ^a) सोपध्यातो (for अप°)
 9 ^b) कश्मलाभिहतो नृपः [Corrupt]

- 13 °) न तच्छ्रुयं न कर्तुश्च [N̄₃]
 17. °) चिकीर्षामि (for करिष्यामि)

Adhy. 92

- 2 °) स्त्रीरूपधारिणी (for श्रीरिव
 रूपिणी)
 4 °) यशस्विनीम् (for सन °)
 °) करोमि (for करवाणि)
 7 °) भजतीं राजन् (for भजमानां त्वं)
 [N̄₃]
 °) दिव्यां काम्यां (for राजन्कन्यां)
 15 °) सूक्ष्मैः (for पुत्रैः) [N̄₃]
 21 °) वाङ्मना (for वाङ्मने)
 22 °) संप्रष्टव्या (for प्रष्टव्या सा)
 30 °) देवता (for देवी वा)
 °) गान्धर्वी (for गन्धर्वी) [N̄₁]
 32 °) [अ]थाभ्यनि(?)न्दद् (for
 अभ्यगच्छद्)
 39 °) वै (for सा)
 44 °) क्षिप्रं (for पुत्रं) [S₁ N̄₃]
 46 °) प्रहसतीम् (for प्रहसिताम्)
 °) सुतम् (for पुत्रम्) [U]
 47 °) मम (for इति) [N̄₃]
 49 °) वै (for अहं)
 50 °) जाता (for देवा) [N̄₁.₃]
 53 °) जन्मनो (for जन्मतो) [N̄₁.₃]
 55 °) एवं (for एष) [N̄₃ D₅]
 °) तत्प्रसूतं (for मत्प्र °) [S₁ N̄₃]

Adhy. 93

- 1 °) योनिम् (for तनुम्)
 3 °) प्रपद्यन्त (for उदपद्यन्त) [N̄₃
 Da₁]
 6 °) सर्वर्तुकवनावृतम्
 8 °) अभिशङ्किता (for अतिगर्विता)
 13 °) अथ भार्या तु (for तु भार्या वै)
 14 °) द्यौश्चापि (for दिवे वै) [N̄₃]
 15 °) स्वाधीनां वसुदोग्धीं च

- 27 °) [अ]नघ (for नृप) [N̄₃ D₂]
 °) ततः (for तदा) [N̄₁.₃]
 30 °) गां (for तां)
 33 °) अष्टौ (for राजन्), and तान्
 मुनिसत्तमः (for अष्टौ तपोधनः) [N̄₃]
 35 °) Transp. न and लेभिरे
 37 °) तात (for तदा) [U]

Adhy. 94

- 1 °) एष (for एवं) [N̄₃ M₃]
 4 After 4^{ab}, ins. 962*
 5 °) अपि (for आसन्) [N̄₃]
 °) पुरुषर्षभे (for भरतर्षभ)
 8 °) नृपतिसत्तमैः (for °तिभिस्तदा)
 11 °) °तपोख्यातः [N̄₃]
 12 °) सूर्यकल्पो[S]भूत् (for सूर्य-
 संकाशो)
 °) क्षमित्वे (for क्षमया)
 18 °) अथ (for अष्टौ) [N̄₃]
 20 °) च (for स)
 29 °) Transp. तं and कुमारं [N̄₃]
 30 °) अरजोम्बरसंवृताम् [S₁ K]
 °) स तां (for सतीं)
 31 °) अविन्दथाः (for अजायिथाः)
 38 °) पौरवस्तु पुरं (for पौरवः स्वपुरं)
 42 °) वनं ततः (for समन्ततः) [N̄₁.₃]
 46 °) Om.
 48 °) मतः (for ततः) [N̄₃]
 55 °) वशस्थाः (for विधेयाः) [N̄₃]
 °) इव (for इह)
 56 °) यत्त्वमात्थ (for यथा मात्थ) [N̄₃]
 58 °) शतैरपि (for शतादपि)
 59 °) अविनाशान्तु (for °शाय) [N̄₃]
 60 °) त्रयी विद्या (for त्रयो वेदा)
 °) सन्तानमपि चाक्षयम्
 60°-61° Om. [N̄₁.₃ V₁ B₆]
 61 °) देवतानां (for उत्तमानां)
 64 °) राज्ञो (for ज्ञात्वा)
 °) ज्ञात्वा सर्वम् (for कृत्स्नं चैवम्)

74 ^b) पुरुषर्षभे (for भरतर्षभे) [Ñ₃]84 ^a) न तदन्यो (for नान्यथा तत्)
[Ñ₃]88 ^a) इति (for दिवि) [Ñ₃]92 ^a) प्रत्यवेदयत् (for संन्यवे°)
[K₂ Ñ₃]**Adhy. 95**4 ^b) पुरुषर्षभे (for भरतर्षभे)9 ^a) विपुले (for तुमुले) [Ñ₃]14 ^a) °कुशलं (for °कुशलो)^a) पर्यपालयत् (for प्रत्य°)**Adhy. 96**1 ^a) चैव (for भीष्मो) [Ñ₃]6 ^b) नामानि (for नामसु) [Ñ₃]10 For 10^{ad}, subst. 999*17 ^{ab}) प्राक्संचार्यद्भिः (for ते द्राग्भ्रा-
जद्भिः) [Ñ₃]18 ^b) सद्शोद्यतधूर्वरान्21 ^b) परिवार्य तम् (for °वारयन्)24 ^b) सर्वशस्त्रभूतां वरः28 ^b) पररथार्दनः (for °बला°)^c) तद्वाक्यकलितः (for तद्वाक्या-
कुलितः) [U]

After 28, ins. 1004*

30 ^a) विनिवर्तितं (for निवर्तमानं)
[Ñ₃]^b) राजानं सर्वपार्थिवाः37 ^c) हत्वा (for अमुद्वात्) [Ñ₃ B₆]38 ^c) चास्य शैलेन (for चाप्यथैकेन)
[K Ñ_{1.3} D₅]

39 After 39, ins. 1013*

41 After 41, ins. 1017*

43 ^a) तात् (for [अ]रीत्) [Ñ_{1.3} D₂]44 ^a) सुता (for स्नुषा) [Ñ]^{ad}) For 44^{ad}, subst. 1018*[Ñ_{1.3}]46 ^a) स तत् (for सतां) [ÑB₁]50 ^a) तदा (for तथा)51 ^b) धार्मिकैर्धर्मकोविदैः54 ^a) चैव (for चापि)55 ^a) प्रतिरूपेण (for °रूपोऽसौ) [U]59 ^a) कुरुजङ्गलैः (for °पुंगवैः)**Adhy. 97**1 After 1, ins. 1022* (with
v. l.)2 ^b) भानि(read °मि) नी (for मा-
निनी)5 ^b) वा (for च) [Ñ_{1.3}]^{ad}) वेद (for वेत्थ; in both
places) [Ñ₃ D₅]10 ^c) महाबाहो (for महाभाग)12 ^a) तु (for च)**Adhy. 98**1 ^c) राजा परशुना पूर्वं^{ef}) Om. [Ñ_{1.3}]3 ^c) वसुधा (for पृथिवी) [U]4 ^b) ततस्ततः (for समन्ततः)5 ^{ef}) Om. [Ñ_{1.3}]6 ^a) तथो° (for अथो°)7 ^a) सोभ्यपद्यत (for सोऽन्व°)
[Ñ_{1.3}]12 ^c) तत्तेजः (for तं रेतः)13 ^a) ब्रूहि (for वदे) [Ñ_{1.3}]^b) एक- (for अत्र) [Ñ₃]15 ^b) सर्वभूताहितेप्सिते17 ^c) महान् (for तदा)20 ^b) तदा (for ततः)28 ^b) समैवैमे(read °वैमे) (for °वैत)29 ^a) दृष्ट्वा (for मत्वा)33 ^a) Transp. मातः and कुरु [Ñ₂]**Adhy. 99**5 ^a) After त्वम्, ins. हि

- 6^b) तपो महत् (for परा गतिः)
 6^b) आशीर्वरो (for आसीत्तरी)[$\tilde{N}_3$]
 12^b) उत्सृज्यतामयम् (for °ज्य मा-
 मकम्) [$K_2 \tilde{N}_3 G_2$]
 15^a) After च, ins. अपि [$\tilde{S}_1 K \tilde{N}_3$]
 29^a) विधानविहितः (for विधातृ°)
 36^c) तथा तव महाप्रज्ञे
 41^a) After कथं, ins. च
 41^b) पालयितुं (for धारयितुं)
 41^d) संवर्धयिष्यति (for तं व°)
 43^d) प्रतिपद्यते (for °द्यताम्) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 44 After वैशंपायन उवाच, ins.
 1068*

- 45^c) भारतानां (for भर°)
 46^a) [अ]थ (for च)
 47^a) त्वयाधीना (for तवाधीना) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 47^b) पुत्रं प्रापय मां तदा
 47^d) एतं (for एव) [$\tilde{S}_1 K_1$]

Adhy. 100

- 1^a) सा पुनः (for शनकैः) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 2^a) After निशीथे, ins. हि
 3^a) तु (for तत्)
 3^b) शुभा (for शुभे)
 3^d) कुरुसत्तमारु (for °पुंगवात्)
 4^a) शरणं प्रविवेश तत्
 15^a) विवर्णा समपद्यत [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 17^b) [अ]सि (for [अ]पि)
 28^b) [अ]मितौजसः (for महात्मनः)
 [Ko $\tilde{N}_3$]
 28^c) [अ]र्थधर्मज्ञः (for °तत्त्वज्ञः) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 After 28, ins. 1087*
 29^c) समासाय (for °वेय) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 30^a) एते (for एव)
 30^b) वै विदुरादयः (for द्वैपायनादपि)
 [$\tilde{N}_3$]

Adhy. 101

- 4^b) वर्ततः (for तिष्ठतः)

- 10^a) सर्वाद (for चैव)
 14^a) ऋषयोथ (for मुनयो°)
 15^b) भारत (for सर्वतः)
 15^c) [इ]ति (for [अ]सि) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 After 15, ins. an additional
 colophon
 16 After 16, ins. 1096*
 17^a) श्रुत्वा च वचनं तेषां [$\tilde{N}_3 Dn$]
 17^b) निश्चिन्त्य (for निष्क्रम्य)
 23^a) ईदृश (for ईदृशी) [U]
 25^b) धृतः (for कृतः)
 27^b) महौजसः (for महात्मनः) [Ko.2]

Adhy. 102

- 6^a) धर्मक्रियायज्ञशीलाः
 6^b) सत्यधर्मपरायणाः [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 6^d) ततः प्रजाः (for प्रजास्तदा) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 7^c) [अ]भ्यनन्दन्त (for °वर्धन्त)
 8^a) च (for वै) [$\tilde{S}_1 K_1 \tilde{N}_3$]
 11^c) °सभावप्र-
 After 11^{cd}, ins. 1104*
 (with v. l.)
 12^a) प्रमृद्याभिप्रवर्धितः [Ko $\tilde{N}_3$]
 16^b) वेदाध्ययनसंगतः [U]
 18^b) चाविभो (for चाभिभो) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 19^b) नरेषु (for नरेभ्यः)

Adhy. 103

- 1^a) सर्वम् (for सम्यक्)
 10^a) कौरव (for भारत) [Corrupt]
 13^b) तदा (for शुभा)
 14 After 14, ins. 1110*
 17^a) तोषयामास (for वृत्तेनाराध्य)
 [$\tilde{N}_3$]

Adhy. 104

- 3^a) अग्रजामथ (for °जातेति)
 4^c) तत्र (for घोरं)
 7^a) Transp. पुत्रः and तव [$\tilde{N}_{1,3}$
 Dn D₁]

- 8 ^b) तस्य (for तेन)
 9 After 9, ins. App. I, No. 58
 (with v. l., omitting lines
 8, 10, 11)
 10 ^b) संवभूव तया सह
^c) तत्र वीरः समभवत्
^d) वरः (for वरम्)
 12 ^c) वदतां (for ददतां) [N̄_{1.3} D₅]
^d) पुनः (for ततः)
 After 12, ins: 1120*
 13 ^{ca}) उत्ससर्ज कुमारं ते जले कुन्ती
 महावलम्
 16 ^c) उपस्पृश्य सदा (for आ पृष्ठता-
 पात्) [N̄_{1.3}]
^d) च (for स) [S₁ K_{1.3} N̄₃]
 17 ^a) तस्मिन्काले च जपतः
^b) तस्य वीरस्य धीमतः
^d) वसु किञ्चिन्महीपते [N̄₃]
 18 ^a) शक्रो (for इन्द्रो)
^b) समुपागमत् (for भूतभावनः)
^c) कवचं (for कुण्डले)
^d) फाल्गुनस्य हिते रतः
 19 ^a) स शरीरात्समुत्क्रुत्य
^b) तं निसर्गजम् (for रुधिररसवम्)
^c) विप्ररूपाय शक्राय
 After 19, ins. 1124*
 (with v. l.)
 20 ^a) ददौ शक्तिं सुरपतिः
^b) वाक्यश्चेदमुवाच ह
^c) यं जेतुमिच्छसे सङ्क्षये [N̄_{1.3}]
 21 ^a) प्राङ्नाम तस्य प्रथितं
^b) क्षितौ (for श्रुतम्)
^c) कर्णो वैकर्तनश्चैव

Adhy. 105

- 1 ^a) सर्वरूपगुणोपेतं
 2 ^a) महास्कन्धम् (for गज°)
^b) वृषभार्क्षं (for ऋष°)
 5 ^c) परिक्रीय (for °क्रीता)[S₁ K_{1.3}]
^d) ततः (for तदा)

- 6 ^a) महास्कन्धं (for गज°) [G₁]
^b) वृषभार्क्षं (for ऋष°)
^c) Transp. पाण्डुं and वृष्टा
 10 ^a) वहूनामागसां कर्ता
^b) वैरी सर्वकुरुक्षिताम् [N̄₃ T₁ G₅]
^c) मगधराजस्य (for °राष्ट्रस्य) [N̄₃]
 12 ^b) पौण्ड्रेषु च नरर्षभ
 14 ^d) कुरुकर्मसु (for कर°)
 18 ^{ab}) कम्बलाजिनरत्नानि राङ्गवास्त-
 रणानि च
 20 ^d) आहृतः (for उद्धृतः) [U]
 23 ^e) Transp. लोकं and हृष्टा
 24 ^a) नानादेश° [N̄₃]
^b) यानैरुच्चावचैरपि [N̄₃]
^d) तथाविधैः (for [अ]थाविकैः)
 26 ^c) च (for तु) [U]
 27 ^c) सर्वभूतानि (for सर्वशः पौरान्)

Adhy. 106

- 7 ^b) [आ]भरणानि (for शयनानि)
 [N̄_{1.3} B₅ D₄]

Adhy. 107

- 5 ^b) त्य(? read त)स्य महात्मनः
 (for तेन महात्मना)
 8 ^d) अलभति (for अग्रहीत्)
 [Corrupt]
 12 ^b) द्विवर्षसंहितां (for °संभृतां)
 17 ^d) कुतोऽवरे (for कुतोऽन्यथा)
 [S₁ K_{2.3} N̄]
 19 ^a) त्वष्टीला (for *अष्टीला)
^b) वभूव शतधा (for *अभवच्छ-
 तथा)
 21 ^d) पुनः (for ततः)
 24 After 24, ins. 1141*,
 followed by line 1 of 1142*
 25 After 25, ins. 1144*
 27 ^c) तथ्यं (for सत्यं)

- 29 After 29, ins. 1146* (with v. l.)
 31 ^b) विशां पते (for महीपते)
 After 31^{ab}, ins. 1148* (with v. l.)
 32 ^a) कुलार्थे पुरुषं (for एकं कुल-
 स्यार्थे)
 33 ^b) द्विजैस्तदा (for द्विजोत्तमैः) [U]
^c) तदा (for तथा)
 34 ^d) चैव (for चैकर) [K₃ Ñ D₄]
 36 ^c) सुतस्तस्य (for ततस्तस्यां)
 [Ś₁ D₅]
 37 ^d) चैव शताधिका (for चैकाथ
 दुःशला)

Ahy. 108.

- 1 ^a) एषां (for तेषां) [K₂₋₄]
^d) वैशंपायन (for आनुपूर्व्येण)[U]
 2 ^d) Transp. समः and सहः
 3 ^c) दुर्मनश्च (for दुर्मुखश्च [Ñ₃]
 5 ^b) विकटासनः (for विकटः समः)
 [Ñ₃]
 6 ^{ab}) Om.
 9 ^c) अश्वकेतुः (for अश्वसेनः)
 10 ^a) कुण्डशायी (for पण्डितको)
 11 ^b) नागदन्तोग्रयाय्यपि
^c) खण्डकुण्डश्च (for निषङ्गी पाशी
 च)
^d) कुण्डधारो धनुर्धरः
 12 ^d) दृढरथाः (for °रथः)
 13 After 13^{ab}, ins. 1155*
 14 ^b) सर्वे सर्वास्त्रकोविदाः [Ñ₃]
^c) इति पुत्रशतश्चैकं
^d) शताधिका (for प्रकीर्तिता)
 16 ^b) सर्वे सर्वार्थकोविदाः [Ñ₃]
^{cd}) Om.
 18 ^a) चापि समये (for समये राजा)
^b) धृतराष्ट्रो महीपतिः
^d) विधिना भरतर्षभ

Adhy. 109

- 1 ^d) ब्रह्मवादिना (for °वित्तम)
 9 ^b) बुद्ध्या विरहितास्तथा [Ñ₃]
 13 ^a) वा (for च)
^b) इत्यपि (for इष्यते) [Ñ₃]
 15 ^b) शस्तः कस्मात् (for कथमस्मात्)
 [K₀ Ñ₃ B₁]
^d) हि (for वै) [Ñ B_{5.6}]
 16 ^b) प्रमुञ्चति (for वि°) [U]
 17 ^c) बहुभिः (for इषुभिः) [K₃ Ñ₃]
 19 After 19^{cd}, ins. 1162*
^c) कर्तुं (for कान्तं)
^f) तत्त्वया विफलं (for यत्त्वया
 वितथं)
 22 ^b) सर्वधर्मार्थतत्त्ववित् [Ñ₃]
 23 ^b) ये नराः (for मानवाः)
^c) विग्राह्याः (for निग्राह्याः)
 25 ^b) [अ]नागसम् (for [अ]संशयम्)
 31 ^c) दुःखार्तः (for शोकार्तः)

Adhy. 110

- 2 ^b) स्वेन (for बत) [Ñ₃]
 12 ^b) दश पञ्च वा (for द्वे च पञ्च च)
 16 ^a) निमेषादिव्यवस्थिताः
 17 ^d) सुनिर्णिक्तात्मकिल्विषः
 21 ^b) [ऽ]न्यं (for [ऽ]न्यां)
 24 ^b) लोकपाः (for सोमपः)
 26 After 26^{cd}, ins. 1166* (with v. l.) [Ñ₃]
 30 ^a) °समाचारः
 36 ^f) आवरणानि (for आभर°)
 38 ^b) परमान्विताम् (for °मात्सि-
 काम्) [Corrupt]
 43 ^b) नागसेनम् (for दारिषेणम्) [Ñ₃]

Adhy. 111

- 6 After 6^{ab}, ins. 1173*
 9 ^a) अतिक्रमेन यान्पक्षी

12 ^b) तत्र मानवाः (for मनुजा भुवि)

[$\tilde{N}_3$]

^a) शश्वद्धि धर्मतः (for शतस-
हस्रशः) [$K_3 \tilde{N}_3$]

13 ^a) धर्मवित्तु (for °विद्धिः)

14 ^a) तु (for च)

15 After 15^{ab}, ins. 1178*

15-16 Reads 15^c-16^b after 12(?)

17 ^b) महर्षिणा (for महात्मना)

18 ^a) आस्मिन् (for अस्ति) [U]

19 ^a) देवश्रेष्ठं (for दैवदिष्टं)

20 ^a) प्रीतिकरं ह्यसि (for प्रीतिसवा-
प्यासि)

23 ^a) धर्मवादिनः (for °मादितः)

26 ^a) जातन्ते (for नष्टं मे) [$\tilde{N}_3$]

^b) मे (for हि)

^d) पुरा (for तथा)

27 ^b) Transp. षट् and पुत्राः

28 ^c) पौनर्भवेयः (for °र्भवश्च)

^d) भगिन्यां (for स्वैरिण्यां) [$\tilde{N}_3$]

29 ^a) दत्तः क्रीतोपविक्रीतः [$\tilde{N}_3$]

30 ^a) पूर्वं पूर्वमसंभावे

^d) [ऽ]पत्यम् (for पुत्रम्)

32 ^a) [अ]हं (for [अ]य)

33 ^a) पुत्रजन्मनि (for [अ]पत्यज°)

Adhy. II2

7 ^c) परमदुर्धर्षः (for °धर्मिष्ठः)

[$\tilde{S}_1 K \tilde{N}_3 D_5$]

8 ^c) तत्र (for ततो)

^d) देवर्षिभिः सह (for सह मह-
र्षिभिः)

13 After 13^{ab}, ins. 1186*
(with v. l.)

14 ^b) Transp. ददौ and धनम्

^c) अनन्तरज्ञानदानान् [$\tilde{S}_1 K_0 \tilde{N}_3$]

^d) कर्तृत्तमान् (for महा°) [$\tilde{N}_3$]

16 ^a) च (for तु)

^d) यक्ष्मणा समगृह्यत

19 ^b) भर्तृविनाकृता (for पुत्र°)

27 ^b) कुशास्तरणशायिनी [U]

28 ^c) कृपणामनाथां करुणां

29 ^a) तस्या (for तस्यां)

^b) विपलन्त्याः (for °पन्त्यां)

30 ^b) हि (for [इ]ह)

31 ^a) आत्मनीये (for आत्मीये च)

32 ^a) भर्त्रा (for भद्रा) [K (except K_1)
 $\tilde{N}_3$]

33 ^b) भरतर्षभ (for मनुजाधिप)

34 ^b) [अ]पि नरर्षभ (for भरतर्षभ)

Adhy. II3

2 ^c) यथोक्तं (for त्वयोक्तं)

4 ^a) चारुहासिनि (for °लोचने)

6 ^c) प्रमाणदृष्टो (for पुराण°)

7 ^a) पुराभवत् (for सनातनः) [$\tilde{N}_3$]

8 ^a) विस्तरशः (for °तः)

20 ^c) विभाण्डकस्य (for उद्दालकस्य)

21 ^a) वामोरु (for रम्भोरु)

^b) [अ]पत्यकर्मणि (for °जन्मनि)

24 ^a) धर्म्याणि (for सर्वाणि) [$\tilde{N}_3$]

26 ^a) वर्णेषु (for कालेषु) [$\tilde{N}_3$]

32 ^c) पूर्वं (for तत्र)

33 ^c) संश्रितात्मानं (for संशिता°)

[$\tilde{N}_3$]

35 For 35^{cd}, subst. 1196*

37 ^a) यथा नौ स्यात्प्रजा प्रभो

38 ^b) मन्त्रवतां (for तत्त्वविदां) [U]

40 ^a) च (for न) [$K_3 \tilde{N}_3 D_5$]

Adhy. II4

1 ^a) संवत्सराधिके (for °राहिते) [$\tilde{N}_3$]

3 ^a) संयुक्ता (for संगम्य)

^d) हितम् (for वरम्)

6 ^b) भवितेति विचिन्तयन्

7 ^a) राजन् (for राजा)

21 ^b) तथा (for तम्) [$\tilde{N}_3$]

23 ^a) मित्राणां (for देवानां) [$\tilde{N}_3$]

- After 23^{ab}, ins. 1212*
(with v. l.)
- 28 ^b) तस्मिन्वाग् (for वागुवाच)
After 28, ins. 1219* (om.
line 1)
- 29 ^a) कौन्ति (for कुन्ति) (here and
elsewhere)
- 31 ^b) सोमकैः (for केकयैः)
- 34 ^b) शिवि° [N̄_{1.3}]
- 38 ^a) देवरथानां (for देवऋषीणां)
^d) सुमहात् (for तुमुलः) [U]
- 41 ^c) वै (for [S]भृत्) [N̄₃]
- 43 ^b) दिव्यालंकार°
After 43^{cd}, ins. 1224*
- 44 ^c) गोपश्च (for गोपतिः) [K_{0.1}]
- 48 ^b) प्रख्यातौ (for विख्यातौ) [K₃
N̄₃]
- 50 ^c) काची (for साची) [N̄₃]
- 51 ^d) मनोहरा (for मनोरमा) [U]
- 52 ^d) [अ]थ (for च)
- 53 ^d) मुञ्जकस्थला [N̄₃]
- 61 ^a) तपसा (for तेजसा)
^b) महावेगा (for °क्रोधा)
[K₃ N̄₃ D₅]
- 62 After 62, ins. 1230*
- 65 ^c) स्वैरिणी (for चारिणी)
^d) Transp. पञ्चमे and बन्धकी
- 66 ^a) सर्वं (for सत्त्वं)

Adhy. II5

- 2 ^b) विगुणोऽपि (for विगुणेऽपि)
- 6 ^a) नाह्यं (for स्तम्भो) [N̄₃]
- 8 ^a) मत्वा (for ज्ञात्वा)
- 9 ^d) Transp. कुरु and प्रियम् [N̄₃]
- 11 ^c) आधिराज्यं हि (for आधि-
पत्यम्) [N̄₃]
- 14 ^a) पुवेनैव (for पुवेनेव)
- 15 ^a) कुन्ती (for माद्रीं) [N̄₃]
- 16 ^a) एका (for एव)

- 18 ^d) रूपद्रविणवित्तमौ [N̄₃]
- 19 ^a) चैषां (for तेषां) [S₁ K₁]
- 21 After 21, ins. 1240* (with
v. l. as in N̄₃)
- 22 ^c) तदा (for पृथा) [N̄₃]
- 23 ^d) यातुणां (for नारीणां)
- 26 ^{cf}) Om. [U]

Adhy. II6

- 7 ^a) एकां गतां (for आत्मसमां) [N̄₃]
- 9 ^b) नान्वपयत (for °बुध्यत)
[B₆]
- 12 ^b) कुरुसत्तम (for °नन्दन)
- 15 ^b) तदा (for वचः)
- 21 ^b) सभाग्या च भृशं मया [N̄₃]
- 23 ^b) श्रेष्ठं (for ज्येष्ठं)
- 24 ^a) स्वभर्तारं (for इह भ°) [U]
- 25 ^d) After ज्येष्ठा, ins. मे
- 29 ^d) Transp. प्रियं and कुरु

Adhy. II7

- 1 ^a) दृष्ट्वा (for कृत्वा)
- ^d) समेत्य मुनयस्तदा [K₀ N̄₃]
- 7 ^a) पुरीं गत्वा (for पुरा भूत्वा) [U]
- 16 ^a) दिव्यात् (for सर्वात्) [N̄₃]
^b) अभिवन्द्य ते (for अभिवाद्य च)
[N̄₃]

- 21 ^d) तत्र (for तस्य)
- 26 ^c) पश्यन्तः (for पश्यतः)
^d) परां प्रीतिसवाप्स्यथ

Adhy. II8

- 18 ^c) जना आशु (for जलेनाशु) [U]
- 19 ^b) श्लक्ष्णेन (for शुक्लेन) [U]
- 22 ^d) वस्त्रैश्च (for अनल्पैः)
- 27 ^b) पाण्डवैः (for बन्धुभिः)
- 29 ^b) शिशियरे (for सुषुप्तुः)

Adhy. 119

- 1 ^{ab}) Transp. राजा च and भीष्म-
श्च [K₃ M₃]
^a) स्वधामृतसमं (for °सयं)
 4 ^b) पुरुषर्षभम् (for भरत°)
 5 ^a) तथा (for तदा) [K_{2.4} Ñ₃]
 7 After 7, ins. 1305*
 10 ^b) पुत्रशोकनिपीडिताम् [Ñ₃]
 11 ^a) त्वम्बिकया (for °अम्बि°)
 14 ^a) तेजसाभवन् (for पाण्डवा°)
 15 ^a) लक्ष्यप्रहरणे (for लक्ष्याभिहरणे)
 [U]
 18 ^a) गलेषु (for पादेषु)
^a) °शिरोद्वहात् [Ñ₃]
 21 ^a) द्रुमात् (for द्रुतं)
 23 ^a) धातराष्ट्रेस्तु (for °राष्ट्राणां)
 [Ñ₃]
 26 ^a) विनिहन्यताम् (for संनि°)
 28 ^a) विनिश्चयं पापं (for स निश्चयं
 पापः)
 29 After 29, ins. 1309*
 33 ^a) वार्तं (for वासं)
 41 ^a) तस्मात् (for तदपि) [M]

Adhy. 120

- 2 ^b) गौतमः (for नामतः)
 8 ^a) उत्फुल्लहृदयो (for °नयनो)[Ñ]
 19 ^a) सोपि तौ निहितौ

Adhy. 121

- 6 ^a) ब्रह्माविदां (for धर्मभृतां) [U]
 7 ^c) भरद्वाजः (for भारद्वाजं)
^a) प्रत्यपद्यत (for प्रत्य°) [U]
 19 ^a) सागरमालिनी (for नज°) [Ñ₃]
 21 ^b) सर्वशः (for भार्गव)

Adhy. 122

- 1 ^a) आगम्य (for आसाद्य)

- 5 ^a) प्रवर्धति (for प्रवृश्चति) [Ñ_{1.3}
 T₁]
 6 ^b) नैवमुपाकृधि (for नवमुपाकुरु)
 [K₂ Ñ₃]
 8 ^b) श्रुतम् (for कुलम्)
^c) विवादं सख्यं च (for सख्यं
 विवाहश्च)
 11 After 11, ins. 1357* (omitting l. 2 and with v. l.)
 12 ^a) ते (for तु) [K_{0.3} Ñ₃]
 19 ^a) करवाम ते (for °महे)
 22 ^a) एषाम् (for एवम्) [M]
 23 ^b) सुसंस्कृतम् (for सुसत्कृतम्) [U]
 25 ^a) °जिघृक्षया [Ñ₃]
 26 ^a) सम्यक् (for श्राम्यन्) [Ñ₃]
 28 ^a) मे सखा सदा (for समासाद्य
 मां)
 32 ^b) समुपागमम् (for पुनराव्रजम्)
 35 ^c) मां ब्रवीषि (for आत्थ मां त्वं)

Adhy. 123

- 2 ^a) समाहूय (for तदा°)
 7 ^b) हयेषु (for रथेषु)
^c) रथेषु (for अश्वेषु)
 8 ^a) कौरवात् (for पाण्डवम्)
 14 ^a) Transp. परया and श्रद्धया
 [K₀ Ñ₃ D₅]
 18 ^a) तं (for स) [K₃ Ñ₃]
 23 ^a) अन्वजानन् (for अभ्य°)
 25 ^c) वने (for च ते)
 26 ^c) समासाद्य (for समागम्य)
 33 ^a) दीयतामिति (for संप्रदीयताम्)
 35 ^c) तव (for त्वया) [U]
^a) इति (for सम)
 36 ^a) तदा (for सदा)
 40 ^b) गदायोग्यौ (for °योग्यां)
 41 ^a) दारुकौ (for त्सारुकौ) [Ñ₃]
 43 ^a) सौष्ठवे चापि (for °वेन च)
 44 ^a) परन्तप (for नराधिप)

- 47 ^b सर्वशः (for सत्वरः)
 50 ^b महाधनुः (for °रवम्) [Ñ₃]
 54 ^a वृक्षं (for भासं) [K₃]
 58 ^a निपात्यताम् (for निशम्यताम्)
 60 ^c भासं (for लक्ष्यं)
 62 ^a एकं (for एनं)
 66 ^b क्षुरप्रेण शितेन सः [Ñ₃]
 67 ^b फाल्गुन (for फल्गुन) here
 and in the sequel
 71 ^b दशभिः (for निशितैः) [Ñ₃]
 74 ^c वीर (for नाम)
 78 ^c पुनर् (for पुमान्) [U]

Adhy. 124

- 6 ^c समायुक्तान् (for पराक्रान्तान्)
 16 ^{ab} Om. [S₁ K(except K₄)]
 29 ^a प्रयोगं (for °गे)
 32 ^a कुञ्जरौ (for गोवृषौ)

Adhy. 125

- 2 ^{ab} ही (in both places for हा)
 13 ^a तुमुला (for [अ]तुला)
^c प्रस्रवसंयुक्तैः (for °संमिश्रैः)
 15 ^c रङ्गात् (for रङ्गे) [U]
 18 ^a प्रमुदिते (for समु°)
 20 ^b [अ]भवाद्गिरिः (for [अ]सृज
 द्विरीन्)
 21 ^a Transp. प्रांशुः and ह्रस्वः [Ñ₃]
 25 ^b [अ]नघ (for [अ]भवत्)
 28 ^a Transp. किं नु and गिरयः
 [Ñ₃]
 32 ^b गदाग्रपाणिः [ः] समवस्थितैः
 स्थितः

Adhy. 126

- 2 ^b कुण्डलोज्ज्वलभूषणः [Ñ_{1.3}]
 6 ^b सर्वं तत् (for सर्वतो) [Ñ₃]
^a अथ (for इव) [Ko.3 D₅]

- 15 ^b Transp. त्वया and वृणे [S₁
 K₁₋₄ Ñ₃]
 20 ^c सकाशे (for समक्षं)
 28 ^a वाग्भिः सुव्यञ्जिताक्षरैः [Ñ₃]
 32 ^a कुलभूषणः (for °वर्धनः)
 39 ^b प्रत्यजानत (for °भाषत)

Adhy. 127

- 1 ^a ज्वलन्निव (for ह्वयन्निव) [Ñ₃]
 2 ^a तमवन्दत (for सम°)
 4 ^b अतिविक्लवः (for स्नेह°)
 8 ^b प्रस्फुरिताननः (for °ताधरः) [U]
 14 After 14^c, ins. 1430*
 (with v. 1)
 15 ^c आदित्यसदृशं (for °संकाशं)
^a प्रजाप्यति (for जनप्यति)
 [cf. Ñ₃]
 19 ^b अग्रकरे (for अथ करे)

Adhy. 128

- 2 ^a शिष्यात् (for सा स्यात्) [U]
 10 ^b नराधिप (for नरर्षभ) [K₀ Ñ₃
 V₁]

Adhy. 129

- 2 ^a तथा (for ततो) [S₁ Ko.2.3]
 3 ^b प्रतिचक्रुर्यथागमम्
 4 After 4^{ab}, ins. 1436*
 11 ^b परिपूज्य (for प्रति°) [Ñ₃ Dn₁]
^c पृष्ठा पाण्डोः पुरावृत्तं
 18 ^a यदि हि त्वं पुरा राज्ये [Ñ₃
 G_{4.5} M]
^b भवमानः स्थितो नृप [Ñ_{1.3}]
^a अवशेष्वापि (for °शे जने)
 [Corrupt]

Adhy. 130

- 5 ^b बलादिभिः (for °दितः) [U]
^c पितृपर्यागताद् (for पितृपैता-
 महाद्) [U]

- 7 ^b) कौरवा (for पौरवा)
 8 ^a) महाराज (for मया तात)
^b) भाविनं (for भावितं)
 11 ^c) ततः (for तदा) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 13 ^b) नाश्वस्थामा न (for न क्षत्ता न च)
 $[\tilde{N}_1 M]$
 14 ^a) विशेषतः (for मनस्विनः) [$\tilde{S}_1$
 $Ko.2.4 \tilde{N}_3 D_5$]
 18 ^b) प्रच्छन्नः प्रयतः (for प्रच्छन्नं तु
 यतः)

Adhy. 131

- 15 ^c) वन्दितात् (for वर्धितात्) [$\tilde{N}_{1.3}$]
 16 ^a) अभ्यनन्दन्त (for °वर्तन्त)
 18 ^b) राज्यलभाय (for राज्यलाभाय)

Adhy. 132

- 8 ^a) कार्यं साधु (for कारयेथा) [U]

Adhy. 133

- 4 ^a) समापृष्टा (for तथा पृष्टा) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 13 ^a) तथावदतः (for तथावादिनः)
 17 ^c) चाभिवन्ध (for अभिनन्ध)
 18 ^c) पाण्डवं ज्येष्ठं (for पाण्डवश्रेष्ठं)
^e) प्राज्ञः (for प्राज्ञं)
^f) सर्वधर्मार्थदर्शिवात् [D_5]
 28 ^a) पाण्डवैः (for चान्नवीत्) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 29 ^a) प्रत्युक्तो (for इत्युक्तो)

Adhy. 134

- 8 ^b) भरतर्षभ (for °र्षभाः)
 10 ^{ca}) पुरतः पौरैः (for पुरुषैरुषुः) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 13 ^c) सौम्य (for सोम्य)
 14^e-15^b Om.

After 15, ins. 1463*

- 21 ^a) सुयोधनवशे (for °मते)
 22 ^a) अग्निना दाहदग्धेषु [U]

After 22^{ca}, ins. 1470*

(with v. l.)

- 24 ^b) पक्षसंश्रितः (for °संस्थितः)
^a) स्पृशैर्ना (for प्रयोगैः) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
 26 ^b) चरन्तो (for चराम) [$\tilde{N}_3$]

Adhy. 135

- 6 ^a) आश्वासकारणम् (for विश्वास°)

Adhy. 136

- 1 ^c) संप्रेक्ष्य (for संलक्ष्य)
 4 ^c) वधायेह (for निधा°)
 $[Ko. 2. 4 \tilde{N}_{1.3}]$
 10 ^c) ततः (for तदा) [$K \tilde{N}_1 D_5$]
 11 ^a) तत् (for यत्)
 12 ^a) हा हा (for अहो) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
^a) वह्निभिः (for मन्त्रिणा) [$\tilde{N}_3$]

Adhy. 137

- 5 ^a) धीमात् (for भीष्मो)
 $[\tilde{N}_{1.3} M_{3.5}]$
 16 ^a) कुरवः (for कौरवाः)
^b) शोकसमन्विताः (for °परायणाः)
 [U]
 18 ^a) निदाघैर् (for विज्ञाय)
 21 ^a) वयम् (for भयात्) [$\tilde{N}_{1.3}$]

Adhy. 138

- 2 ^c) यातिगुल्मांश्च (for दारु°)
 $[Ko. 3. 4]$
 6 ^a) अगमन्नथ चोद्देशम् [$\tilde{N}_{1.3} M$]
 13 ^a) नरोत्तम (for तदा नृप)
 14 ^a) गव्यूतिमात्रमागस्य [$Ko \tilde{N}_3$]
 18 ^b) अनागसमनर्हतीम्
 $[S_1 K \tilde{N}_{1.}]$
^c) इमां (for इह) [$K_{1-4} \tilde{N}_{1.3}$]

Adhy. 139

- 1 ^a) Transp. तत्र and तेषु [$\tilde{N}_3$]

- 2 ^a) अपश्यत्स (for °श्यत्) [K₃ N̄_{1.3} D⁵]
 5 ^c) जेहन्नवः (for °जवान्) [N̄₃]
 11 ^a) भरतर्षभाः (for °र्षभ) [S₁ K_{2.3} N̄_{1.3}]
 12 ^a) जाग्रन्तम् (for जाग्रतं तु) [Ko. 2.3 Dn₁ G₂]
 15 ^b) कूरोपवृंहितम् (for °संहितम्) [N̄₃]
 ^c) हि बलवान् (for [S]तिबलवान्)
 ^d) भ्रातृसङ्गतम् (for °सौहृदम्) [K₃ N̄₃ G₅]
 16 ^a) सुहूर्तमपि (for °तमिव) [K₂ N̄_{1.3}]
 17 ^c) महात्मानं (for महाबाहुं)
 23 ^c) अन्विच्छे (for इच्छामि) [K₃ N̄₃]
 27 ^b) कनीयांसः (for कनिष्ठान्) [N̄³]
 ^d) अपि (for इव) [U]
 28 ^a) वने (for इमान्) [K N̄_{1.3}]
 ^d) कामार्थमिह (for कामार्त इव) [N̄₃]

Adhy. 140

- 5 ^a) भीम (for वीर) [Ko N̄₃]
 ^c) इमं मम पृष्ठं (for इमां मम श्रोणीं) [N̄₃]
 6 ^c) नयिष्यामि (for गमि°) [K₄ N̄₃]
 7 ^a) पृथुलश्रोणि (for विपुल°) [S₁ K_{1.2.4} N̄₃]
 9 ^b) उभौ (for इमौ) [Ko N̄_{1.3}]
 ^d) संघातं चाप्युरो महत् [N̄₃]
 12 ^b) तथा संजल्पमानस्य [N̄₃]
 ^c) क्षुद्रो (for कुक्षो) [S Ko. 2.3 N̄₁]
 14 ^a) सुसूक्ष्मं तनुवाससम् [N̄₃]

Adhy. 141

- 2 ^a) राक्षसानां यशोहर (= 4°) [N̄₃]
 4 ^b) [ए]व (for [अ]य) [N̄₃]
 9 ^a) वकाङ्गाः (for कव्यादाः) [cf. N̄₃]
 ^c) संप्रहृष्टा वै (for भुवि संहृष्टा) [N̄₃]

Adhy. 142

- 15 ^a) समालिङ्ग्य (for °श्लिष्य) [Ko N̄_{1.3} M 6-8]
 ^b) पुनः पुनः (for परस्परम्)
 16 ^c) विभ्राजतु (for विभ्राजेतां)
 24 ^a) गुणशतादपि (for °ताधिकम्) [S₁ N̄]
 25 ^a) [ए]वं (for [अ]य) [N̄₃]
 26 ^a) निपात्यताम् (for निहन्यताम्)
 29 ^b) स्वरम् (for स्वनम्) [U]
 34 ^b) महारथाः (for परंतपाः)

Adhy. 143

- 6 ^b) कालपरीतया (for °प्रतीक्षया) [N̄₃]
 8 ^a) वीरेणानेन चैवाहं [N̄₃]
 11 ^b) पतिः (for सदा) [Corrupt]
 ^d) नरर्षभाः (for °र्षभान्)
 12 ^a) प्रवक्ष्यामि (for वहिष्यामि)
 ^b) अभीप्सताम् (for °प्सतः) [S₁ K_{1.3} B₅ D₅]
 20 ^a) पुण्येषु (for रम्येषु) [S₁ Ko.1 N̄_{1.3}]
 22 ^a) मणिहेमचितेषु (for पद्मोत्पल-युतेषु) [N̄₃]
 23 ^b) वैदूर्यसिकतेषु (for °तासु)
 25 ^a) रम्येषु (for पुण्येषु) [N̄₃ G₃ M]
 ^d) देवतायतनेषु च [N̄₃]
 27 ^a) महान्नलान् (for °बलम्).

- 28 ^a) महारथम् (for °बलम्)
[$\tilde{N}_3$ T₂ G]
36 ^b) तां (for ते) [K (except K₁)
 $\tilde{N}_{1.3}$]

Adhy. 144

- 13 ^b) धर्मनित्यो (for °पुत्रो)
14 ^a) [अ]संशयम् (for °शयः)
15 ^b) महाबलाः (for °रथाः)
^a) सदा (for तदा)
16^c-18^b inserted marg.
sec. m.

Adhy. 145

- 3 ^b) [उ]त (for च)
5 ^b) कौन्त्या भैक्षं (for भैक्षं कुन्त्याः)
7 ^b) राष्ट्रे (for राजन्) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
8 ^b) पुरुषर्षभाः (for भरत°)
13 ^a) यः कुर्यादुषितं (for यत्कुर्यु-
रुषिताः)
15 ^a) सदृशं (for सुकृते) [$\tilde{S}_1$ K $\tilde{N}_3$]
19 ^a) विगताननम् (for विकृता°)

[$\tilde{N}_{1.3}$ B₅]

- 22 ^a) परमसंमतम् (for °मकं मतम्)
[$\tilde{N}_{1.3}$]
29 ^a) शोककरो (for दुःख°) [K₁ $\tilde{N}_3$]
31 ^a) रतिम् (for गतिम्)
34 ^b) सुतं (for सुतां)
^c) बालम् (for बालाम्)
36 ^c) नेति (for नैव)
40 ^a) कृच्छ्रम् (for कृच्छ्राम्)

Adhy. 146

- 9 ^b) सर्वकामधनेश्वरः [$\tilde{S}_1$ Ko.13]
16 ^a) वेदस्मृतीमिव (for वेदश्चुति
यथा) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
18 ^c) अनर्थवशम् (for अनर्ह°)
[U]
20 ^b) तव (for मम) [K₁]

- 22 ^c) गन्तुं ब्रह्मन् (for न तु ब्राह्मण)
31 ^b) महान् (for मया)
^a) जीवितम् (for [अ]जीवितम्)
[$\tilde{S}_1$ K₁ $\tilde{N}$]

Adhy. 147

- 1 ^b) निशाम्य तु (for निशम्य तत्)
[$\tilde{N}_{1.3}$]
5 ^c) तारणात् (for तारयेत्) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
6 ^b) मायि (for [अ]पि)
9 ^a) भवेयम् (for भ्रियेयम्)
[$\tilde{N}_3$ D₂]
16 Reads 16^{cd}, after 1623*
(cf. 18)
18 ^a) सुदुःखिता (for सुखान्विता) [U]
After 18, ins. 1623* (cf. 16)
21 ^a) पिता रुद (for रोदीस्तात)
^c) Transp. सर्वान् and तान्
^a) सोपतिष्ठति (for °सर्पति)
[K₁]

Adhy. 148

- 1 ^c) ह्यपकर्षेयं (for *अप°)
[Ko $\tilde{N}_3$ D₅ M₃]
10 ^b) ते (for ये) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
12 ^c) संचयेनास्य (for °ये चास्य)
13 ^a) कथं (for मया) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
^b) अस्माभिः समुपार्जितम् [$\tilde{N}_3$]
16 ^a) शोकार्णवे (for दुःखा°) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
^c) अतो (for ततो) [U]
^f) उपयोक्ष्यति (for °भोक्ष्यति)

Adhy. 149

- 7 ^a) फलं प्राप्य (for परं पापं) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
^a) कुतस्त्वात्मवतो (for श्रेयो
*आत्मवधो) [$\tilde{N}_3$]
8 ^a) नन्वहं (for न त्वहं)

- 11 ^a) तत्कुर्यात् (for कुर्यान्न)
^b) न च कर्ता (for न नृशंसं) [N̄₃]
 12 ^a) कदाचन (for कथं^०)
 20 ^c) तत् (for तम्) [M]
^d) ताम् (for तौ) [U]

Adhy. 150

- 15 ^b) मतम् (for महत्) [N̄₃]
 16 ^a) वृकोदरबले (for °बली)
 [K (except K₁) N̄₃ D₅]
^b) न जातो न जनिष्यति
 20 ^a) [आ]चरितो (for चरितो)
 [K₄ N̄ B₅]
 21 ^a) मतम् (for श्रुतम्) [U]
 25 ^a) मां (for स)
 26 After 26, ins. 1644*

Adhy. 151

- 9 ^b) प्रेक्षमाणो (for नेक्ष^०)
 11 ^a) च (for सः) [U]
 14 ^a) प्राप्तं (for क्षिप्तं)
 [S₁ K_{0.1.3} D₅]
 19 ^a) क्लमेन (for श्रमेण)

Adhy. 152

- 6 After 6, ins. 1665*
 7 ^a) तत् (for ते) [N̄₃]
 8 ^b) कल्य एव तम् (for काल्यमेव तु)
 15 ^a) परिपृष्ट्वा (for °पृच्छय)
^d) विश्वास्य (for आश्वास्य)

Adhy. 153

- 4 ^b) विप्रं (for विद्वान्)
 6 ^b) सरितस्तथा (for विविधानि च)
 9 ^a) मनुजर्षभाः (for पुरुष^०) [N̄₃]

Adhy. 154

- 9 ^a) द्विजोत्तम (for द्विजर्षभ)

- 13 ^a) द्रोणो (for चापि)
^c) महाखं (for ब्रह्माखं) [N̄₃]
 16 ^a) सकाशं (for नगरं) [N̄₃]

Adhy. 155

- 1 ^a) दुपदस्त्वमर्षी नृपतिः [S₁ N̄₃]
 2 ^a) स (for वै)
 [S₁ K N̄_{1.3} D₅ M₅]
 8 ^c) उपामन्त्रयामास (for तावाम^०)
 10 ^c) यथाकामम् (for °न्यायम्)
 [N̄₃]
 18 ^a) भुञ्जते स्म (for भुङ्क्ते चापि)
 [cf. N̄₃]
 20 ^b) नु (for [इ]दं)
 21 ^a) मा (for त्वं)
 22 ^c) यस्मात् (for तस्मात्) [U]
 24 ^b) प्रसह्यंत न वै भुवि [N̄₃]
 35 ^a) Om. अव [Corrupt]
 36 ^b) [उ]पयाजाभिमन्त्रितम्
 39 ^b) संप्रययौ (for च प्र^०)
 43 ^b) प्रवाति वै (for प्रवायति)
 [N̄₃ B_{1.5} M_{3.5}]
 After 43, ins. 1698*
 48 ^a) उक्त्वा तु (for उवाच) [D₅]

Adhy. 156

- 5 ^a) द्रष्टुं हि (for दृष्टानि)

Adhy. 157

- 4 ^b) सत्येन (for शास्त्रेण) [N̄₃]
 13 ^b) सुहुः (for पुनः) [K N̄_{1.3}]
 14 ^a) जज्ञौ (for जाता)

Adhy. 158

- 2 ^b) सोमश्रवाह्वयम् (for °वायणम्)
 3 ^a) महारथः (for °यशाः)
 7 ^a) प्राची (for घोरा) [N̄₃ M₆₋₈]
 8 ^a) कर्मचारिषु (for कामचारानिह)

- 10 °) गर्हन्ति पुरुषान्सर्वांश्च [N̄_{1.3}]
 °) गृहस्थान् (for बलस्थान्) [N̄₃]
 13 °) वासं (for वाकां)
 [N̄_{1.3} B₅ m D₁]
 14 °) कौणपाः (for कुणपाः)
 15 °) वा (for च)
 16 °) रणे कूरान् (for क्षणे कूरे)
 18 °) विष्णुपदी (for चैकवप्रा) [U]
 °) दाशुचाकाशगा (for
 शुचिराका°) [Corrupt]
 °) [अ]लकशब्दताम् (for °नन्दताम्)
 [K_{0.2-4} N̄_{1.3} B₁]
 22 °) आयम्य (for आनम्य)
 °) अमोचत् (for मुमोच)
 [Corrupt]
 24 °) बिभीषिकां वै (for °षिकैषा)
 °) प्रयोजयेत् (for प्रयुज्यते) [N̄₃]
 25 °) कामये (for लक्षये) [N̄₃]
 31 °) परित्राणम् (for पति°)
 32 °) महाभाग (for °राज) [U]
 34 °) गन्धर्वि (for गन्धर्व) [U]
 37 °) शस्त्राशिना (for अस्त्रा°) [U]
 40 °) मम (for मद्मं)
 41 °) यथा (for मया) [S̄₁ K_{1.2}]
 °) त्वयि निबोध (for प्रतिनि°)
 [K (except K₁) N̄₃]
 50 °) क्षत्रं वज्रस्य भाजनं [U]

Adhy. 159

- 4^{ab}) Om. [S̄₁ K N̄_{1.3}]
 10 °) आत्मनः (for आश्रितः)
 [S̄₁ K (except K₄) B₅ G₁]
 14 °) कथञ्चन (for परंतप) [N̄_{1.3} B
 (except B₆) D₂]
 15-16 Transp. 15^{ab} and 16^{ab}
 [U]
 19 °) लब्धम् (for लब्धुम्)
 21 °) वा (for च)

Adhy. 160

- 3 °) तु (for स) [N̄_{1.3} T₁ G₂]
 12 °) तदा (for सदा) [U]
 13 °) °माल्योपहाराभ्यां [K_{0.4} N̄₃]
 21 °) उरुयशोभुजः (for °यशा भुवि)
 30 °) तस्या (for अस्या)
 32 °) °ताडितः [K_{0.3.4} N̄_{1.3}]

Adhy. 161

- 8 °) कमलपत्राभे (for °गर्भाभे)
 17 °) भूतेषु (for लोकेषु) [U]
 19 °) ह (for ते) [U]

Adhy. 162

- 4^{ab}) Om. [N̄_{1.3}]
 7 °) क्षुत्पिपासाश्रमातं स [N̄₃]
 °) महीपते (for °तले) [N̄_{1.3} G₁]
 18 °) यथेच्छकम् (for °च्छति)
 [B_{1.2.5} D₄]

Adhy. 163

- 17 °) मुनिसत्तमः (for राजसत्तमम्)

Adhy. 165

- 10 °) अमृतनिभं (for °रसं)
 13 °) पृथुपञ्चसमावृताम्
 19 °) यथेप्सिताम् (for ममेप्सिताम्)
 20 °) चापि (for चासि)
 22 °) °प्रचुदिता
 °) रम्भायमाणा (for हम्भा°)
 35 °) प्रश्रवात् (for शकृतः)
 36 °) ददुराण्मुच्छान् (for दरदान्मले-
 च्छान्)
 38 °) शस्त्रवर्षेण (for अस्त्र°) [U]
 °) वध्यमानं (for काल्य°) [U] ३
 39 °) किञ्चित् सैनिकेन्तदा [N̄₃]

Adhy. 166

- 20 ^b) वनम् (for पुनः)
 34 ^b) रक्षसोपहतेन्द्रियः

Adhy. 167

- 10 After 10, ins. 1786*
 11 ^a) अनुगम्य (for अनुगतः) [N̄_{1.3}]
^b) नाश्रमाभिमुखोगमत्
 21 ^c) रक्ष आददितुं (for रक्षो अचु-
 मिह) [N̄₃ M_{6.8}]

Adhy. 168

- 4 ^c) तस्मात् (for घोरात्) [N̄₃]
^d) रक्षसो (for राक्षसात्)
 6 ^a) विप्रयुक्तो (for °मुक्तो)
 [S̄₁ N̄₃ G₃]
 8 ^a) महाप्रज्ञ (for °भाग) [N̄₃]
 10 ^a) अवमन्यामि (for °मस्यामि)
 [U]
 14 ^b) सह तेन वै (for सहितोऽनघ)
^c) ख्यातां पुरवरां (for ख्यातं पुरवरं)
 19 ^b) पताकाध्वजभूषितम्
 25 ^c) नृपतिः (for राजर्षिः) [N̄₃]
^d) पोदनं (for पोतनं) [U]

Adhy. 169

- 7 ^a) इति न ते (for तातेति) [K₁
 N̄_{1.3} M₃]
^b) तात एष महानृषिः
 8 ^c) तात (for तस्य) [N̄₃]
 9 ^d) महातपाः (for °मनाः)
 15 ^b) ददतो (for भृगवो) [cf. N̄₃]
 18 ^c) महीपालाः (for महेष्वासाः)
 [N̄_{1.3}]
 19 ^a) उत्साद्यमानेषु (for उच्छिद्य°)
 20 ^a) [अ]न्यतरा (for °तमा)
 [S̄₁ K₁ N̄₃]
^b) दग्धेथ (for दाधार) [K₁ N̄₃]

- 22 ^b) क्षत्रियाः पुनः (for क्षत्रियर्षभाः)
 23 ^d) गतार्षिच (for शान्ता°) [N̄₃]

Adhy. 170

- 12 ^b) °पन्नगान् [N̄₃]
 17 After 17, ins. 1789*
 (with v. l.)
 19 ^a) लोके (for तात) [N̄₃]
^c) एतत् (for एवं)
^d) चात्मनात्मा निपातितः
 21 ^c) न नः (for तपः) [U]

Adhy. 171

- 2 ^b) भवितुम् (for जीवितुम्)
 6 ^d) ततो (for तदा) [U]
 7 ^a) सपूर्णकामा इव मे
 8 ^c) धारयेयम् (for दधारेयम्)
 [Corrupt]
 17 ^a) तेजो (for तेऽग्निः) [N̄₃]
 23 ^c) लोकान् (for धर्मान्)

Adhy. 172

- 2 ^b) सर्वधर्मभृतां (for °वेदविदां)
 [N̄₃]
 6 ^b) शक्तितः (for युक्तितः)
 8 ^d) पुनरागमत् (for समुपा°)
 [U]
 9 ^a) ततः (for तथा)
^c) तत्राजग्मुरमित्रघ्नं

Adhy. 173

- 2 ^b) पुरा तेन महर्षिणा [?]
 After 2^{cd}, ins. 1796*
^c) एतन्मे संशयं (for कृतं तेन पुरा)
 14 ^b) सुतृशंसवान् (for °कृत्)
^d) पशुम् (for मृगम्)
 [S̄₁ K N̄_{1.3} D₅]
 16 ^b) °कशिंता

23 ^{b)} काममोहितः (for शाप°) [U]

^{a)} संभ्रान्तो (for स तस्या)

Adhy. 175

2 ^{a)} सङ्गन्तान् (for सगणान्)

3 ^{a)} ते (for तान्)

^{b)} धर्मचारिणः (for ब्रह्म°)

8 ^{b)} यशास्विनी (for मन°)

12 ^{a)} महाव्रताः (for यत°)

14 ^{a)} देयान् (for दायान्) [N₃]

17 ^{b)} प्रतिपूज्य (for °गृह्य) [U]

18 ^{a)} पतिम् (for वरम्)

19 ^{a)} भवेत् (for बहु) [N_{1.3}]

Adhy. 176

6 ^{a)} निवासं (for निवेशं)

9 ^{a)} [अ]नानम्यं (for °यम्यं)

10 ^{a)} लक्ष्येण समिते (for यन्त्रेण सहितं) [U]

14 ^{a)} ततोचिता (for तेऽभ्य°)

After 14, ins. 1812*

15 ^{a)} शिशुमारशिरं (for °पुरं)

16 ^{b)} भूमिदेशे (for °भागे) [N₃ M₅]

18 ^{b)} परार्ध्यागरभूषितः

21 ^{b)} °भूषितैः

24 ^{b)} महाबलपराक्रमान्

^{a)} मृष्टागुरु° [Corrupt]

27 ^{c)} Here and in some places in the sequel पञ्चाल° (for पाञ्चाल°)

Adhy. 177

5 ^{a)} [अ]बलश्चैव (for बलश्चैव)

9 ^{c)} सुचित्रः (for सुमित्रः)

11 ^{b)} चित्रसेनः (for चन्द्र°)

^{a)} अदण्डो (for सुदण्डो)

12 ^{a)} महान् (for तथा)

15 ^{b)} पौरवः (for कौरवः)

After 15, ins. 1815*

16^{cd}) Om.

17 ^{b)} महामतिः (for °बलः)

18 After 18^a, ins. 1818*
(with v. l.)

^{b)} सारमेजयः (for सार°)

^{a)} जल्ली (for झिल्ली)

Adhy. 178

3 ^{b)} [अ]थ (for [अ]पि) [U]

5 ^{b)} नयनैः (for हृदयैः) [U]

6 ^{a)} तथा° (for अथा°) [U]

7 ^{a)} सुधर्माश्च (for सुपर्णाश्च) [U]

9 ^{a)} कृष्णः (for पार्थान्)

12 ^{a)} कन्दर्पबाणानुगता (for °बाणा-
भिहता)

16 ^{b)} निष्पिष्यमाणा (for निष्कृष्य°)

[Ko. 2-4 M₅-8]

^{a)} दृश्यंति ह स्म प्रविभग्नचित्ताः

[N₁]

18 ^{a)} च (for स)

Adhy. 179

11 ^{b)} त्रिषु (for कर्म)

19 ^{a)} सैनिकाः (for सुस्वनाः) [U]

20 ^{b)} [अ]मित्रकर्षणः (for [अ]रिनि-
षूदनः) [U]

22 ^{c)} वरदाममाल्य (for वरमाल्यदाम)
[cf K₁]

23 ^{c)} [अ]चिन्त्य राज्ञः (for [अ]चि-
न्त्यकर्मा) [K]

Adhy. 180

2 After 2, ins. 1855*

(with कन्यका for कालिका)

[S₁ K N₁]

3 ^{a)} ते हन्मैनं (for निह°)

[S₁ K G₆]

4 ^{b)} दुरात्मानं (for °चारं)

[N₁ B_{3.5} D₅]

- 5 ^a) नानुदृष्टवान् (for नैव दृ°) [U]
 9 ^b) मुखानि (for वसूनि) [U]
 10 ^a) चैव (for एतत्)
 13 ^c) महात्मानो (for °वीर्यो) [U]
 16 ^a) भीमः (for पार्थः) [U]
 18 ^a) सिंहर्षभमत्तगामी (for मत्तर्ष-
 भतुल्यगामी) [N₁]

Adhy. 181

- 4 ^a) आयम्य (for आदाय) [N₂ B₃]
^b) महाबलः (for °रथः)
 9 ^b) शितैः (for त्रिभिः)
 31 After 31^{ab}, ins. 1882*
 (with स्वपराद्वापि सर्वथा as
 posterior pāda)
^a) योत्स्याम हृष्टवत् (for °महे
 वयम्)
 After 31, ins. 1883*

Adhy. 182

- 2 ^c) कृष्णां (for कन्यां)
 4 ^a) च (for हि)
 7 ^b) शोभिष्यति (for तोषि°)
 8 ^a) अधर्ममेवं (for °र्मभाजं) [U]
 14 ^a) सस्मार भरतर्षभ

Adhy. 183

- 1 Om. [U]
 5 ^c) मधुप्रवीरौ (for यदु°)
 8 ^a) दिष्ट्या सर्वे पावकाच्चास्थ मुक्ता

Adhy. 184

- 3 ^a) निवेदयामासुः (for निवेदयां-
 चक्रुः) [D₄ M₅]
 5 ^a) चतुर्था (for चतुर्णां)
 6 ^a) ददस्व (for ददाहि) [S₁ K D₅]
^b) सिंहर्षभतुल्यरूपः (for मत्तर्षभ°)
 7 ^a) [S]प्युपजहुः (for [S]भ्यव°)
 [N₁ V₁]

8 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

- 9 ^a) सा तु (for पत्तः)
 18 ^b) पौत्राः (for पुत्राः) [K₂ G₁]

Adhy. 185

- 8 ^c) स्थितां (for स्थितौ)
 11 ^a) द्वितीयं (for द्विजातेः) [U]
 12 ^a) [S]ग्निसङ्गात् (for °दाहात्)
 [U]
 16 ^b) वरदो वरार्थो (for वृपदो वरार्हाः)
 20 ^b) प्रसमीक्ष्य (for समुदीक्ष्य)
 [V₁ M_{3.5}]
 21 ^a) तथैव (for तां चैव) [U]
 23 ^c) या (for न) [U]
 25 ^a) पवंगते (for नैव°)

Adhy. 186

- 5 ^a) यानानि (for द्रव्याणि) [N₁]
 7 ^a) वर्माणि चर्माणि (for रथाश्व-
 वर्माणि) [N Dn D₁]
^c) चित्राणि (for चाग्न्याणि) [U]
 9 ^a) [अ]दीनसत्त्वाम् (for °सत्त्वाः)

Adhy. 187

- 13 ^c) वाचा (for राजा)
 26 ^a) कथंचन (for कदा°) [U]

Adhy. 188

- 1 ^a) [अ]भ्यवादयन् (for °पूजयन्)
 2 ^a) प्रतिलभ्य (for °नन्द्य) [U]
 3 ^b) [अ]क्लिष्टकर्मणा (for [अ]मित-
 तेजसा) [D₅]
 4 ^a) स्वयंवरे (for विशां पतिः)
 [N₃ B D₄]

Adhy. 189

- 4 ^a) इयाम् (for प्र°) [S₁ K_{1.2}]
 10 ^a) यत्र देवी गङ्गा सततं प्रभासा
 18 ^c) उग्रधन्वा (for °तेजा) [U]
 19 ^a) निवर्तयितं (for विवर्तयेन)
 22 ^b) प्रावेपतातो मनसोभिषङ्गात्

- 24 ^a) शेष्व (for शेष्वम्)
 27 ^c) [अ]स्मात् (for [अ]स्मान्)
 29 ^b) इदं (for इदं) [U]
 31 After 31^c, ins. 1919*
 After 31, ins. 1920*
 38 After 38^c, ins. 1921*
 39 ^a) [अ]वेक्ष्य (for [अ]वाप्य)
^b) [अ]तिरूपजुष्टाम् (for इव
 रूपिणीं च)
 After 39^{ab}, ins. 1922*
 48 ^a) उपागता (for तवा°) [K₃]

Adhy. 190

- 1 ^b) वर्जनाय (for कार्यमेतत्)
^a) उपयाता (for उपपन्नं) [U]
 8 ^a) [अ]ग्यजनोपपन्नं (for [अ]र्थि
 जनोपशोभितं) [U]
^b) विकीर्णपुष्पोत्पल°
^c) प्रभूतरत्नौघ° [U]
 12 ^b) परीणयामास (for समान-
 यामास)

Adhy. 191

- 6 ^a) ऋद्धिः (for भद्रा) [U]
 7 ^b) °गुणान्विता
 12 ^b) क्षौमवाससम् (for °संवृताम्)
 13 ^a) शतशो भाजनानि च (= 15^d)
 14-16 Transp. 14^{ab} and 16^{ab},
 and om. 15
 17 Transp. 17^{ab} and 19^{ab}
 18 ^b) तदा (for तथा)
 [Ś₁ K_{3.4} Ñ₁ V₁]

Adhy. 192

- 1 ^b) समुपदीयते (for समुपनीयत)
 3 ^b) न्यवधीद् (for [अ]भ्रामयद्) [U]
^c) भ्रामयामास (for त्रासयंश्चापि)
 [U]
^d) वृवरात् (for पुरुषात्) [U]

- 5 ^a) दृष्ट्वा (for श्रुत्वा) [Ñ_{1.3}]
^b) राजन्पाण्डुसुतान्स तान् [U]
 6 ^c) पुनर्जातानिव स्मैतान्
 20 ^a) तथा (for तदा)
 21 After 21, ins. 1951*
 22 After 22, ins. 1953*
 26 ^b) शक्नुमः (for शक्नुवः)
^c) वक्ष्यामः (for वक्ष्यावः)
 29 ^a) सपुत्रपशुबान्धवान्

Adhy. 193

- 3 ^a) [अ]पि (for त्वं) [Ñ₁]
 4 ^b) सुभूतैः (for सुकृतैः) [K_{0.3}]
 10 After 10, ins. 1960*
 (with v. l.)
 13 ^b) महीम् (for महत्) [K_{2.3} Ñ₁]
 14 ^a) यथाशास्त्रं (for °श्रद्धं)
 16 ^c) लोप्त्रघातैः (for °हरैः)
 [Ś₁ K_{1.3.4}]
^d) पात्यन्तामाप्तकारिणः
 19 ^c) साध्वी वा यदि वासाध्वी

Adhy. 194

- 2 ^c) तदा (for यदा)
^a) नैवेह शकिताः प्रभो [U]
 6 ^b) विद्यते (for शक्यते) [V₁ D₅]
 8 ^c) पंच (for तं च) [U]
 9 ^b) धनव्रतः (for °प्रियः)
 [Ś₁ K_{0.1.4}]
 12 ^a) विचारणा (for °रय) [U]
 13 ^{ab}) मित्राणि च प्रभूतानि बलवान्ति
 दृढानि च [U]
 15 ^a) पञ्चाल्यसदनं प्रति
 19 ^c) प्रसह्य (for प्रसथ्य) [U]
 20 ^a) सम्मानदानेन (for साम्ना न°)
 [U]
^b) [अ]य (for च) [Ś₁ K
 (except K₂) Ñ₁]
 23 ^a) महावीर्ये (for °प्राज्ञे) [U]

Adhy. 195

- 5 ^a) निजं (for यथा) [U]
 8 ^a) नः (for च)
 9 ^c) त्वाम् (for तव) [K_{0.3} V₁ G₁]
^a) भजिष्यति (for भविष्यति)
 [U]
 13 ^a) पार्था (for वीरा)
 19 ^a) राज्यं तेषां (for तेषामर्थं)
 [M_{3.6}-8]

Adhy. 196

- 1 ^b) तव (for नृप)
 25 ^a) भाषताम् (for भाषितम्) [U]
 28 ^b) ब्रवीषि (for °मि)

Adhy. 197

- 13 ^b) स्वेषु (for तेषु)
 16 ^a) स्वयम् (for अपि) [U]
 19 ^c) पाण्डवे ज्येष्ठे (for पाण्डवश्रेष्ठे)
 23 ^a) तु दिग्धम् (for निर्दिग्धम्) [U]
 After 23, ins. 1975*
 29 ^a) न भविष्यति (for विनाशिष्यति)
 [U]

Adhy. 198

- 24 ^a) एतदेव मतं सम

Adhy. 199

- 6 ^a) तदा (for ततो) [U]
 9 ^b) पाण्डुपुत्रो (for धर्म°)
 24 ^b) गदतो (for इदं वचो)
^a) कौरवैः पाण्डवर्षभ [U]
 25 ^{abcd}) Om.
 32 ^c) शस्त्रैः (for तल्पैः) [U]
 37 ^a) सर्वभाष्यविदः (for °भाषाविदः)

Adhy. 200

- 3 ^c) नरव्याघ्रा (for महाभागा) [U]
 5 ^a) व्याघ्रा इव (for प्राप्तराज्याः)
 [U]

- 8 ^a) ते (for च) [B₃ G₂]

9 ^{ab}) Om.

- 22 ^c) क्रमेण (for कामेन) [U]

Adhy. 201

- 4 ^a) द्विधैवेको भवत्कृतौ
 14 ^b) पाहीति (for त्राहीति) [U]
 15 ^a) नोपयाताम् (for °याति) [U]
 18 ^a) महादेवं (for प्रभुं देवं) [U]
 24^c-26^a) Om.
 29 ^c) नित्यः प्रमुदितः सर्वः

Adhy. 203

5^c-6^b) Om.

- 12 ^a) स विश्वकृत् (for ततस्ततः)

Adhy. 204

- 5 ^a) महोद्याने (for वनो°)
 [N_{1.3} D₅]

Adhy. 205

- 8 ^a) [अ]भिमन्यते (for °मर्शति)
 [U]

17 After 17^{ab}, ins. 2016*

30 Om. with colophon

Adhy. 206

- 2 ^c) मौक्षाश्च (for चौक्षाश्च)
 [T₃ G₄]
 7 ^a) प्रथमो (for प्रवरो)
 [S₁ K (except K₂)]
 18 ^c) राजन् (for पार्थ)
 19 ^a) [अ]भिमूर्च्छिता (for [अ]स्मि°)
 25 ^a) ते (for वः) [U]
 28 ^c) न च मे (for स च ते) [U]

Adhy. 207

- 3 ^b) यज्ञानुद्दिश्य सन्निधाम्

- 5 ^d) पुरुषर्षभः (for भरत °)
 6 ^{ab}) Om.
 13 ^d) मणपुरं (for मणलूरं) here and
 in the sequel
 18 ^b) प्रपय शरणं प्रभुस् [U]
 19 ^b) एकं प्रसवजं (for एकैकं प्रसवं)
 20 ^c) एका तु मम कन्येयं
^d) उत्सादनी (for उत्पादनी) [S₁]
 23 ^d) त्रीणि वत्सरान् (for त्रिहिमाः
 समाः) [U]

Adhy. 208

- 6 ^d) कुरुसत्तम (for °नन्दन)
 8 °) सहसा (for तरसा)
 14 ^d) वन्दा (for वर्गा)
 16 °) तपस्विनम् (for रूपवन्तम्)
 18 ^b) [अ]द्भुतमुत्तमम् (for °तदर्शनम्)

Adhy. 209

- 20 ^d) एताश्चाप्याशु मोक्षय
 24 °) यं (for ते) [U]

Adhy. 210

- 5 ^d) उभौ (for ऋषी)
 [K₄ N₁ V₁]
 11 ^d) सदाच्युतः (for महाद्युतिः)
 12 ^d) दर्शनम् (for भारत)
 19 ^a) पार्थो (for सर्वैर्) [U]

Adhy. 211

- 10 ^b) वभुर् (for भानुर्)
 13 ^b) महाद्भुते (for °द्भुभे)
 24 °) दिव्यान् (for राजन्) [U]

Adhy. 212

- 8 °) काञ्चनाङ्गेन (for आकाशगेनैव)
 12 ^d) समन्ततः (for सर्भां ततः)
 19 ^d) तुमुलं (for संकुलं)
 31 ^d) अर्जुनेन पराजयः

Adhy. 213

- 6 ^d) इतः (for इति)
 12 ^d) प्रभुः (for ततः)
 13 ^f) आगतः (for आविशत्)
 14 ^{ab}) Om.
 15 ^{ef}) Om. [S₁ K₁]
 17 ^b) रक्तकौशेयवासिनीम्
 19 ^a) अभिवाय (for अभिगम्य) [U]
 26 ^d) महामनाः (for °यशाः)
 28 ^b) जल्ली (for झिल्ला)
 32-33 Om.
 38 ^b) कुन्तीपुत्रो (for धर्मराजो)
 42 ^a) उपावृत्तविदेश्यानां [Corrupt]:
^d) चन्द्रार्कसमतेजसाम् [U]
 45 ^b) स्वलङ्कृताम् (for सुवाससाम्)
 After 45, ins. 2087*
 49 ^a) पाणिग्रहणिकं (for पादग्राह°)
^d) संबन्धं प्रति मानयन्
 51 ^b) महाधनः (for °नदः)
 57 ^f) मृगयां स महायशाः
 After 57, ins. 2097*
 68 ^d) व्यात्ताननमहाभुजम् [B1.5]

Adhy. 214

- 3 ^a) सर्वकामार्थान् (for धर्म°) [U]
 8 ^a) पार्थाः (for विप्रः) [U]
 20 ^b) तथा (for शुभैः) [D1.2]
 30 ^b) प्रार्थयन्कनकप्रभः [U]
 31 ^b) चीरवासाः (for कुण्ण°)
 32 ^b) ज्वलन्तं वै (for भ्राजमानं) [U]

Adhy. 215

- 3 ^d) [अ]र्थस्य (for [अ]ज्ञस्य) [U]
 9 ^b) मेघेनाभिः [भि]प्रवर्षति
 [K_{3.4} N₁ D1.2]
 12 ^a) उक्तोद्भवीच्छूरो (for उक्ते प्रत्यु-
 वाच) [G5.6]
 15 ^a) शरैः समर्थो (for शरैश्च मेऽर्थो)
 [U]

Adhy. 2165 ^a) सर्वशस्त्रप्रवाधि (for °प्रमाधि)[Ś₁ N₁ D₂]12 ^b) शक्रायुधसमावुभौ
[NB₃ Dn D₄]13 ^b) सिंहलाङ्गूललक्षणः16 ^c) तदा (for रथं)17 ^a) जयः (for [S]र्जुनः)28 ^a) कुर्यात् (for जीयात्)**Adhy. 217**6 ^b) भ्रातृन् (for मातृन्)9 ^a) तप्तेषु (for सर्वेषु)**Adhy. 218**6 ^a) स निर्गन्तु (for विनि°)10 ^a) खगतान्भरतर्षभः14 ^c) वितस्थे (for वियत्स्थो)

[Ko.3.4]

15 ^b) [अ]द्धतम् (for [उ]त्तमम्)18 ^a) संप्रतीकार° [U]22 ^b) स्वरोषाग्निदृशो विरात् [Ko.4]° दिग्भ्यश्चैवा° (for विवशाश्चा°)
[U]23 ^a) वधार्थिनः (for रणा°) [U]27 ^a) हतौजसः (for महौजसः)[Ś₁ K₁ V₁]31 ^a) विचक्रां (for विचक्रं) [U]38 ^b) महावने (for °हवे)

° भूतोत्पाताय (for °त्सादाय)

Adhy. 2194 ^b) [अ]तिवेगवत् (for जनार्दनः)17 ^{ca}) °नृप° (for °नर°)**Adhy. 220**4 ^b) विशां पते (for तथागते) [V₁]22 ^a) सर्वलोकानां (for °देवानां)31 ^a) विवर्जय (for विसर्जय)**Adhy. 221**3 ^c) संसीदयन् (for संदीपयन्) [U]14 ^a) सर्वेषां (for पूर्वेषां) [U]19 ^a) धरेत (for ध्रियेत)**Adhy. 223**9 ^a) [अ]स्मात्परिविध्यै° (for हि नः
परिरक्षै°) [U]10 ^a) शरणैषिभिः (for °षिणः)[Ś₁ K₁]11 ^b) त्वत्तो (for तप्त) [K₂]14 ^b) समृद्धः (for समिद्धः) [U]**Adhy. 224**1 ^c) दीप्ताशुं (for [अ]शीतांशुं) [N₁]10 ^b) च (for तु)

° समर्थस्त्वच्च वक्ता वै

° न स्वस्ति (for तेष्वस्ति)

13 ^b) यस्यार्थे (for यदर्थं)

° सपुरुषे (for का°) [U]

15 ^b) यो लम्बेत सुमन्दधीः [U]

° अवमान्य ततो लोको [U]

16^{ab}) °मानोद्गी रेरिहाणो [U]17 ^b) पुनः (for ततः)19^{ca}) एकैकस्य न पुत्रांस्तान्क्रोशमा-
नावपद्यत [U]20 ^a) Om. न [U]21 ^a) °सान एकैकं

° नोच्यते (for नोचुस्ते) [U]

° सम्मतैः (for तमृषिं) [U]

22 ^b) कतमस्तस्य चानुजः23 ^c) [अ]पि (for [अ]स्मि)

24 ^{b)} °जे तव (for °जेन वा
[S₁ Ko.1]

25 ^{a)} यत्र (for यस्त्वं)

29 ^{a)} अवध्यानेन (for अप°)
[G2-4]

32 ^{b)} उपासदन् (for उपासिरे)
[Ko.4]

Adhy. 225

4 ^{c)} देशं (for देशात्)
[S₁ K (except K₂) D1.2]

^{d)} क्षेममन्यं (for अन्यं देशं)
[S₁ K (except K₂)]

7 ^{b)} शतक्रतुः (for सुरेश्वरः)

9 ^{ca)} गृहीतुं तं च शक्नो वै ददौ कालं
चकर्ष च [Corrupt?]

15 ^{b)} स पशुपक्षिणम् (for समृग°)
[Ko.3.4 D5]

16 ^{a)} दग्ध्वा (for जग्ध्वा)

17 ^{d)} चरतां यत्र वाञ्छत [Corrupt¹

19 ^{a)} तदा (for ततः) [U]

NON-ARYAN CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN MUSIC *

BY

O. C. GANGOLY

The progress of researches into the various phases of Indian Antiquities is helping to pile up evidences to demonstrate the fact that the texture of Indian Culture is made of the warp of non-Aryan and Pre-Aryan threads crossed with the woof of Aryan or 'Hinduistic' character. In the light of these evidences, the conviction has been gaining ground that the great process, popularly known as Hinduism, is nothing but a synthesis and a harmonization of complex elements of Aryan, Pre-Aryan, Non-Aryan and Aboriginal culture a good deal of which must have been autochthonous and indigenous, that is to say was born on, or sprung from the soil of the Indian continent. It has become impossible to contradict the fact that Aboriginal and Pre-Aryan cultures have greatly contributed to the development of what has come to be known during historical times—as characteristically Indian civilization. The processes of "indouization" and assimilation have been diverse. Sometimes, the elements and types of aboriginal culture have been transformed and modified so as to fit into the ideals and systems of Aryan thought and culture. Sometimes the aboriginal elements have been bodily annexed and appropriated into the Indian system by removing the property-mark of earlier aboriginal ownership and origins. My humble investigation, very superficial and hasty, into a fragment of Indian Musical culture¹ has brought me face to face with a series of evidences which tend to show that Aryan or Indian Music has grown and developed by appropriating and assimilating a large body of aboriginal elements which existed long before the growth of the characteristic Indian system.

* Other phases of the subject are treated in *Pre-Aryan Elements in Indian Culture*, by Atul K. Sur, Calcutta, 1934.

¹ *Rāgas and Rāgīnīs*, a Pictorial and Iconographic study of Indian Musical Modes based on original sources, 2 vols., Calcutta, Clive Press, 1935.

The system of *rāgas*, or melody-moulds, or melody-patterns is one of the unique features of Indian Music. It is the growth and development of a large variety of *rāgas* which have enriched the body of Indian Music, and the later texts on Indian music have chiefly described and illustrated the 'svara-rūpa' or the note-composition of the *rāgas*, by accurate characterization of each type and its related varieties and sub-divisions. In Vedic times, the *rāgas*, as such, had no existence and in the primitive 'three-noted' types of Vedic chants, there is no suggestion of the characteristic melody-types of later times. Subject to correction, it may be stated that there is not a single reference to any *rāga* or to the *rāga*-system in the *Mahābhārata*¹ or in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Likewise, the current text of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, although it refers to archaic, or earlier forms of Indian melodies is tantalisingly silent about *rāgas* as understood in later times. It is the text of Maṭaṅga, known as *Brhad-deśi* (of uncertain date), which for the first time describes by name, and illustrates the characteristic sonal forms of *rāgas*. Perhaps, the treatise of Maṭaṅga, somewhat fragmentary, in its available recension (Trivandrum Sanskrit series, No. XCIV), comes shortly after Bharata. This text offers very significant evidences which show that the Indian Musical system, now passing as the music-lore of the Aryans, have freely borrowed rich materials from aboriginal sources. Maṭaṅga mentions and describes, several melodies of non-Aryan origin by their proper names and assigns their position in the Indian *rāga* system. These are: (1) Takka-*rāga* (2) Takka-Kaiśika (3) Ābhiri (4) Mālava-Kaiśika (later vulgarized as Māl-Kousa) (5) Mālava-Pañcama (6) Gurjarī and last, though not the least, (7) Pulindī.

It is now recognised by scholars that the tribes or clans known as Mallas, or Mālavas were aboriginal inhabitants of India and are frequently referred to as distinct ethnic groups or clans in early literature. It is believed that at the time of Alexander's invasion they occupied central parts of the Punjab and they are referred

¹ In the *Harivaṃśa*, (Viṣṇu-parva, Ch. 93, Verses 23-24) there is a reference to a *rāga*, by name, which is un-accountable in the face of other evidences relating to the origins of *rāgas*, and is most probably an interpolation. *Deva-gāndhāra* is a very late *rāga*, derived from the archaic melody known as *Bhinna-śadja*.

to as the "Malloi" who were settled along the lower course of the Hydrates below Lahore, and were also famous as brave warriors¹. Indeed Patñjali refers to them as *āyudha-jīvī-saṅghas*, a military tribe, 'subsisting by the use of arms'. In later times they moved to the regions of Rajaputana-to which they have given the geographical name of Malwa. In the *Bharata-Nāṭya-śāstra*, *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*, and *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* (Ch. 68, 69), their physical characteristics as peculiar ethnic types are minutely described, and many of their 'portraits' may be identified in some of the Ajanta Frescoes. As members of a tribal republic, issuing their own coinage, they preserved the integrity of their tribal, social, and cultural peculiarities, for a long time, before they were finally merged in the Indian population². There is very little doubt, that they possessed and developed a characteristic culture of their own, and it is reasonable to suppose that they had some characteristic forms of melodies, which have been borrowed by the orthodox Aryan system. *Kaiśikī* is one of the archaic melodies (*grāma-rāgas*) mentioned by Bharata and others. Likewise *Pañcama* is one of the *Jāti-rāgas* mentioned by Bharata. It is in the text of Maṭaṅga-that we come across two varieties of these two melodies designated by the proper names of *Mālava-Kaiśikī*, and *Mālava-Pañcama*. The same text also refers to a minor melody-a *bhāṣā* (i. e. a *rāgiṇī*), known under the name of *Mālava-vesarikā*. Two other melodies suggest derivations from the Mālava clans, viz: (1) Mālava-Śrī, a variety of the Śrī-Rāga, later vulgarized under the name of *Mālsī*; (2) Mālavi or Mālavikā, a minor melody affiliated to the Rāga Pañcama. When these peculiar varieties of melodies were adopted into the Hindu rāga-system, the Mālavas very probably had retained their integrity as a characteristic cultural unit in the Indian population.

Another ancient and aboriginal tribe which contributed to the Indian music system is the tribe or clan known as the Takkas

¹ Vincent Smith: *Early History of India*, 3rd Edition, 1914, page 74.

Vincent Smith: *The position of the Autonomous Tribes of the Punjab conquered by Alexander the Great*, (J. R. A. S., Oct. 1903).

² For details of the Mālava tribe see B. C. Law: *Ancient Indian Tribes*, II, pp. 37-42: A. C. Banerjee's article in A. B. O. I. Vol. XXI, pp. 218-219; J. C. Ghose: *Notes on the Mālavas* (Indian Culture, Vol. II, pp. 352-353).

9 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

(Taksas), who have not yet received much attention from scholars. It is probable that they originally belonged to the Turanian stock and were established in some parts of the Punjab from very early times, long previous to the advent of the Buddha. It is probable that the ancient city of Takṣa-silā (Takka-silā) and the more modern city of At-tock (Tak) owes their names to this ancient tribe. They do not appear to have been completely aryanised and preserved their integrity upto a very late time, before they were converted to Islam. They still survive as a distinct clan, now Mussulman by faith, and are known as the Tonkṣ (Tauks). They had a peculiar alphabet of their own and this alphabet, known as Tankri characters, is still current in some parts of the Kangra District, which suggests that many of the original clans had settled in Kangra and were merged in the population of the Punjab Himālayas. That they had a characteristic culture of their own is proved by their peculiar alphabet. And a very surprising piece of evidence is offered by the fact that one of the earliest Indian melodies is known as the *Takka-rāga*. Shortly after Bharata, when the current types of songs (*gītis*) were classified into seven types—one of them came to be known as *rāga-gītis*. And the first of these *rāga-gītis*, according to the text of Mātanga is the *Takka-rāga* (*Taku-rāga*), and the last one is also the melody known as *Takka-Kaiśika* (cp. *Mālava-Kaiśika*) :

Taku-rāgasca Souvirastathā Mālava-pañcamah ।

Khādavo Voṭṭa-rāgasca tathā Hindolakaḥ paraḥ ॥ 314

Taka-Kaiśika ityuktastathā Mālava-Kaiśikaḥ ।

Ete rāgāḥ samākhyātā nāmato muni-puṅgavaḥ ॥ 315

Bṛhad-deśī, p. 85

According to Kaśyapa, an authority, earlier than Mātanga, the *Takka-rāga* is the 'chief melody' because it was a melody which pleased the Goddess of Fortune Herself! (*Kaśyapa-mate tu, Takka-rāga eva mukhyaḥ, Lakṣmī-prīti-Karatvāt* ”¹ The *Takka-rāga*, now relegated to the status of a minor melody, still survives in current practice under the name of *Tanka-rāgiṇī*.

It is reasonable to suppose that the aboriginal non-Aryan clans known as the *Takkas* had contributed to the development of the Indian *rāga*-system.

¹ Bṛhad-deśī p. 94.

The next non-Aryas tribe which has contributed to the Aryan music system is the Śaka tribe—which has left deep and abiding finger-marks on the political history of India. Kaniska by adopting Buddhism, and his successors Huviška and others, by adopting Śaivism, have paid their tribute to Indian culture. And to Kaniska, we perhaps owe a lively, if somewhat banal, development of Buddhist Art. But it was not known that the Śakas had given three melodies to the Indian rāga system viz. (1) Śaka-rāga (2) Śaka-tilaka (3) Śaka-misrita. According to Matāṅga Śaka was one of the melodies current under the name of *Sādhārāṇa-gītis*. It subsequently occupied the position of a major rāga. In the list of minor melodies given by Śaraṅgadeva (*Saṁgīta-ratnākara*), he mentions the melody known as *Śaka-tilaka*.

Syāt-ṣāḍjī-dhaivatī-jātyoḥ Ṣaḍja-nyāsāṁśa-saṁyutaḥ ।

Durvalaḥ pañcamo yatra sa Śakaḥ pari-kīrtitaḥ ॥

Brhad-Deśī, p. 99

*Niṣādāṁśā tu ṣaḍjāntā * * * * **

** * ṛṣabha-hīnā tu vijñeyā Śaka-misritā ॥*

Ibid, p. 119

All these three melodies however, have not survived in current practice.

The ancient aboriginal clans known as the Śavaras (who probably lived by hunting as their chief occupation) and frequently referred to in the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 207, 42) and other early literature (*Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 18) claim also to have contributed some melodies to the Indian rāga-system. This is perhaps the melody known as Śāverikā or Sāveri (*vulgo* Sāviri). It is not, however, mentioned in any text earlier than the *Saṁgīta-Makaranda*, of Nārada, which is perhaps not earlier than the 7th century. The pictorial image (*tasvīr*) of the melody suggests a 'tune' to charm snakes and seems to fit in with the culture and occupations of Śavaras in dealing with and taming snakes.¹

¹ *Śrī-khaṇḍa-śaila-śikhare kṛta-saṁnivāsā*
Mātaṅga-mauktika-kṛtāṁśa-hārā-yastih ।
Ākrṣya candana-taroḥ kila Sāviri sāyāṁ (?)
Vadhnāti valaya-mujjvala-nīla-kāṇṭhīḥ ॥ [Sāviri]

The Ābhīras, who are believed to be originally foreign tribes, entered on the stage of Indian political history after the Śakas, and founded a kingdom or principality of considerable power and influence in the region of Eastern Rajputana, Malwa and Guzerat. They figure in several inscriptions in the Western Cave temples. They certainly figure in some of the frescoes in the caves of Ajanta (V. Smith, History of Fine Art, Plate LVII). They are referred to in the dynastic lists of the *Purāṇas*. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, the Ābhīras were in power for sixty-seven years. This must have been about the early part of the fourth century.

✓ With their names is associated at least one Indian melody called Ābhīri (*prākṛita* Āhīri). It is mentioned by Maṭaṅga as one of the minor melodies (*bhāṣā-gītis*) affiliated to the major melody of Pañcama-rāga. It must have been a snake-charmer's melody, as is suggested by its iconographic and pictorial conception.¹

The Gurjjaras are another foreign tribe, originally a nomadic race, who came to India from Central Asia, like the Hūnas, about the 5th or 6th century. Perhaps the earliest reference to this tribe occurs in the *Harṣacarita* (4th Uucchvāsa). It is said that Prabhākara-Vardhana, father of Harṣa, 'deprived the Gurjjaras of sleep' (*Gurjjara-prjāgarah*). The Aiholi inscription of Pula-keśin II, suggests that the powers of the Great Cālukyan king had induced the Lāṭas² Mālavas and Gurjjaras to settle down to civilized life" ('*pratāpopanatā yasya Lāṭa-Mālava-Gurjjarāḥ, Daṇḍo-panata-Sāmanṭa-caryā-varyā nā bhavan*, ' Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII. p. 242). Apart from their political prowess, the Gurjjaras were characterised by peculiar social and cultural virtues. In the field of dancing the *garbā* dance is a very ancient art of this tribe. They had also developed a peculiar pictorial style, now conveniently designated as 'Guzerāṭī' or Southern Rājasthānī School. In the field of music the Gurjjaras have probably contributed a new variety of melody known as Gurjjarī (*Gurjjarikā*, *Gunjarī*, or *Gujari*). It is cited for the first time by Maṭaṅga, as one of

¹ *Nāga-kanyā-ti-taraṅgī dugdha-pāna-madotkatā |*
Sukunḍalā nāga-vāhā Āhīri-kāṭhīṇa-stanī ||

² The Lāṭas appear to have been another aboriginal tribe (B. C. Law: *Ancient Indian Tribes, Indian Culture*, Vol. III, 1936-37, pp. 736-737).

the *bhāṣās* (rāginis) affiliated to the Takka-rāga. It is not quite clear if the melody was a contribution by the Gurjjara clans or it derived its name from the province of Gujerat. According to Mataṅga (p. 117) it derives its name from the province (*Gurjarī-deśa-Sambhavā*). In Mataṅga's *Bṛhad-deśi* (a 'comprehensive work on folk-music'), the word *deśa* has the special meaning of folk-music (*deśi* = 'relating to the folk,' 'vulgar'). In that sense, Gurjarī may be taken to be a melody peculiar to the tribe. On the other hand, another text suggests that the name is derived from its currency in the Guzerat province (*Gujjara deśa pracārād Gurjarai*). Anyhow, the melody has been a very popular one and various varieties of the melody have been evolved by experts e. g. Mahārāṣṭra-Gurjjari, Saurāṣṭra-Gurjjari, Drāviḍa-Gurjjari, Dakṣiṇa-Gurjjari.

The data discussed, so far, is based on a similarity of names and a probability that these ancient and probably aboriginal or non-Indian tribes are likely to have contributed the melodies associated with their names.

There is another piece of evidence which goes a step further.

In many texts on Music a fundamental differentiation is made between two types of musical practices. One is the well-known *deśi* or folk-type and the other is that known as *Mārga* or classical type. The original meaning of *mārga* is that which leads to the road of salvation that is, the practice of which leads to spiritual consequences. Now it is a well-known fact that in primitive or early folk-music very few notes are utilized. *Mārga* music on the other hand, is developed in form and is wider in its range, utilizing a larger number of notes. Our vedic chants never outstripped the limits of three notes, and do not come within the definition of rāga-music. Mataṅga refers to this distinction between *mārga* (classical Indian music) and aboriginal or folk-music. According to him, the musical compositions which are confined to a range of four notes or less do not come under the category of classical types and are used by aboriginal forest tribes such as the Śavaras, Pulindas, Kāmvojas, Vaṅgas, Kirātas, Vāhlikas, Āndhras, and Draviḍas. The only exception is the type of stage-songs known as Dhruvas, which are sometimes composed of four notes. The remarks of Mataṅga are as follows;

“*Catuḥ-svarāt prabhṛti na mārگاḥ Śavara-Pulinda-Kāmbhoja-Vaṅga-Kirāta-Vāhlīkā-ndhra-Draviḍa-Vanādiṣu prayujyate*” (*Bṛhad-deśi*, p. 59).

According to this suggestion, the aboriginal Pulindas, and also other tribes and clans composed music, limited to four notes only. For, composing classical rāga-music, at least ‘five notes’ (*odava*) must be used.

The Pulindas were a tribe belonging to the aboriginal stock and have often been classed with such non-Aryan clans as Sabaras, Abhiras and others. The Mahābhārata and the Matsya and Vāyu Purāṇas describe them as southerners along with the Vaidarbhas and the Daṇḍakas. The association of the Pulindas with the Āndhras and Śavaras is as old as the Aitāryea Brāhmaṇa (VIII, 18). The capital of the Pulindas was Pulindanagara which lay to the south-east of Daśārṇa (Vidiśā, of Bhilsa region) may have been identical with Rūpnath, the find spot of one of Asoka’s Edict.¹ Anyhow, a melody called Pulindī (‘appertaining to the Pulindas’), figures in the text of Maṭaṅga-as a *bhāṣā* (*rāgini*) of the melody Bhinna-ṣaḍja rāga. The śloka describing the melody is incomplete in the published text (*ṣaḍjāntā dhaivata-nyāsū hīnau gūndhāra-pañcamau* | *Ṣaḍja.....dhaivatayostathā* || *Eṣā hyantara-bhāṣā Vai Pulindena tu gīyate* | *Pulindake tu vikhyātā ṣaḍja auddavitāstathā* || *Bṛhad-Deśi*, p. 127). But it is quite clear, that having been elevated to the status of a classical, or at least a developed rāga, it is no longer a primitive melody of Four Notes (*catuḥ-svarā*) but a penta-tonic melody, abjuring only two notes (*gūndhāra* and *pañcama*) out of the seven. But the most significant comment by Maṭaṅga is that the melody ‘is sung by the Pulindas.’ Some-what similar comment is made by Śaraṅgadeva who gives the same description of the melody and remarks that it is a favourite of the Pulinda tribe² (*Pulinda-jana-vallabhā*) :

Sānta dhāmsā hīna-ga-pa Pulindī Bhinna-ṣaḍja-jā |

Sa-dhayoh-sa-mayor-yukta-Pulinda-jana-vallabhā, iti Pulindī ||

Saṅgita-ratnākara.

¹ B. C. Law : ‘Some Ancient Indian Tribes’, *Indian Culture*, Volume I, p. 383. Saletore (*The Wild Tribes in ancient History*, 1935, p. 99), following Hultzsch questions this identification.

² The Putinda-gaṇa (tribe) is mentioned in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, IV, 32.

In this case, we have positive evidence that the Pulindī rāgiṇī is borrowed by Indian musical lore from aboriginal sources. It appears that when four-noted melodies of aboriginal origins are elevated to and adopted by Indian classical music, a note is added to make it a pentatonic melody, for according to Mataṅga—a melody with only four notes is not fit to be called ‘*mārga*’ and appertains to the music of the aboriginal ‘forest-dwellers.’ But sometimes, a four-noted melody of aboriginal origin, survives in its primitive simplicity of form, even when transferred to the classical system. Thus, the Kālindī rāgiṇī, also a minor melody affiliated to Bhinna-śadja rāga,—is described by Śaraṅgadhara—as a four-noted melody, avoiding the three notes, *pañcama*, *ṛṣabha* and *niṣāda*. Of course, the *niṣāda* is touched, but it is so weak that it is as good as omitted.

Gāndhārāṁsū tu Kālindī dhaivatānta catuḥ-svarā ।

Pañcamarṣabha-hīnā ca niṣādena ca durvalā ॥

Eṣā hyantara-bhāṣā vai Kālīṅge sū tu gīyate ।

Brhad-Deśi, p. 127.

Apparently, at the times of Mataṅga, it was popular in the region of Kalinga,—an area at one time associated with the Śavaras.

A much more surprising evidence has cropped up in tracing the origin and history of the well-known classical melodies known as Bhairava (Bhairo) and Bhairavī.

It is popularly believed and is accepted by all musicians that Bhairavī is a derivative melody (rāgiṇī) of Bhairava. Curiously enough the rāga Bhairabha is not known to the earlier texts. The earliest reference to Bhairavī is in the archaic genealogy given in the *Saṁgīt-ratna-mālā* (attributed to Mammata, probably not to be identified with the author of (*Kāvya-prakāśa*)) where, curiously enough, Bhairava has no place, and Bhairavī is assigned as a rāgiṇī of Vasanata. This seems to lend support to the conclusion that the Bhairavī is an earlier melody current at a time when Bhairava rāga had not come into existence and when a Śaivaite colour was thrust on the melody she was assigned to a major rāga characteristically called Bhairava, to keep company with Bhairavī and having very close sonal affinities. The point is that Bhairava comes into existence long after Bhairavī. In fact Bhairava had not any independent status as a melody-base and is

derived by Śaraṅgadeva from the major melody Bhinna-ṣaḍja (*Bhāirava-stat-samudbhavaḥ*). Now, if Bhairavī was not originally associated with Bhairava, or with any Saivaite or tantric cult, what was its origin? I have ventured to suggest that it was a melody originally belonging to an aboriginal tribe called Bhīravas. The Bhīravās are referred to in the *Bhāva-prākāśana* of Śāradātanaya [G. O. S. Vol. XLV]. They are associated with the Śakaras, the Ābhīras, Candālas, Pūlindas and Śavaras and are collectively mentioned with them. There is no doubt they represented an aboriginal tribe outside the pale of Aryan culture. The evidences that have been put together here are by no means exhaustive. But it may be contended that they are enough to convince one that Aryan Music as known today is indebted to some extent to the contributions made by non-Aryan or aboriginal practices.

CATEGORIES IN ŚRĪ MADHVA'S DVAITA VEDĀNTA

BY

SRI YEKANTAYOGI *

The realistic school of Vedānta renovated from the time of Śrī Madhva and onwards has long been recognised as a system of philosophy. Medieval knowers of science have built a vast and thoughtful literature around this system, and early earned for it a just and distinctive place in the metaphysical world. Modern interest is however evinced little, lukewarm, or nil for the study and spread of this ancient lore. Conservatism, apathy; and inaction have unfortunately suffused modern intellect to the extent of stagnating metaphysical progression. Stray reactions are however evident, and mine is a little one in the direction.

It is a supreme truth of the Supreme-Self that it is self-dependent, faultless, full of all excellences, and the author of the Universal-origination etc. The absolutonist (सुसुसु) has to know this divinity for his ultimate good.

The Universal-knowledge with its diversities, and graded Categories (स्तर) is a concomitant of the divine-knowledge. Śrī Madhva has written two monograms entitled 'Tattva-Saṁkhyāna' and 'Tattva-Viveka'. In the Tattva-Saṁkhyāna he has reviewed in their synthetical and analytical order and gradation the categories taught scatteredly in the mass of sacred literature. The Tattva-Viveka is in the nature of an authority to the former, the sentences there being extracts from a work of Śrī Vedavyāsa bearing the same name. This work of Vyāsa has not been identified so far by modern metaphysicians. Śrī Jayatīrtha has appended excellent commentaries to the above, and others have added their valuable notes. I have endeavoured in the following paragraphs a symposium of the categories taught in the two works.

There are two types of categories foundational and fundamental, objects of knowledge, which are the Self-dependent and

* (From :-Śrī Yekanta Math, Guttal).

else-dependent (स्वतन्त्रमस्वतन्त्रं च). The Self-dependent is the faultless divine Viṣṇu, full of all excellences. The other is of two kinds as the Positive and Negative. (भावाभावौ).

A category is a reality which is the object of knowledge. It is not superimposed, or the object of delusion as the misapprehension of the snake in the rope or the silver in the mother-of-pearl. The snake or the silver are non-existent in the rope or the mother-of-pearl, and hence are not realities in the categorical sense.

The Self-dependent reality is independent of others for its Self-form, knowledge, and activity. (स्वरूपप्रमितिप्रवृत्तिवैविध्ये). The else-dependent depends on others for these.

The categorical classification may have been made as the existent and non-existent, or the scientient and inscientient or the eternal and non-eternal. (भावाभावतया वा चेतनाचेतनत्वेन वा नित्यानित्यतया वा). But that would be purposeless. The knowledge of the only Self-dependent reality is the means of liberation for the dependent category, which is conveyed by the present classification. Besides the uncommon nature of the foundational categories is most appropriately illustrated thereby. The Sāṃkhya teaching etc. that Matter (प्रधान) etc. is this Self-dependent reality is herein controverted.

The apprehension of the negative is subject and posterior to the apprehension of the Positive. Hence the prior statement of the Positive. What is cognised as 'It is', in the initial act of apprehension is the Positive, and what is cognised as 'It is not', is the Negative. The Positive and Negative are essentially of the nature of affirmation and negation respectively. (विधिनिषेधात्मानौ). By a different angle of vision they may take the reverse form. The affirmative does not always connote the Positive. For in the apprehension that the pot is absent, the negation is of the form of affirmation. There is nothing which is Positive and Negative at once. The Self-dependent is also a Positive reality, which is not precluded by the present definition.

The Prabhākaras hold that there is nothing as the Negative. This is untenable. For the apprehension that 'It is not', can be ill-ignored. It can not be that the apprehension that there is no

jar, is with reference to the place where it is not. The apprehension relates to the absence of the object itself.

The Negative is again of three kinds as, the antecedent, emergent, and eternal. (प्राक्प्रवृत्तसदात्वेन). The non-existence prior to origination is the antecedent Negative. The non-existence caused by annihilation is the emergent Negative. And the non-existence which is absolute is the eternal Negative.

The Vaiśeṣikas hold that the Negative is only of two kinds as the Relative Negative, and the Reciprocal Negative. (संसर्गभावोऽन्योन्याभावश्चेति). The Perceptionists hold that it is of four kinds as, the antecedent, emergent, absolute, and reciprocal. (प्राक्प्रवृत्तसात्यन्तान्योन्या). These classifications are herein controverted. The reciprocal Negative is nothing but the distinctness or individuality of a thing. It is the nature of the Positive or Negative, the very essence of the thing. And there can not be the inseparable inherence of cause and effect, and hence the antecedent and emergent Negatives can not be explained under the Relative Negative.

The Positive is also of two classes as, the Intelligent and Non-intelligent. (चेतनाचेतनत्वेन). That which is capable of intellection is the Intelligent Positive. The intelligent nature of Viṣṇu, and the non-intelligent nature of the Negative are herein implied.

The theory that every thing is Intelligent based on such texts as, 'The Earth spake', 'Water speaks' etc., is also controverted. This theory is refuted in the discourse on the Presider-Self, Vedānta aphorisms 2-1-6 & 7. The Presider-Self of the earth etc. is only implied there in the intelligent act of speaking etc.

The Intelligent is again of two classes as, that which is assailed by misery in the metempsychosis, and that which is unassailed by misery, being ever free. (दुःखस्पृष्टतदस्पृष्टमिति). Of these only Śrī or the goddess Rāmā is ever unassailed by misery, being ever free. All others are assailed by misery.

The Monists theorize that misery etc. being fancied, there is nothing whatever which is assailed by misery. The Naiyāyikas hold that every thing else than God is assailed by misery. The former theory is opposed to direct-perception, while the latter is

contradicted by the scripture :—" द्वौ वाव सत्यनुपक्रमौ । प्रकृतिश्च परमश्च । जीवा एव तु दुःखिनः । श्रीनिव्यसुक्ते "त्यादि... etc. The unassailed nature of the Supreme Lord is evident by his very Self-dependence.

The Rāmānujaite divides the souls into the emancipated and metempsychosists (व्यष्टिसमष्टिभेदेन), and states that the metempsychosist souls Garuḍa, Ananta, Viṣvaksena etc. are also unassailed by misery. This is opposed to scripture as the following extracts from the Padma Purāṇa, Gīṭā, Śruti, Skanda Purāṇa, and other texts indicate :—" निर्दुःखो हि हरिर्नित्यं श्रीश्चान्ये दुःखमोगिनः । द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके क्षरश्चाक्षर एव च । ब्रह्मा शिवः सुरेशाद्याः शरीरक्षरणाक्षराः । लक्ष्मीरक्षरदेहत्वादक्षरा तत्परो हरिः । ब्रह्मशेषसुपर्णेशशक्रसूर्ययहादयः । सर्वे क्षरा अक्षरा तु श्रीरेका तत्परो हरिः । या मारुताद्ब्रह्ममधत्त पूर्वं शेषं सुपर्णं गिरीशं सुरेन्द्रं । नित्यादुःखा रमा स्त्रीषु पुरुषेषु हरिस्तथा । तदन्यच्चेतनं सर्वं दुःखस्पृष्टं नराधिप । "

The assailed by misery are again of two classes as those who are emancipated, and those still in the misery of the metempsychosis. (विमुक्ताश्च दुःखसंस्था इति). The emancipated ending with Brahma are each higher and higher a hundred-fold in their excellences in their order of seniority. Rāmā is ever superior to them in a large degree in all the excellences, qualitatively and quantitatively. Hari is infinite to her.

Some hold that Self-dependence is emancipation. This view is wrong, in as much as manifestation of the Self-form is only emancipation. (स्वरूप आविर्भाव). The emancipated are also dependent on the Supreme Person.

Those still in misery are again of two classes as, the eligible and ineligible for emancipation. The five classes of beings namely, the Gods, Sages, Fathers, Protectors or Emperors, and Super-men, are the emancipated ones in the past Kalpa. (देवर्षि-पितृपनरादितिमुक्ताः). So are also the eligible for emancipation in the metempsychosis of the five classes.

Gandharvas and certain other beings are implied under one class or other given here. While some others are not fit to be mentioned under the classes. Śrī Madhva has here-in challenged the view that there is no gradation in the state of emancipation.

The ineligible for emancipation are again of two classes as the eligible for eternal pandemonium, and the eternal metempsychosists. (तमोगाः सृतिसंस्थिताः).

Those eligible for pandemonium are again of four classes as, Demons, Fiends, Devils, and the worst among man-kind. (दैत्यरक्षः-पिशाचकाः मर्त्याधमाश्च). This distinction is not well-known, and yet it is narrated in the Br̥hat Samhitā scripture :— (मर्त्याधमास्तामसास्तु दैत्यरक्षःपिशाचकाः । स्वरूपभूतविद्वेषाद्धरौगच्छन्ति ते तम). There are other authorities also which Śrī Madhva has quoted in his Br̥hadbhāṣya.

These again are of two classes as, those who have already attained to pandemonium, and those who are still in the metempsychosis. (प्राप्तान्धतमसःसृतिसंस्था इति). Eligibility being the very nature of the Intelligent being, this classification of the eligible for pandemonium is not arbitrary.

The Non-intelligent category is of three classes as, the eternal, eternal-noneternal, and temporal (नित्यानित्यविभागेन त्रिवैव).

The Nihilist who holds every thing to be transitory, does not admit the eternal. While the Sāṃkhya who holds the effect to be itself the cause, does not accept the temporal. And all do not comprehend the eternal-noneternal, as it appears to be self-contradictory. These theories are contradicted by the demonstration of the classification.

Eternal are the Vedas. Eternal means to be unmodified, and be devoid of beginning and end. This is true of the Vedas in the light of the authority :— “नित्या वेदाः समस्ताश्च” etc. The Vedas are typically mentioned here. The fifty one characters, and the unmodified space are also of this class. (पञ्चाशद्गुणैः अत्याकृताकाशः).

That which is not unmodified in every respect, nor also transitory is said to be the eternal-noneternal. It is of three species. Having origination but without destruction such as are the Purāṇas and other man-made works, are one species. Having origination and destruction in respect of parts, but not in respect of the whole, such as time, is another species. Having essentially no origination etc., but only the changes in the states, such as is Matter, is the third species. (पुराणाद्याः कालः प्रकृतिरेव च). The scientific variations recognized by others are included in these divisions only. While some others are unacceptable.

It may be objected here that whatever has origination etc. is temporal, and whatever has not that is eternal, and there is no eternal-noneternal. But this objection is untenable in as much

as there is no absolute difference between the parts and the whole, the modifications and the subject of modifications.

The temporal is of two classes as that which is undeveloped, and that which is developed. (असंसृष्टं च संसृष्टं). The great principle, Ego, Intellect, Mind, the ten organs, the five subtle forms, and the five primary elements are the undeveloped species. (महानहं-बुद्धिर्मनःखानि दश मात्रा भूतानि पञ्च च). The Universal Egg, and all that it contains is said to be of the developed species. (अण्डं तद्वत् च).

It may be objected here why the twenty-four principles are called the undeveloped species. If it is to denote that they are partly originated, then since there is nothing which is not originated, these principles are only originated ones. And hence there are only the developed species, and not the two, or other classes. But this objection is untenable. For the Great Principle, and others which are eternal in their subtle form are developed only with the portions of Matter added to them. And hence they are of the undeveloped species, unlike what is contained in the Universal-Egg, which is of the developed species. It is not that their basic forms are eternal, in as much as their immediate basic forms are taken into consideration. If this is so, one may ask why the Great Principle etc. may not be included in the eternal-noneternal class. But this would have been so, if the Great Principle etc. were spoken of in their subtle form. On the other hand they are mentioned as one with Matter.

Quality, activity, class, etc., and all sorts of characteristics are only the forms of things. (गुणक्रियाजातिपूर्वाधर्मास्सर्वेऽपि). They are of two species as, those that are co-existent with the things, and those that are destructible in the duration of the thing. (यावद्वस्तु च खण्डितं). The qualities here alluded to are those of form, taste, smell etc. (रूपरसगन्ध इत्यादि). Activity is the act of movement etc. pertaining to the Intelligents and Non-intelligents. Class is Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya class etc. and man-kind, beast, bird, insect etc. and all other classes. These qualities etc. are the very forms of things. They have no separate existence.

In the instance of the destructibles, there is evident both difference and identity apertaining to the characteristics and the substratum, while in the instance of the co-existents there is only identity evident. The material effect here is only the

destroyed form of the material cause. This is true of the material effect and cause, of the qualities and their substratum, of the actions and actors, of the classes and their constituents, of the distinctions and their substratum, of the parts and their whole.

There is both difference and identity apertaining to the cloth which is the material effect of the yarns, which are the material cause, in as much as the cloth is different from a single yarn, while it is identical with the whole body of the yarns. The destruction of some yarns does not involve the whole cloth. The qualities of the mango undergo change, but the substratum mango lives and outlives. There is difference and identity both apertaining to the corporeal actions and the soul, to the classes and their constituents, to the mountain and its distinctions of volcanic eruption etc., to the whole tree and its branches, roots, and fruits etc. which are its parts.

There is co-existent identity between lime and its whiteness, the cow-species and the cow etc. There is absolute identity apertaining to the actions of the spiritual body and the soul, to the attributes of Omniscience and God.

If all the Universe which is different from Viṣṇu, and having the differences and divisions of the Positive and Negative etc. is else-dependent, the question arises 'on whom does it depend, and in what respects. The answer is that the origination, sustenance, and annihilation, regulation, nescience, enlightenment, bondage, and absolution, pleasure and pain, darkness and light, of all these are brought about by Viṣṇu, concisely or extensively according to the nature and form of the categories.

DATE OF NĀTAKALAKṢAṆARATNAKOŚA OF

SĀGARANANDIN—Before A. D. 1431

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

Prof. Myles Dillon in his preface to the edition of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa*¹ of Sāgaranandin states that this work was discovered by Prof. Sylvain Lévi during his visit to Nepal in 1922 and reported by him in the *Journal Asiatique* xciii, p. 210 (1923). In examining the question of the chronology of this work Prof. Dillon observes :—

“ He (Prof. Lévi) pointed out that the text is quoted by Rāyamukuta in a commentary on the Amarakōśa written A. D. 1431 which would give an inferior date but it has not been possible to verify this as I have been unable to discover a complete edition of the commentary ”²

Perhaps Prof. Lévi's statement may have been based on the following entry in Aufrecht's *Cata. Catalogorum* :—³

¹ Pub. by the Oxford University Press, 1937, Vol. I, Text with a Preface.

² Do—*Preface*, p. vii. As Prof. Lévi's discovery of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa* was announced in 1923 Dr. S. K. De could not make use of it in Vol. I (1923) of his *History of Sanskrit Poetics*. Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras appears to be unaware of it in 1933 when he made the following remarks in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XIV (1933), p. 260:— “ On page 325 of his *Poetics* Vol. I in the list of anonymous works Dr. De gives a work called *Nāṭakaratnakōśa* as being cited by Rāyamukuta and Bhānuji on Amara and as having been noticed by Aufrecht. There is every likelihood of this *Nāṭakaratnakōśa* being only that section of the *Samgītarāja* dealing with Drama proper, the *Daśarūpaka* and the *Uparūpaka* scheme, Itivṛtta, Saṁdhi etc. The sections on Rasa and Nāṭaka, these two being widely read parts of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and connected more than the other sections to Alamkāra also perhaps got separated into independent works, as the existence of a separate Ms of the *Rasaratnakōśa* and the citations of these sections with the mere chapter-name show. ” Dr. Raghavan further observes in the footnote to the above extract ;— “ From these *Ratnakōśas* that are sections of the *Samgītarāja* must be distinguished the lexicon *Ratnakōśa* which is quoted in commentaries on Amara. The lexicon *Ratnakōśa* is very much earlier to the *Samgītarāja*. ”

³ Vol. I, p. 284,

“नाटकरत्नकोश” quoted by Rāyamukūṭa and Bhānuji Oxf. 182b¹ In the above entry the fact of Rāyamukūṭa's quotation from and mention of the *Nāṭakaratnakōśa*, if verified and identified in the text of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa* now made available on the basis of the Nepal Ms, will have the highest chronological value. As however, Prof. Dillon has not been able to verify the above reference I propose to attempt such verification in this paper.

The *Padārthacandrikā*² of Bṛhaspati surnamed Rāyamukūṭa-maṇi and generally known as Rāyamukūṭa was composed in A. D. 1431. It is based on sixteen earlier commentaries on the *Amarakośa*. The author was a native of Rādhā in Bengal. He was the son of Govinda and father of Viśrāma, Rāma and others. Aufrecht has already recorded a list³ of authorities quoted by Rāyamukūṭa numbering about 270.

As neither a complete edition of Rāyamukūṭa's commentary nor the list of authorities published by Aufrecht was available to me I had to avail myself of a good copy⁴ of the work available in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute Poona. On folio 96^b of this copy I found the following passage :—

“एवं प्रकारतः विछित्यादयो गृह्यन्ते
ताश्चोक्ता नाटकरत्नकोशे—
छिलाविलासो विछित्तिर्विभ्रमः किल किञ्चितम् ।
मोहपायितं कट्टिमितं विव्वोको ललितं तथा ॥
विकृतं चेति विज्ञेया स्त्रीणां चेष्टाः स्वभावजाः ”

Now compare the following extract from Prof. Dillon's edition of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa* with the above extract :—

¹ *Cata. of Bod. Library, Oxford, 1864* by Aufrecht, p. 182—Here a Ms of a commentary of Bhānuji Dikṣita on the *Amarakośa* has been described. In the list of authorities mentioned by Bhānuji नाटकरत्नकोश has been mentioned. Dr. Belvalkar assigns Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita to “about 1630 A. D.” (*Systems of San. Grammar*, p. 47). Bhānuji, also called Rāmāśramī, was the son of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita. (Vide Kane : *Hist. of Dharma*, Vol. I, p. 455 f. n.).

² Vide p. xix of Intro. to *Kalpadrakośa*, Vol. I, (G. O. S. Baroda, 1928) by Prof. Ramavatara Sharma. A. Borooah edited a portion of the *Padārthacandrikā* in 1887-88.

³ Z. D. M. G., xxviii, pp. 109-118.

⁴ MS. No. 109 of 1866-68 collection.

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“अथ चेष्टालंकारः कथ्यते

लीला विलासो विच्छिन्तिर्विभ्रमः किल किञ्चित् ।

मोहायितं कुट्टमितं बिम्बोको ललितं तथा ॥

विकृतं चेति विज्ञेयाः स्त्रीणां भावाः स्वभावजाः ।

As Rāyamukūṭa mentions “नाटकरत्नकोष” as the source of his quotation and as the quotation itself has been identified in Prof. Dillon’s edition of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* we can easily conclude that नाटकरत्नकोश is identical with नाटकलक्षणरत्नकोश.¹ As Sāgaranandin has drawn largely on Bharata’s *Nāṭyaśāstra* and as Prof. Dillon has obliged us by giving us an exhaustive index of quotations from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* we are in a position to see that the three lines quoted by Rāyamukūṭa in A. D. 1431 as from नाटकरत्नकोश are found almost identical with the following lines found in chapter XXIV of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*² called “सामान्या-भिनय” :—

¹ The correct title of the work appears to be नाटकलक्षणरत्नकोश of which नाटकरत्नकोश is evidently an abbreviated form. At the beginning of the work the author remarks “नाटकलक्षणं दशरूपकं.....वक्ष्यामः” (lines 6-7). In the following extract from the end of the work the word नाटकलक्षण has been emphasized and the colophon gives us the title नाटकलक्षणरत्नकोश— Page 134 (lines 3217-3230)—

इह हि भरतमुख्याचार्यशास्त्राम्बुराशे—

रमृतमिव रसाढ्यं लक्षणं नाटकस्य ।

प्रतिधृतमपहाय व्यासमुक्त्वा च लक्ष्या—

पथधिगमयितुमल्पज्ञानमल्पश्रमेण ॥

श्रीसागरेण मुकुटेश्वरनन्दिवंश-

व्योमाङ्गनैकशाशिनाल्पधिया हिताय ।

सृष्टो मुनिप्रवचनैरिह नाटकस्य

बीजादिनैकविधलक्षणरत्नकोशः ।

श्रीहर्षविक्रमनराधिपमातृगुप्त-

गर्गाश्मकुट्टनसकुट्टकवाद्राणाम् ।

एषां मतेन भरतस्य मतं विगाह्य

धुष्टं मया समनुगुच्छत रत्नकोशम् ॥

समाप्तश्चायं नाटकलक्षणरत्नकोशः कवेः श्रीसागरनन्दिनः

² Vide p. 210 of *Nāṭyaśāstra*, ed. by Batuknatha Sharma and Baladeva Upādhyāya (Kashi San. Series No. 60) Benares, 1929.

“ लीला विलासो विच्छित्तिर्विक्रमः किलकिञ्चितम् ।

मोहायितं कुट्टमितं विव्वोको ललितं तथा ॥ १२ ॥

विहृतं चेति विज्ञेया दश स्त्रीणां स्वभावजाः । ”

Though the above quotation from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is identical with that in Dillon's text of the *Nāṭkalakṣaṇaratnakośa* we must presume that Rāyamukuta has quoted from the *Nāṭakarātṇakośa* of Sāgaranandin and not from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, as he mentions his source by name. It would be, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the work of Sāgaranandin was available to him. This inference enables us to state definitely that the date of the *Nāṭkalakṣaṇaratnakośa* is earlier than A. D. 1431. We may even go a little further and conclude that it may have been composed before the latter half of the 14th century presuming that a work to be quoted as authority by a writer of Rāyamukuta's learning and critical ability must have taken more than 50/60 years to attain the necessary celebrity and authority.

We have already recorded above that a work called नाटक-रत्नकोश has been quoted by Bhānuji Dikṣita in his commentary on the *Amarakośa* as stated by Aufrecht in his description of an Oxford Ms of the commentary. I find this quotation in a printed edition¹ of this commentary as follows :—

“ लीला विलासो विच्छित्तिर्विक्रमः किल किञ्चितम् ।

मोहायितं कुट्टमितं विव्वोको ललितं तथा ॥

विहृतं चेति मन्तव्या दश स्त्रीणां स्वभावजाः ’

इति नाटकरत्नकोशः ”

The first two lines of the above quotation are identical with the first two lines of Rāyamukuta's quotation from the *Nāṭakarātṇakośa* but the difference in the 3rd line will be clear from their comparison as follows :—

1431 A. D.— Rāyamukuta—

“ विकृतं चेति विज्ञेया स्त्रीणां चेष्टाः स्वभावजाः ।

C. 1630 A. D.— Bhānuji Dikṣita—

“ विहृतं चेति मन्तव्या दश स्त्रीणां स्वभावजाः । ”

¹ *Amarakośa* with comm. *Vyākhyāśudhā* or *Rāmāśramā* by Bhānuji Dikṣita (son of the Grammarian Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita,) ed. by Pandit Śivadatta, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1905.—Page 95—नाट्यवर्ग verse 31.

As Bhānuji Dīkṣita is a later commentator on the *Amarakośa* the possibility of his copying *in toto* an earlier quotation in Rāyamukuta's commentary on the same work will have to be disproved before any importance is attached to Bhānuji's quotation from the *Nāṭakaratnakośa*. I am of opinion that the difference in the 3rd line of the quotation as is revealed in the above comparison is so marked that we can safely presume the existence of a Ms of the *Nāṭakaratnakośa* from which Bhānuji has taken the quotation in question. This Ms obviously shows a different version of the text if we can judge from the variations noticeable in a single line as pointed out in the above comparison of the versions of the same line as found in Rāyamukuta's quotation and in Bhānuji's quotation.

Let us now consider the date of Bhānuji Dīkṣita. Dr. Belvalkar, assigns his father Bhaṭṭoji to about 1630 A. D.¹ Dr. Saletore, however, assigns him to the "last quarter of the sixteenth and the first quarter of the seventeenth century A. D."² If this date is correct we shall have to presume that Bhaṭṭoji flourished say between A. D. 1575 and 1625. Prof. Kane³ assigns Bhaṭṭoji to the period "about 1575-1650 A. D." in one place while in another⁴ place he assigns him to a period "1560-1620 A. D."—a date which agrees with Dr. Saletore's date for Bhaṭṭoji mentioned above. I am inclined to accept for the present Dr.

¹ *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, Poona, 1915, Pages 46-47—"Jagannātha the Court Pandit of Emperor Shahajahan informs us in his *Praṇḍhamanoramākuchamardinī* that Bhaṭṭoji was the pupil of Śeṣha-Kṛishṇa, to whose memory he does very scant justice in his *Praṇḍhamanoramā*. As Jagannātha himself was the pupil of the son of this Śeṣha-Kṛishṇa, this gives us Bhaṭṭoji's date which must be about A. D. 1630. This is also confirmed by the fact that a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji wrote a work in Śaṃvat 1693" (=A. D. 1637).

² Vide p. 98 of *Karnataka Historical Review*, Vol. IV, 1937 (Jan-July) Nos. 1 and 2—Dr. Saletore's evidence may be briefly indicated here. Bhaṭṭoji in the opening verses of his तत्त्वकौस्तुभ states that he wrote the work at the order of Keladi Veṅkaṭendra, who is identified by Dr. Saletore with king Veṅkaṭapa Nāyak I (1582-1629 A. D.). This king was noted for his patronage to learned men and seems to have composed a comm. on the *Sivagītā* of the *Padmapurāṇa*. Bhaṭṭoji calls himself the son of श्रीमद्विद्वत्पुटमाणिक्यलक्ष्मीधरभट्ट in the तत्त्वकौस्तुभ.

³ *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 716,

⁴ Ibid, p. 517—"आशौचनिर्णय by भट्टोजि (1560-1620 A. D.)"

Saletore's view about Bhaṭṭoji's date and assign Bhānuji Dikṣita¹ (the son of Bhaṭṭoji) to about 1630 A. D.

In view of the above date for Bhānuji Dikṣita, " about 1630 A. D. " would be one of the later limits for the date of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*. Prof. Dillon states (Preface p. vii) that the *Ratnakośa* cited by Rucipati in his commentary on the *Anargharāghava* appears to be the text of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇakośa* edited by him and that Rāṅganātha in his commentary on the *Vikramorvaśīya* cites Sāgara regularly by name and quotes the text (vide pp. 90-96, foot-notes of Dillon's Edition). Though Rucipati's date is uncertain, observes Prof. Dillon, the Ms from which the commentary is edited in *Kāvya-mālā* 5 was written in A. D. 1613. He, therefore, puts A. D. 1613 as the later limit for Sāgara's date.²

¹ Lakṣmaṇapaṇḍita wrote a work called अद्वैतसुधा in 1662 A. D. He mentions रामाश्रम and उत्तमश्लोक as his preceptors. See Ms. No. 143 of 1902-7, folio 3— " रामाश्रमउत्तमश्लोकमुनिद्वय " mentioned in Kalpa I of the work. Most probably रामाश्रम mentioned as one of the preceptors of Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita is identical with Bhānuji Dikṣita alias Rāmāśrama. Lakṣmaṇapaṇḍita hailed from the Mahārāṣṭra (दक्षिणदिश्यपास्य श्रियः काश्यामुदासीनमतिः). Vide verse 10 at the beginning.

² Sāgara quotes from numerous previous works. In the Index of authors given by Prof. Dillon we find the following names :—अश्मकुट्ट, कात्यायन, चारायण, दण्डिन्, नखकुट्ट, बादरायण, भरत, मातृगुप्त, राहुल, शातकर्णि. The Index of Titles includes the following names :— अनुतापाङ्क, अभिज्ञान, अयोध्याभरत, उत्कण्ठित-माधव, उत्तरचरित, उन्मत्तचन्द्रगुप्त, उषाहरण, उर्वशीमर्दन, कनकवतीमाधव, कर्पूरमञ्जरी, कलावती, कामदत्तापूर्ति, कीचकभीम, कीचकाङ्क, कुन्दमाला, कुन्दशेखरविजय, कुम्भाङ्क, कुलपत्यङ्क, कृत्यारावण, केकयीभरत, केलिरैवतक, कोशलाङ्क, कीडारसातल, क्षपणकापालिक, गृहवाटिका, गृहवृक्षवाटिका, गौरीगृह, चन्दनलतागृह, चित्रशालिका, जानकीराघव, तमालवीथ्यङ्क, दशरथाङ्क, दूताङ्कद, देवीमहादेव, धृतराष्ट्राङ्क, नद्यन्तीसंहार, नरकवध, नरकोद्धरण, नलविजय, नागरसर्वस्व, नागवर्माङ्क, नागाद(न?)न्द, पद्मावतिपरिणय, पुष्पदूषितक, पुंसवनाङ्क, प्रावृडङ्क, बालचरित, चिन्दुमती, भगवदज्जुक, भीमविजय, मदनमञ्जुला, मदनिकाकामुक, मद्यन्ती संहार, मायाकापालिक, मायामदालस, मायालक्षणाङ्क, मायाशकुन्त, मारीचवञ्चितक, मालतापरिणय, मालतीमाधव, मुद्राराक्षस, मृच्छकटिका, रत्नावली, रम्भानलकूवर, राघवाभ्युदय, राधाख्यावीथि, रामविक्रम, रामानन्द, रामाभ्युदय, रामायण, रैवतीपरिणय, ललितानागर, लामकायनाङ्क, बालिवध, विक्रमोर्वशीय, विभीषणनिर्भर्त्सनाङ्क, विला-

As we have, however, identified the reference to the *Nāṭakaratnakośa* mentioned by Rāyamukuta in the Dillon's edition of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* the later limit of Sāgara's date is A. D. 1431 definitely.

We have already referred to Dr. Rāghavan's view regarding the nature and contents of the *Nāṭakaratnakośa*. According to this view the work may have been originally a part of the *Samgītarāja* composed by Rana Kumbha of Mewad (A. D. 1433-1468).¹ We have proved in this paper that the work mentioned by Rāyamukuta in A. D. 1431 as *Nāṭakaratnakośa* is identical with the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* now made available to us in Prof. Dillon's edition. The author of this work is Sāgaranandin who flourished definitely before A. D. 1431, the date of Rāyamukuta's commentary on the *Amarakośa*. There is, no possibility of any identity of the two works viz. *Samgītarāja* of Rana Kumbha and the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* of Sāgaranandin as these two works are distinctly separated in points of time and authorship.²

We have fixed A. D. 1431 as one terminus to the date of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*. As regards the other terminus we quote Prof. Dillon's remarks:—"The *Viddhaśālābhāṇjikā* of Rājasekhara which is cited at l. 3071 dates from the tenth century (see Konow: *Das Indische Drama*, p. 84). If the *Dūtāṅgada* cited at l. 983 is the play of Subhata, which there is no reason to doubt, the superior

सवती, वीणावती, वृक्षवाटिका, वृत्तोद्धरण, वेणीसंहार, शक्यङ्क, शकानन्द, शर्मिष्ठापरिणय, शशिकामदत्त, शशिविलास, शकन्तल, शालभञ्जिका, शृङ्गारतिलक, सत्यभामा, संपात्यङ्क, सुग्रीवाङ्क, सुन्दराङ्क, स्वप्नवासवदत्त,—(अनुतापाङ्क, अश्वत्थामाङ्क, उन्मत्तमाधव, कदलीगृह, गौरीगृह, लूढामणि, चैत्रावत्यङ्क, चौर्यविवाह, दुर्दिनाङ्क, धृतराष्ट्रङ्क, पलित्यङ्क, प्रतिज्ञाभीम, बृहद्भकुलवीथिका, भानुमत्यङ्क, मोटकाङ्क, वष्यशिला, शमशानाङ्क, संकेताङ्क)

¹ Vide *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. III-A by Major K. D. Erskine, Allahabad 1909—Part III (Sirohi State), p. 303—"The great Rana Kumbha of Mewar (1433-68) "

² Though the identity of the *Nāṭakaratnakośa* with the *Samgītarāja* is impossible in view of the evidence recorded in this paper it does not affect the other suggestion of Dr. Raghavan that the *Rasaratnakośa* forms a substantial section of Rana Kumbha's very voluminous work *Samgītarāja*. The nebular hypothesis of the *Rasaratnakośa* being separated from the central mass of the *Samgītarāja* and leading an independent existence is possible as the identity of authorship of these works is proved by Dr. Raghavan in his paper "The *Rasaratnakośa*, the *Nāṭakaratnakośa* and the *Samgītarāja*" (*Annals*, XIV, pp. 253).

date is A. D. 1243 (see Grey *J. Am. Or. Soc.* 32, 39) but the identity is not certain as there are no quotations. The *Rāmābhyudaya* quoted is not that of Rāmadeva (fifteenth century), which has been edited by Losch, *Das Indische schattenheater*, p. 80 for none of the quotations are to be found in that text. The *Ratnakōśa* may be as early as the thirteenth century but I cannot now put forward any more exact date as the author Sāgaranandin is not known except in connection with this work (Lévi. *Jour. Asiatique* xciii, p. 211)'

In the above remarks Prof. Dillon refers to the work *Rāmābhyudaya* mentioned and quoted from¹ by Sāgaranandin. As Rāmadeva's *Rāmābhyudaya* of the 15th century has been ruled out by Prof. Dillon we must find other works of this name. Aufrecht² records a Ms of this work, which is in 30 Sargas but the authorship is ascribed to one Venkateśa. The work of this name quoted by Ānandavardhana must also be taken into account. It is ascribed to Yaśovarman.³ I may however record an inscriptional reference to *Rāmābhyudaya* which appears to have been a Kāvya composed by a poet of the name Nārāyaṇa. The inscription in which this reference is found hails from the Central Provinces.

¹ Vide Dillon's Edition of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakōśa* pp. 33, 130 :—

line 784—“रामाभ्युदये रावणेन आरब्धकूटसंधौ जालिनीं राक्षसीं सीतारूपेण रामस्य दर्शयता रामस्य जनितो विमर्शः । यदाह ।
कथमिव विदधामि तस्य संधिं
कथममरेंद्रगिरां भवामि वासः ।
इति विषमविवर्तमानचिंता-
तरलमतिर्न विनिश्चिनोमि किञ्चित् ॥

line 3126—यथा रामाभ्युदये वाली ।

क्षपानलशिखाजालविकिरालसरावलिः ।

दृश्यते न द्विपेः सिंहः क्रुद्धो वाली न वैरिभिः ॥

² *Cata. Catalo.* I, p. 523—“रामाभ्युदय Kāvya in 30 Sargas, by Venkateśa. Burnell 161b (and commentary) ” also (1) “रामाभ्युदय Nāṭaka by Yaśovarman. Quoted by Ānandavardhana in *Dhvanyāloka*, in *Sāhityadarpaṇa* p. 171 (2)—by Vyāsa Śrī Rāmadeva. Br. M. (addit. 26, 424).

³ Abhinavagupta who was born between 950 and 960 A.D. according to Dr. K. C. Pandey—vide p. 8 of his *Abhinavagupta*, Vol. I—1935, refers to *Rāmābhyudaya* of Yaśovarman in his commentary *Locana* on the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana :—“रामाभ्युदये यशोवर्मणा—‘स्थितमिति यथा शय्या—’ (p. 148 of Kāvyaṃālī edition).

The verse ¹ containing the name of the work and the name of poet reads as follows :—

“ श्रीवत्सश्वरणाब्ज(ब्ज)पूजनमतिन्निरायणः सत्कविः

श्रीरामाभ्युदयाभिधं रसमयं काव्यं स तथो व्यधात् ।

स्मृत्यारूढयदीयवाक्यरचना प्रादुर्भवन्निर्भर—

प्रेमोल्लासितचित्रवृत्तिरभवद्वाग्देवतावल्लकी ॥ ”

The bearing of this verse on the date of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇa-ratnakośa* will have to be studied at some length and hence must be left to a future study.²

¹ This verse was kindly supplied to me by Prof. V. V. Mirashi of Nagpur in a private communication dated 27th July 1937, inquiring if I could trace a reference to this *Kāvya*. I have pointed out to him the available references to the *Rāmābhyudaya*. Perhaps Prof. Mirashi may be able to throw some light on this *Rāmābhyudaya* of Nārāyaṇa different from the works of the same name, by Veṅkaṭeśa, Yaśovarman, and Rāmadeva.

² Since my paper was sent to the press, I have received the following information from my friend Prof. V. V. Mirashi in a letter dated 13th September 1938 :—The “verse which refers to a *Rāmābhyudaya-Kāvya* by the Poet Nārāyaṇa occurs in a stone inscription found at Pujārīpāli, a village 22 miles north by east from Sarangarh the chief town of a feudatory state of the same name in the Eastern States Agency. It is now deposited in the Raipur Museum. The inscription is undated but the prince Gopāladeva mentioned in it is identified by some with his name-sake, an inscription of whose reign has been found at Boramdeva in the state of Kawardhā dated in the Kala-churi year 840 (A. D. 1088-9). I am not inclined to accept the identification as in my opinion the Pujārīpāli inscription belongs to a slightly later date i. e. to the *twelfth or thirteenth century A. D.*”.

I am thankful to Prof. Mirashi for the above information. If we succeed in connecting the *Rāmābhyudaya Kāvya* of the above inscription with the *Rāmābhyudaya* quoted by Sāgaranandin perhaps we may be able to assign the date of his *Nāṭakalakṣaṇa-ratnakośa* to the 13th century or rather the period between A. D. 1250 and 1350 but as the evidence stands at present this conclusion remains only a probability.

PROBLEMS OF PAÑCADAŚĪ

BY

PRAHLAD C. DIVANJI M. A., LL. M.

Introductory Remarks

The *Pañcadaśī* is a very well-known work in Sanskrit poetry on the Advaita Vedānta of the Śaṅkara school composed about the fourth quarter of the fourteenth or the first of the fifteenth century of the Christian era. As its very name implies it is a work in fifteen chapters. They are of varying lengths and each bears a separate sub-title, which, unlike the title of the work as a whole, is indicative of the topic treated of therein such as "Tat-tvaviveka", "Citradīpa", "Yogānanda" &c. Having found in the *Siddhāntaleśa* of Appayya Dīkṣita several references to the views of Bhāratīrtha on several topics of importance expressed in several chapters of that work and also found those chapters invariably referred to by their sub-titles as appearing in the printed edition of that work but never as being the chapters of any single work containing a group of fifteen chapters, it struck me whether it may not be that these so-called chapters were in fact separate booklets and that they were later on strung together and given the present collective name, which has no reference whatever to the subject-matter thereof, a phenomenon, which though not absolutely rare as is shown by such titles as *Daśaślokī* and *Śataślokī*, is certainly unusual in the Vedānta literature. I therefore set to myself the task of ascertaining from the materials at my command whether it must be the author or one of the authors of those chapters who had done so or somebody else later on and if the latter was the case, about what time that somebody must have done so.

Similarly while reading the commentary on the *Jīvanmuktiviveka* of Vidyāranya by Achyutrao Modak (Ānandāśram Sanskrit Series No. XX) I found it narrated therein that Vidyāranya Muni had composed the first six chapters of this work and that on

seeing them and being pleased with them his Guru Bhāratīrtha had composed the subsequent nine. That seemed to me rather unbelievable because while the subject-matter of the five chapters is allied together and their sub-titles also end uniformly in the word "Viveka" the subject-matter of the sixth is not allied to them and its sub-title "Citradīpa" ends in the word "Dīpa" in which also end the sub-titles of the seventh to the tenth chapters such as "Kūṭasthadīpa", "Dhyānadīpa" &c. I was therefore led to investigate the question of the authorship of the several chapters of the work and lay the result of that investigation before this learned audience.¹

I

Title of the Work

The title *Pañcadaśī* appears on a consideration of the internal and external evidence, which has come to my knowledge, to have been given by some one other than the author or any of the authors of portions thereof and the commentator Rāmakṛṣṇa. As for the internal evidence thereout, the work as a whole and its first chapter have no colophon whatever. The separate sub-title of the latter, "Tattvaviveka-prakarana", can be gathered from its having been stated at the commencement thereof. Out of the remaining fourteen chapters, which have colophons, though in varying phraseology, the title of the work, *Pañcadaśī* is found mentioned in the colophons of all except two, namely, chapters IV and XIII. It might be inferred from these data that the author or one of the two authors, presumably Vidyāranya, had himself collected together the fifteen chapters and given them the collective name *Pañcadaśī*, on arranging them in the order in which they are found in the published edition because the only obstacle to such an inference presented by the omissions above-noted can be easily removed by attributing them to the carelessness of the scribe who may have copied out the manuscript on which the printed edition is based, it not being improper to assume that the colophons had been written by the author himself and that he who collected and arranged the chapters and

¹ The audience referred to here is that made up of the delegates and visitors at the ninth All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum in December 1937.

gave the name to the work could not have been so careless as to omit to append a colophon below one out of fifteen chapters and to omit to mention the name given to the work from the colophons to only two of the chapters forming part of that work.

This inference does not however appear to be sound when certain other internal and external evidence is weighed against the above.

Firstly, though in *Pañca. XI.1* the author of the last five chapters states that he will speak of Brahmananda, which according to the sequel consists of those five chapters, each bearing a separate sub-title such as "Brahmanande Yogānandaḥ", "Brahmanande Advaitānandaḥ" &c. and in XV. 22 of the same work he refers to the present Chapters XI, XII & XIII as the first, second and third chapters, he does not mention the name *Pañcadaśī* in any place throughout the work. Similarly in chapter IV of the *Jīvanmuktivivēka*¹ the author thereof, who is believed to be Vidyāraṇya, speaks of the "fourth chapter of Brahmananda treating of Vidyānanda" and not as "the fourteenth chapter of the *Pañcadaśī*" as he can be expected to do if he had himself collected together all the fifteen chapters and given them the latter name. It would not therefore be unreasonable to infer that the idea of doing so had not struck him and that he had not in fact done so.

Secondly, the only Sanskrit commentary on that work which is so far published and even known to scholars² is that composed by Paṇḍit Rāmakṛṣṇa named variously as *Tātparyabodhinī*, *Padadīpikā*, *Padayojanā* and *Vyākhyā*. The name *Pañcadaśī* does not appear in any of the introductory verses whatever at the commencement of the commentary on each of the first ten chapters and on the first of the last five chapters (eleventh) which are collectively given the name "Brahmananda". It does not also appear in the introductory remarks in prose in the beginning of each chapter in the separate colophons appended to the commentary on each chapter. There is on the other hand mention of the separate sub-title of each chapter in those verses and colophons. I have not come across that name anywhere in the body of the commentary also. On the other hand it is noteworthy that this

¹ Anandashram Sanskrit Series No. XX. p. 358.

² Vide Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* Pt. I p. 314.

commentator has prefixed introductory verses to chapter XI only out of chapters XI to XV, collectively named "Brahmānanda", has numbered the chapters as one to five instead of eleven to fifteen and has while mentioning the sub-title of each of them referred to that chapter as forming part of "Brahmānanda", as for example "Brahmānande Yogānandaḥ", "Brahmānande, Advaitānandaḥ", &c., not as "Pañcadaśyām Yogānandaḥ", &c. This Rāmakṛṣṇa again describes himself in the colophons either as Śrī Paramahansa Parivrājakācārya Śrī Bhāratīrtha-Vidyāranya-Munivarya-Kimkara or—Śrīcaranaśiṣya. It appears from this that he was a direct pupil of Bhāratīrtha and Vidyāranya and therefore had the best means of knowing whether the authors or one of them had or had not strung together the fifteen chapters and given them the collective name *Pañcadaśī*. These data point to the conclusions that he did not know that the authors or one of them had done so and that he himself too had not done so.

Thirdly, Appayya Dikṣita has referred to portions of this work in his *Siddhāntaleśa* several times.¹ On each occasion he has mentioned the title of the chapter in which the particular view has been expressed as if it were the title of a work by itself not as if it were the sub-title of a chapter of a larger work named *Pañcadaśī*.

Thus the evidence both internal and external as to the fifteen chapters of the *Pañcadaśī* having originally been separate booklets and as to their having been collected and arranged as in the printed edition and given the collective name *Pañcadaśī* by some one other than Bhāratīrtha, Vidyāranya and Rāmakṛṣṇa at a date subsequent to the second half of the sixteenth or the first of the seventeenth century A. D., when the *Siddhāntaleśa* is believed to have been composed,² far outweighs that as to its having been done by any of the three responsible personages. Hence the

¹ Vide *Siddhāntaleśa* (Madras University Edition), p. 13 (Tattvavivēka), p. 14 (Citrādīpa), p. 15 (Brahmānanda and the Citradīpa), p. 32 (Kūṭasthadīpa and Nāṭakadīpa), p. 36 (Kūṭasthadīpa) and p. 94 (Dhyānadīpa).

² Vide Introduction to the *Siddhāntabindu* (G. O Series Vol. LXIV) pp. CXXI-II and Introduction to *Siddhāntaleśa* (Madras University Series) Vol. I p. 3.

conclusion that it must have been done by some scribe or editor subsequent to the second half of the sixteenth or the first of the seventeenth century.

II

Authorship of the Work ;

(a) *Of the Work As a Whole*

Popularly this work is believed to have been composed wholly by Vidyāranya Svāmi who was the same as Mādhava, minister of Kings Bukka I and Harihara of the Vijayanagar kingdom, who ruled in the second half of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century. Vāsudeo Śāstri Paṇaśīkar who edited it for publication by the Nirṇaya Sagar Press of Bombay in 1926 has also spoken of it in his preface in Sanskrit to that edition as having been composed by the same writer. In the colophons to Chapters VI to X and XIII to XV Vidyāranya alone has been mentioned as the author of every one of them. There is a second view of Appaya Dikṣita that Bhāratīrtha had composed this work. This view is not expressed anywhere but is capable of being reasonably inferred from his having in his *Siddhāntaleśa* referred to as the opinion of Bhāratīrtha that which can be traced to verses 153-62 of the Citradīpa (Chapter VI of the *Pañcadaśī*)¹ and having stated the Dhyānadīpa (Chapter IX of the same work)² to have been composed by the same author. It seems possible to infer from his having ascribed both the sixth and the ninth chapters to Bhāratīrtha that he may have believed Bhāratīrtha and Vidyāranya to be identical personages but such an inference is negatived by his having referred to the same individual at a third place in the same work as "Vidyāranya-guru"³ i. e. as the Guru of Vidyāranya. This compound word is capable of being interpreted in another way namely as meaning Guru Vidyāranya⁴ but that interpretation does not appear to be correct in the light of the two previous references and in view of the fact that the Dikṣita seems to refer at this place to verses XXXVI to XLVI of *Dṛgdrśyaviveka*, a work which is reputed to be a composition

¹ Vide Madras University Edition Vol. II p. 23 and Mr. S. S. Śāstri's Note No. 137 at p. VI of the Notes to Chapter I of that work.

² Ibid. p. 94.

³ Ibid p. 61.

⁴ Vide Śāstri's Note No. 50 at p. X of his Notes.

of Bhāratīrtha not of Vidyāraṇya. The identity theory is also negated by other evidence which consists of a statement in the colophon to the *Jīvanmuktiviveka* that it had been composed by "Vidyāraṇya, a pupil of Bhāratīrtha"¹ and the fact of Paṇḍita Rāmakṛṣṇa, the only commentator of the *Pañcadaśī*, having made obeisance to both Bhāratīrtha and Vidyāraṇya in an introductory verse placed at the commencement of the commentary on each of chapters I to X and XI, with which "Brahmānanda" consisting of five closely allied chapters begins, by using the dual expression "Śrī Bhāratīrtha-Vidyāraṇya-Muniśvarau." Therefore Appaya Dīkṣita must be held to be of the view that Bhāratīrtha alone had composed the whole of the *Pañcadaśī*. There is yet a third view as to the authorship of that work and that is that it had been composed partly by Vidyāraṇya and partly by Bhāratīrtha. This view appears to have been held by Śādhu Nīścalaḍāsa, the learned author of the *Vṛttiprabhākara*, a Hindi work on the Vedānta dialectics and by Pītāmbara Svāmi, the learned editor of the *Pañcadaśī*.² Paṇḍit Achyutarao Modak, the learned commentator of the *Jīvanmuktiviveka* also mentions it as a fact that Vidyāraṇya had at first partly composed this work and latterly his Guru Bhāratīrtha composed the remaining portion thereof at his request.³

Out of these three views neither the first nor the second is sound and reliable, because the general mass of readers cannot be expected to be critical. Its judgment is generally found to have been based on a grain of truth mixed with consciously or unconsciously invented falsehood. Śāstri Paṇaśīkar too does not seem to have formed his opinion above-referred to on weighing the available evidence for and against the single authorship of the work. The colophons to three of the chapters of the *Pañcadaśī* namely IV, V and XI speak of it as a work of the joint authorship of Bhāratīrtha and Vidyāraṇya and although it is open to doubt whether Bhāratīrtha had or had not a hand in the composition of this work there is no room for doubting the fact that Vidyāraṇya had played an important part in its composition be-

¹ Anandasram Sanskrit Series No. XX p. 382.

² Vide Sir S. Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy* Vol. II, p. 451.

³ Anandasram Sanskrit Series No. XXp. 4.

cause it must be on that very fact that the popular belief above-mentioned must have been primarily based and because the author of such a standard work could not have remained so obscure as Bhāratīrtha is, his name being known only to critical students.

On the other hand the view as to the dual authorship of the work is supported by strong internal and external evidence. With regard thereto however tradition differs as to how many chapters had been composed by Vidyāraṇya and how many by Bhāratīrtha. Pīṭambarāśvāmi in his edition of the work records the tradition that the former had composed the first six chapters (up to Citradīpa) and the latter the remaining nine.¹ Sāstri Achyutarao Moḍak the learned commentator of the *Jīvanmuktiviveka* narrates² that Vidyāraṇya having composed the first six chapters, showed them to his master and then the latter completed the work by composing the next four Dīpa-chapters and the last five Ānanda-chapters. Sādhu Nīścaldāsa on the other hand states that the former had composed the first ten chapters and the latter the last five. I will consider later on which version of the tradition is reasonable and true to fact. For the present I devote my attention only to the question of dual authorship as against single authorship.

Now, the last five chapters are not only allied together on account of their treating of different aspects of Brahmananda but it appears that they had been given that collective title by the author himself by the first verse of the eleventh chapter. In XVI. 22 again he refers to the eleventh to thirteenth chapters as the first, second and third chapters. Moreover though, as we have seen, the colophons which seem to have been added by a scribe, are not reliable in that they ascribe the authorship of a majority of the chapters to Vidyāraṇya, amongst which there are chapters XIII to XV also, those of chapters IV, V and XI show this much at least that the scribe was aware that the whole work had not been composed by Vidyāraṇya alone. Then again in the fourth chapter of the *Jīvanmuktiviveka*, entitled *Svarūpasiddhiprayojana-prakarṇa* there is a reference to the fourth chapter of "Brahmananda" treating of "Vidyānanda",³ which points to the conclusion

¹ Sir S. Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy* Vol. II p. 451.

² Anandashram Sanskrit Series No. XX p. 4.

³ Ibid p. 358.

that Vidyāranya himself had treated the last five chapters of the present *Pañcadaśī* as constituting a separate booklet. Further Rāmakṛṣṇa, the learned commentator of this work, has placed the introductory verse containing an obeisance to both Vidyāranya and Bhāratīrtha at the commencement of his commentary on each of the first ten chapters and the eleventh and thus indicated his preference for the view that both of them had taken part in the composition of this work. At the same time, in as-much as he states in the second line of the verse introducing the Yogānanda-chapter that he is going to comment upon "the Grantha known by the name of Brahmānanda," introduces the Ātmānanda-chapter as forming the second chapter in Brahmānanda and in the introduction thereto calls the Yogānanda-chapter the first chapter, speaks of the former as the second chapter in the introduction to the Advaitānanda-chapter and while introducing the Viṣayānanda-chapter calls it the fifth chapter, refers to the Yogānanda-chapter as the first chapter in its commentary on verse 22 of the last chapter and has not placed the above-mentioned introductory verse at the commencement of his commentary on the last four chapters.¹ It can be definitely gathered that he believed the last five chapters on Ānanda to constitute a separate booklet. Thus though Rāmakṛṣṇa has not stated anywhere which chapters had been composed by Vidyāranya and which by Bhāratīrtha he can be held to support the view of the dual authorship of the work as against that of the single authorship of Vidyāranya or Bhāratīrtha and the one that the last five chapters originally constituted a separate work from the first ten.

(b) *Of the work as divided into groups of chapters*

The fact of dual authorship being thus proved to be more believable than that of single authorship, I now address myself to a consideration of the question which of the two versions of the tradition as to the composition of particular chapters by Vidyāranya and that of the others by Bhāratīrtha appears to be more reasonable and therefore true to fact.

As stated above, the fifteen chapters of the work are capable of being divided into three well-defined groups each having

¹ Nirṇayasāgar Press edition, pp. 401, 464, 501, 552 and 556.

an equal number of them in it. That being so, it does not seem reasonable that Vidyāranya should have composed all the chapters of the first group and one of the second group and having stopped there shown them to his Guru and that then the latter should have completed the second group by adding four chapters thereto and composed the whole of the third group while on the other hand it stands to reason that the former should have composed the first ten chapters constituting the first two groups and shown them to his Guru and that thereafter the latter while leaving the first two groups untouched, should have added one entirely thereto. The facts that the author himself had composed the last group separately and given that he himself and his commentaries that the said five chapters from different aspects and that he made successful

STUDIES ON INDIAN HISTORY

II. Two Dynasties of Eastern Bengal

BY

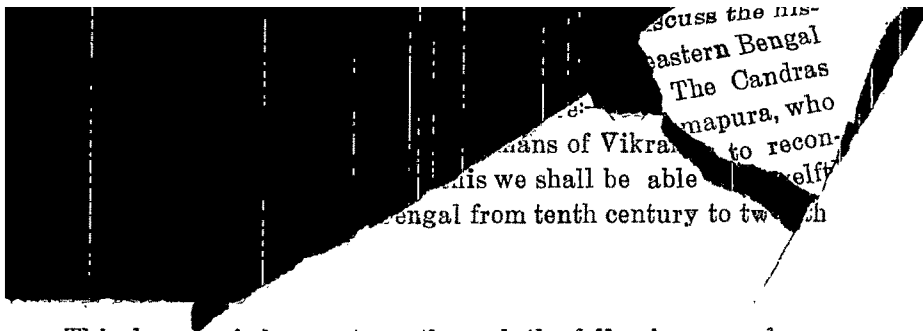
ADRIS BANERJI

The purpose of the present contribution is to discuss the history of two little known dynasties that ruled over eastern Bengal from the tenth century A. D. These two are (1) the Harikela or Vaṅga and (2) the Varmāṇas. The latter supplanted the former. In doing this I have tried to reconstruct the history of eastern Bengal from the tenth century A. D.

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independent gro
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and treat of the same that group,
at once treated it as a work by itself,
treat of only one topic though in its dis
while that topic was such that only one who
efforts to realise in actual experience what one learns from books
could do proper justice to it, the topics treated of in the first and
second groups of chapters are such that anyone who had a mere
bookish knowledge of the Advaita philosophy and a good com-
mand over the Sanskrit language could have composed all of
them, are, in my opinion, sufficient for holding that there is reason
only in favour of the version of the tradition contained in the
Vṛttiprabhākara of Sadhu Nīścaladāsa.

Closing Remarks

It is really admirable that though this is thus a work of dual
authorship, the fifteen chapters which it contains are divisible
into the three well-defined groups above-mentioned and that the
order in which they are arranged is such that it marks the differ-
ent stages through which a student has to pass in his journey
towards the highest goal held out by the absolute idealistic doc-
trine of the Śāṅkhya school namely :— (1) discriminative know-
ledge of the self and the non-selves, (2) enlightening elaborate
knowledge of the ultimate and only reality and (3) actual
realization of its identity with the self in the day-to-day life of
the individual.



This dynasty is known to us through the following records :—
(1) Rampal C. P. of Śrī-Candradeva—This record was found in the village of Pañcasāra, in the Munshiganj sub-division, of the Dacca district. It was issued from the 'victorious camp' at Vikramapura, recording the grant of 1 *pāṭaka* of land in the village of Nehakāṣṭhi in the Nānya-maṇḍala of the Puṇḍra-bhukti. Four generations of kings are mentioned:

Purnnacandra of Rohitagiri

|

Suvarnacandra of Rohitagiri

|

Trailokyacandra, who became king of Candradvīpa, and later on added the whole of Harikela to his dominions.

|

Śrī-Candra¹

(2) Kedarpur C. P. of Śrī-Candradeva—The charter was discovered at the village of Kedarpur in the Madaripur sub-division of the district of Faridpure. It is now in the Dacca Museum. Like 1) it was issued from Vikramapura, mentions all Candra kings up to Śrī-Candra with his usual royal titles. Then comes the

¹ N. G. Majumdar—*Inscrip*  pp. 1ff.

prose portion, but unlike others it ends abruptly, so that the object of the record is not mentioned at all. Apparently it is an unfinished charter.¹

(3) Dhulla C. P. of the same—It was discovered by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali of the Dacca Museum and has not been properly edited. A short summary of its contents was published by N. G. Majumdar. It was issued from Vikramapura and records the grant of certain lands in Puṇḍra-bhukti.²

(4) Edilpur plates of the same—It was found in the village of Edilpur in the Faridpur district. An account of the plates was published in the *Dacca Review* and *Epigraphia Indica*. It records the grant of land in the village of Leliya in the Kumāratalakamāṇḍala situated in the Satata-Padmāvaṭi-viṣaya.³

THE VARMMANS

(1) Vajrayoginī fragment—This was found amongst the ruins of an ancient temple in the village of Vajrayoginī, in the Vikramapura *parganā*, of the Dacca district. It was brought to our notice by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali in a Bengali article with a transcription of the text. Later on the same scholar published a summary of its contents in English.⁴ The only important facts deducible from this fragment, are that there was a king named Harivarmman in the Yādava dynasty of Vikramapura, who had a son (name lost). What is more this fragment undoubtedly proves that the late Mr. R. D. Banerji's suggestion, who based his conclusion on a very much defaced land grant of Harivarmmadeva, that Harivarmman followed Jātavarmman and preceded Sāmalavarmman is quite correct.⁵

(2) Lost plate of Harivarmmadeva—This record was first noticed and transcribed by Mr. N. N. Basu, and was also examined by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, who along with Raibahdur Ramaprasad Chanda, declared that Mr. Basu's transcription was very fanciful.⁶

¹ Ibid, pp. 10-13.

² Ibid, pp. 115-17, Appendix.

³ Ibid, pp. 166-7, App.

⁴ *Bhāratavarṇa*, 1340 B. S. vol. xxi, pt. 1, pp. 674-81; *Modern Review*, vol. lii, pp. 522-32.

⁵ R. D. Banerji—*Bāṅgālār Itihāsa* (in Bengali) 2nd ed. vol. i, pp. 304.

⁶ *Vaṅger Jāṭiya Itihāsa* (in Bengali) vol. ii, p. 215; *Gauḍarājamāla* p. 55; *Palas of Bengal*, *MASB* vol. v, no. 3, p. 97.

(3) A ms. of *Aṣṭa-sāhasrika-Prajñapāramitā* written in the 19th year of Harivarmmadeva.

(4) A ms. of *Laghu-kāla-cakra ṭīkā* was copied in the 39th regnal year of the same king.¹

(5) Bhuvaneśvara Inscription of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva - The record purports to give a eulogistic account of the family of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva. The information supplied by this record is extremely interesting for the history of the Varmmans. It appears that Bhavadeva served for a long time under Harivarmmadeva, as Minister of Peace and War, and also under his son. Harivarmmadeva had the title of *Paramēśa* (a paramount sovereign).²

(6) Belava C. P. of Bhojavarmman - This is the latest record of the Varmmans so far found. The record is that of *Paramavaiṣṇava-Paramēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja* the illustrious Bhojavarmmadeva. The first historical personage of this dynasty was Vajravarmman, whose forefathers were rulers of Simhapura, and was succeeded by his son Jātavarmman. His son was Sāmalavarmman. After this the real import of the passage is not quite clear. According to N. G. Majumdar, however, Sāmalavarmman had a son named Udayin and a daughter by the name of Trailokyasundarī. He had another son named Bhojavarmman, who succeeded him on the throne. The document was issued from Vikramapura and records the grant of 1 *pāṭaka* and $9\frac{1}{4}$ *droṇas* of land in the village of Upyālīka in the *Kauśāmbī-Aṣṭagaccha-khaṇḍala* in the *Adhahpattana-maṇḍala* of the *Puṇḍrabhukti*.³

Dr. R. G. Basak is of opinion that the characters of the Belava plate belong to the 11th century A. D. In another place while editing the Rampal C. P. of Śrī-Candra the same scholar declared that the characters of the grant belonged to the 11th or 12th century. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that according to the learned Professor the Candras were later than the Varmmans. According to N. G. Majumdar the characters of the Rampal

¹ H. P. Sastri—*Descriptive Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Mss*, vol. i (1917), p. 97.

² Majumdar—*op. cit.* pp. 34.

³ *Ibid*, pp. 14-24.

⁴ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. xii, pp. 37 and 137.

copper-plate of Śrī-Candra are a type of Northern Nāgari which is allied to the alphabet of the later Pālas and was current in north-eastern India at the close of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century A. D.¹ But, the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, who made a comparative and analytical study of the Bangarh plate of Mahipāla I, Rampal plate of Śrī-Candra, Belava C. P. of Bhojavarmman and the Tarpandighi grant of Lakṣmaṇasena-deva arrived at the following conclusions :—²

(1) That the Belava plate is slightly earlier and the Rampal grant of Śrī-Candra very much earlier than the Tarpandighi grant of Lakṣmaṇasena.

(2) That the Rampal grant is earlier and not later than the Belava grant of Bhojavarmman.

(3) That the Rampal grant is earlier than the Bangarh grant of Mahipāla I.

(4) That the Rampal grant of Śrī-Candra is either contemporary to or very slightly later than the Bhagalpur plate of Nārāyanapāladeva.

With the above as our data let us proceed to reconstruct the history of these two dynasties. The original habitat of the Candras was Rohitagiri, modern Rohtasgadh in the Sahabad district. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali identifies it with Lalmai Hills in the Tripura State.³ Dr. Bhattasali has not adduced any reasons in support of his identification. On the otherhand the fact that Vajravarmman had made himself powerful in the Aṅga country lends considerable support to the former identification. It is possible that Vaṅga was never included in the first Pāla empire by Gopāla. Dharmapāla is credited with extensive conquests in Northern India, but no direct reference is made in his or in the inscriptions of his successors to the neighbouring province of Vaṅga. It is therefore probable that after the fall of the Khadga dynasty, eastern Bengal was ruled by the Candra kings.

The first member of the line mentioned, is Pūrṇpacandra, his son Suvarṇpacandra probably embraced Buddhism.⁴ Both

¹ Majumdar—*op. cit.* p. 1.

² R. D. Banerji—*The Date of Śrī-Candra, Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee Jubilee Commemoration Volumes, Orientalia*, vol. iii, pp. 210-20.

³ *Modern Review*, vol. (lii) pp. 529-32.

⁴ Cf. verse 3 of Rampal plate of Śrī-Candra.

father and son seem to have been insignificant persons as not even royal titles are found against their name. To Trailokyacandra the title of Mahārājādhirāja is assigned for the first time. The correct interpretation of the contents of the Candra epigraphs leads to the conclusion that this king first conquered Candradvīpa and then extended his conquests to over whole of Harikela or eastern Bengal. The identification of Harikela has been made easy by Hemacandra who takes it to be a synonym of Vaṅga (verse 957). It is described by the Chinese pilgrim It-Sing as the eastern limit of eastern India.¹ N. G. Majumdar drew our attention to a *tāntrika* text called *Dākārṇava*, which mentions Harikela as a *pīṭha-sthāna*. According to Dr. R. G. Basak in mediaeval times Candradvīpa comprised within its boundaries some portions of modern Bākharganj (Barisal) Khulna and Faridpur districts of Bengal. It is even now one of the five chief fiscal divisions of the district of Barisal.²

Trailokyacandra had a son named Śrī-Candra, whose land grants are our only source of information about the existence of this dynasty. About his immediate successors we know nothing. A king named Govindacandra is known to us in the first quarter of the eleventh century A. D., when the fortunes of the earlier Pālas were at a very low ebb and eastern India was invaded by Rājendra the *Gaṅgāi-koṇḍa-Cola*. The great Cola emperor himself did not accompany the expedition, it was left in charge of his general, whose name is not mentioned in the epigraphs. Melapadi inscription dated in the 12th regnal year of Rājendra Cola does not mention his eastern conquests,³ but the Tirumalai Rock Inscription of the 13th regnal year mentions them. Therefore we can assume that the invasion of eastern India took place between the 12th and 13th regnal year of the king, in other words between the years 1024-26 A. D. Amongst the kings and countries conquered, mention is made of one Govindacandra of Vaṅga or Vaṅgāla-deśa. In the present state of our knowledge, we may very hesitatingly take this Govinda-

¹ Takakasu—*It-Sing*, p. lxvi; cf. also Foucher—*L'Iconographie Boudhique de l'Inde*, tome. i, p. 200. no. 55; p. 192, no. 17.

² Majumdar—*op. cit.* p. 3; *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. xii, p. 141, footnote 2.

³ *South Indian Inscriptions*, vol. iii, p. 27, No. 28.

candra to be a member of the Candra dynasty of Harikela—a successor of Śrī-Candra. This is another reason why late Mr. R. D. Banerji's theory about the date of Śrī-Candra appeals to me. If Govindacandra had preceded Śrī-Candra his name would have been mentioned in the genealogical portions of the charters. Therefore the possibility is greater, that he was a later member of the dynasty.

How the Candra dynsty came to an end we do not know. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji, however made a suggestion that the Candras were overthrown by Mahipāla.¹ But the greatest obstacle against this theory is that in none of the records of Mahipāla any definite reference regarding the conquest of eastern Bengal has been found. Therefore in our opinion, the Candras ruled eastern Bengal after the downfall of the Khadgas and ruled there till they were supplanted by the Varmmans.

—The Varmmans who occupied Vaṅga after the downfall of the Candras, claims to have belonged to the renowned Yādava clan. Their original habitat was Siṃhapura, the identity of which is controversial. Dr. R. G. Basak is inclined to identify it with Sihapura mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* as situated in the Lālā-rattha, i. e., Rādhā-rāṣṭra. Prof. Sten Konow on the other hand drew our attention to the existence of princes with names ending in Varmman who were kings of Kalinga at a city called Siṃhapura.² The late Mr. R. D. Banerji pointed out that the Lakkhamandal Inscription, which records the erection of a Śiva temple by Išvarā, the consort of a king of Jālandhara in the Punjab; the queen is described as having descended from a line of Yādava kings of Siṃhapura.³ The late Dr. Bühler identified this Siṃghapura with *Song-ho-pu-lo* mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang. Therefore in the present state it would be extremely hazardous to attempt any definite identification of the original habitat of the Varmmans. My personal opinion on the subject is that the Varmmans were a southern dynasty.

In the genealogical list the first name mentioned is Vajravarmman. His son was Jātavarmman, who is reported to have made himself powerful in the Aṅga country and married Vira-

¹ Banerji—*op. cit.* p. 222.

² Ibid, p. 37, fn. 2.

³ *Epi. Indica* vol. i, p. 10ff.

Śrī the daughter of Karna, the Cedi king of Dāhala. According to *Rāmacarita*, the Pāla king Vighrahapāla III married another daughter of the same king named Yauvāna-Śrī. It follows, therefore, that Jātavarman was a contemporary of Vighrahapāla III and a later contemporary of Karna. He is further said to have crippled the power of king of Kāmarūpa, eclipsed the fame of the mythical Pṛthu son of Vena, humbled Divya and Govardhana.

Divya has been identified with Divvoka mentioned in the *Rāmacarita* as the leader of the Kaivartta rebellion in the reign of Mahipāla II, whose nephew Bhīma was defeated and killed by Rāmapāla. Recently Raibahadur Ramaprasad Chanda has contributed a very thoughtful paper on the nature of Divvoka's rebellion.¹ In our opinion the Belava copper-plate makes it quite clear that even in the reign of Vighrahapāla III, Divya had become a powerful ruler, probably a feudatory of the Pālas. But his loyalty to the ruling house seems to have been of uncertain quantity. Taking advantage of the misrule of Mahipāla II, he won over the sympathies of the aboriginal Kaivarttas and some self-seeking and disloyal feudatories of the Pāla *faineants*, and usurped the throne. After having defeated and killed Mahipāla II the regicide posed as the deliverer of the country. The term *upadhipratī* in the *Rāmacarita*² has to be understood in this sense. We all know that the verses in this work are written in double *entendre*. Therefore the verse in question will have to be interpreted in the following way. 'Just as Rāvaṇa in the guise of a mendicant (*upadhipratī* = *bhaṇḍa-saṃnyāsī*) abducted Sitā; likewise Divya or Divvoka disguised as a deliverer of his people, or country, usurped the ancestral throne of the Pālas.'³

It appears that some time during his reign Jātavarman was attacked by Vighrahapāla III. This event is referred to in the Amgaohhi grant of the Pāla king with empty phrases like *deśe-prācī-pracura-payasi* etc.⁴ Evidently the Pāla monarch was not very successful in eastern quarters. It is clear that if a distinguished ruler like Jātavarman had been humbled such an

¹ *Modern Review*, vol. lvii, pp. 350-52.

² *Rāmacarita*, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. iii, chap. i, verse 38.

³ For a different interpretation see Chanda.

⁴ *Epi. Indica*, vol. xv, p. 296.

important event would not have been silently passed over by the court panygerists. He (Jātavarman) had two sons eldest of whom, Harivarman succeeded him to the throne. According to late Mr. Banerji, in the lost plate of Harivarman, his father's name is mentioned as Jyotirvarman, which is probably a mistake for Jātavarman. He must have reigned at least for forty years after which his son came to the throne. N. G. Majumdar suggests that Harivarman was able to extend his sway over some portion of Orissa.¹ From one verse of *Rāmacarita* we learn that Rāmapāla was propitiated by a Varman king of the east for the latter's safety, by the presentation of an elephant and the royal chariot.² This Varman king was in all probability the unnamed son of Harivarman, whose reign was probably very short and inglorious.

Was there any rupture of cordial relations between Sāmalavarman who next ascended the throne, and his nephew (Harivarman's son)? Sāmalavarman was the younger son of Jātavarman, but most strangely there is no mention of Harivarman and his son in the Belava C. P. of Bhojavarmman the son and successor of Sāmalavarman. A parallel instance can be cited in the Bhitari seal of Kumāragupta II where the name of Skandagupta has been omitted after that of Kumāragupta I. The evidence at our disposal is too meagre to permit any definite verdict, all that we can say at present is that, such a doubt is quite natural.³ The panygerists of Bhojavarmman glide smoothly over the reign of his father Sāmalavarman, which probably shows that it was short and uneventful. According to N. G. Majumdar, Sāmalavarman had two sons Udayin and Bhojavarmman, the youngest of whom succeeded his father and issued the land-grant found at the village of Belava. The history of successors of Bhojavarmman can not be discussed as no information is available at present. One fact however is certain, that the dynasty was overthrown by Vijayasena, the third member of the Sena dynasty of Bengal, whose only land-grant discovered at Barrackpore, in Bengal, was issued from Vikramapura.⁴

¹ Majumdar—*op. cit.* p. 30.

² *Rāmacarita*, chapter iii, verse 44.

³ *JASB*, 1889, pt. i, p. 89.

⁴ Majumdar—*op-cit.* pp. 42-56.

14 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

PROF. P. P. S. SASTRI VS THE ŚRĪKŪRMAM
INSCRIPTION

BY

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In a paper entitled "Mādhva Chronology", contributed to the *Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume I*, I find Professor P. P. S. Sastri, playing the role of a defender of "tradition" and the chronological lists maintained in the Mādhva Maṭhas" re. the date 1119-1198 A. D. sponsored by them for Madhvācārya; and arguing that that date is in no way invalidated by the famous Śrīkūrmam Ins. of Narahari Tirtha, one of the direct disciples of Madhva. Prof. Sastri maintains that the inscription in question has not been properly interpreted and proffers what in his opinion is a necessary emendation of the portion of the text giving the year of the inscription, which if adopted, would at once remove the long-standing conflict with the Mutt Lists. I propose to examine the case put forward by him in some detail, here.

I

Speaking about the Mutt Lists, Prof. Sastri ought not to have so completely suppressed the fact—long ago brought to the notice of scholars, by the late Dr. Bhandarkar²—that they had in most cases, preserved *only the cyclic years of the accession and demise of the Pontiffs* but not uniformly *the Śaka years* also thereof,—an omission, which inevitably detracts much from their probative value. Prof. Sastri's bald assertion therefore, that "tradition

¹ It will be remembered that the same Prof. had in the Intro. to the third Volume of his *South Indian Recension of the Mahābhārata* (Madras 1932), *ante-dated* Vādirāja Tirtha, one of the celebrated commentators on the Epic belonging to the school of Madhvācārya, by *three centuries*, in complete violation of (a) the universal tradition among the Mādhvas and (b) all available evidences literary and epigraphical. See *Annals of the B. O. R. I.*, Vol. xviii, to which it is time that Prof. Sastri sent a recantation or rejoinder.

² And reiterated by H. Krishna Sastri in his Prefatory Note to his *Śrīkūrmam Ins. Ep. Ind.* VI. p. 262.

says that Ānandatīrtha was born in 4220 Kali i. e. 1119 A. D." cannot be taken seriously. Surely, he cannot be ignorant of the fact that there is a much more authentic literary tradition—nay, an express statement, in one of the works of Ānandatīrtha himself—to the effect that he was born after the lapse of 4300 years of Kali :—

चतुःसहस्रे त्रिशतोत्तरे गते
संवत्सराणां तु कलौ पृथिव्याम् ।
जातः पुनर्विप्रतनुः स भीमो
दैत्यैर्निगूढं हरितत्त्वमाह ॥

(*Mahābhārata-Tātparyā-Nirṇaya*, xxxii. 131.)

Nor has Prof. Sastri advanced any reason to reject the above as an interpolation—should he be inclined to treat it as one. The difference of well-nigh a century between the two dates is far too much to be glossed over lightly.

The passage from the *Mbh. T. N.* must thus remain the earliest authenticated *terminus a quo* for the date of birth of Madhva. The discovery and publication of the Śrīkūrmam Insc. of Narahari Tīrtha have doubtless had " far-reaching effects " as observed by Prof. Sastri, " on the chronology of the Mādhva Pontiffs "; but only by enabling us to fix the actual date of birth of Madhva definitely after A. D. 1200 (4300 Kali) and not by obliging us to shift it before 1200 A. D. This is an important fact which Prof. Sastri, in his hurry, forgets.

II

Narahari Tīrtha was, as he himself tells us in his Śrīkūrmam Insc., a direct disciple of Ānandatīrtha alias Madhvācārya. The date of the inscription is Śaka 1203 = (शकवत्सरे हुतवहस्योमद्वयक्ष्मायुते) 1281 A. D. This makes it clear that Narahari Tīrtha flourished about 1281 A. D. It is here that Prof. Sastri's difficulties begin. " If Narahari flourished about 1281, the gap between him and his teacher Ānandatīrtha who died (according of course to Prof. Sastri) in 1199, becomes too wide. To bridge the gap, C. M. Padmanabha-car and others (who wrote on the Date of Madhva) suggested that the chronological lists maintained in the Mutts were untrustworthy " ¹ This alleged conflict of the date furni-

¹ i. e. behind the actual date by two cycles. (1119 + 120 = 1238-39). I have elsewhere (*Annamalai Uni. Jour.* Vol. III, No. 2) pointed out that even Dr. Bhandarkar's date 1199-1257, based on a literal adhesion to the *Mbh. T. N.* passage, is discredited by an important fact brought to light in one of Narahari Tīrtha's inscriptions.

shed by the Insc. with the "traditional" date for Madhva, is to Prof. Sastri's mind, a mere figment of the imagination of the "modern" scholar: "We suggest" says he—"for the consideration of *Archaeologists and Epigraphists in particular*, whether it would not be *wiser* to take the date of the Śrīkūrmam Insc., to be Wednesday the 25th. March 1181 A. D., (1103 Śaka). The text: हुतवह्व्योमद्वयक्ष्मायुते may well be read more easily as हुतवह्व्योमाद्वयक्ष्मायुते which would give 1103 Śaka as the year of the insc. If this were accepted, there does not remain any further incompatibility with the traditional lists preserved in the Mādhva-Maṭhas". [Italics mine]. This alteration of the year is more easily justifiable than Kielhorn's emendation of the "astrological data" of the text from वारे च सीम्ये वरे" into वारे च सौरेर्वरे", "particularly as in Telugu script which is the script of the insc., the short and long form of म are easily mistakable, much more so in stone-cut inscriptions where such mistakes are possible due to carelessness of the mason or the ravages of Time" (p. 169)! [Italics mine].

All this is no doubt very original and ingenious; only the remedy aggravates the disease. I should think that the short and long forms of म are as sharply distinguishable in Telugu as in Devanāgarī or Tamil, and before damning the poor mason or deploring the ravages of Time, Prof. Sastri must have satisfied himself that there was 'no further conflict with the inscriptional evidences that are available' for Narahari Tirtha. [Italics mine].

III

Unfortunately for him and throughout his paper, I find Prof. Sastri proceeding on the glib assumption that there is really only one insc. relating to Narahari Tirtha and that that is the Śrīkūrmam one, on whose interpretation or mis-interpretation rather, he has lavished all his skill at text-torture! But a reference to Pages 266-80 of the *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. VI, would show him that Kṛṣṇa Sāstri has drawn attention, to as many as six other dated inscriptions of Narahari from the Vaiṣṇava temples of Śrīkūrmam and Simhācalam in the Vizag district distributed between the years 1264 A. D. and 1293 A. D. The particulars of their dates are as under:--

(1) ऊनचतुर्दशवर्षे द्वादशशतकत्सरे = 1264 A. D. स्तस्ति श्री शकवर्षाब्दे 1186. (369 of 1896).

(2) शकवर्षम्बुल 1204 वीरनरसिंहदेवर विजय राज्यसंवत्सरम्बुल grant by Narasimha Mandali Konḍu, in the immediate presence of Narahari Tirtha Śrīpāda. (375 of 1896) Date 1282 A. D.

(3) शकवत्सरे शर (5) धरा (1) तिग्मांशु (12) संख्यान्विते = 1215 Śaka = 1283 A. D. (291 of 1896).

(4) राम (3) धात्री (1) नयन (2) शशि (1) मिते नरहरितीर्थश्रीपादम्बुल-तमकुतु आयुरारोग्य पुण्याभिवृद्धि गातु। Śaka 1213 = 1291 A. D. (311 of 1899).

(5) स्वास्तिश्री वेद (4) चन्द्र (1) शुभणि (12) शुभगणिते शकवर्षम्बुल 1214 जयन्तरात्रु श्रीनरहरितीर्थ-श्रीपादम्बुल अनुसंधान। 1293 A. D. (305 of 1895).

(6) 1215 Śaka = 1293. (367 of 1896).

IV

It will be seen that in these epigraphs the dates of grants have been given both in figures as well as in the form of chronograms, whose clear and unambiguous wording gives no room at all for emendations *a la* व्योमाद्वयक्ष्मायुते " trotted out by Prof. Sastri. Since half a dozen of the inscriptions of Narahari Tirtha are dated between 1264-1293 A. D., it would be the height of unwisdom to emend व्योमाद्वयक्ष्मायुते alone into व्योमाद्वयक्ष्मायुते in which case, there would be an absurd interval of 112 years between the earliest and the latest known inscriptions of Narahari.¹ Whatever the merits of "अद्वय-वाद" in philosophy, the emendation can have no place in the inscription of Narahari Tirtha! "Archaeologists and Epigraphists in particular" would thus see that "it is the wrong date assigned to the Śrīkūrmam Insc., (as a result of an absurd flight of pseudo-Research) even at the risk of "altering the figures, "given therein, that has been so mischievously (and cheaply?) fruitful of setting up the modern scholar in Prof. P. P. S. Sastri--against the unambiguous and incontrovertible testimony of half a dozen inscriptions of Narahari Tirtha. They will have no difficulty also, in realising that 1238-1317 A. D., is the only correct date for Madhva which is capable of satisfying the largest number of facts known about him and that it would be foolish for anybody now to play the role of a Defender of the Mutt Lists.

¹ Kielhorn's emendation of the week-day, is, in the circumstances, the only sensible way.

REVIEWS

वाचस्पतिमिश्रकृतः तत्त्वबिन्दुः with the comm. तत्त्वविभाषना by Parameśvara II (Annamalai Univ. S. S. No. 3), Ed. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, M. A., Mimāṃsakarātna &c., Lecturer in Sanskrit, Annamalai University, 1936, Rs. 3.

The Tattvabindu of Vācaspatimiśra was published first in the Pandit in 1892 with a gloss by M. M. Gaṅgādharaśāstri Mānavalli. It has been now published with a very useful commentary and a very valuable introduction. M. M. Gaṅgādharaśāstri's gloss also has been reproduced here in the footnotes to the text, which contain also a statement of the v. l. in so far as the text of Parameśvara and that of the Pandit edition are concerned. The Introduction consists of two parts : the first contains a survey of the Mimāṃsā from the days of Jaimini to the nineteenth century ; the second contains an analysis of the Tattvabindu, which is so full that it can be used also as a translation to enable the reader to grapple with the difficult text.

The Editor is quite at home with the Mimāṃsā literature and has tried to do for it what Mr. Kane has done for the Dharmaśāstra, although not on the same scale. The Index of authors and of works at the end will bear eloquent testimony to his indefatigable labours.

We can have nothing but gratitude towards Mr. Ramaswami Śāstri for the magnificent service that he has rendered to the cause of Mimāṃsā, Vedānta and Grammar in having published a correct and well-punctuated edition of a difficult text like the Tattvabindu with a very valuable commentary, published here for the first time, which also he has edited with conscientious zeal, having hunted up the references to a hundred different works.

It is the unfortunate duty of a reviewer to do the work of a fault-finder.

In fixing the date of Jaimini, the present reviewer has tried to make use of the data to be derived from the Vārtika of Kātyā-

yana.¹ They make it clear that the J. S. are earlier than the Vārtika. The same controversy as figures in the Tattvabindu was a live one even in the days of Kātyāyana or even before, and in a history of the Mīmāṃsā some mention should have been made of Yāska, Vyādi and Kātyāyana.²

I agree with the date given on p. 17 for Upavarsa, but I think that a brief answer was necessary to the views of Jacobi as expressed in his article in JAOS, 1911.

Turning to the text it appears to me that the editor should not have servilely followed the text of Parameśvara. In so many places the text of the northern mss. is decidedly better; for instance on p. 19, l. 4, the v. l. उत्पत्तेः is supported by प्रत्ययोत्पादस्य in the next line; on p. 24 उदयते is supported by Parameśvara's own ms. and his emendation is on unwarranted grounds; शक्तिकल्पनायां सत्यां &c on p. 28, l. 1, makes sense, not the reading adopted; his साम्यासाम्यात् l. 5 also is inexplicable; तावत् on p. 29 l. 1, is unwanted and unexpected in the place it occupies; एषः on 41, l. 3 is definitely better than एषा; cf. कस्यचित् उपाधेः on p. 51, l. 14; on p. 44, l. 1 तद्गहीतिविरहे is definitely better than तत्प्रतीतिरग्रहे; व्यपदेशभेदे on p. 52, l. 6, is supported by the same word occurring two lines further on; इतरेतराश्रयत्व is what one expects from the preceding (p. 53, l. 2); on p. 90 l. 1 अद्भुत्यमानसुन्दरं makes no sense; अविशुद्ध्यमानसुन्दरं is to be preferred; and so on.

Although the text has been considerably improved by the present editor, in some respects the old punctuation and paragraphing appear to be better; for instance, on p. 44, l. 5 a new paragraph should have been assigned to the portion beginning from कथम् and the paragraph beginning with तथा च on p. 46 should be read as a part of the preceding one.

I shall point out a few mistakes of punctuation and paragraphing that I have noticed. On p. 9 the sentence वर्णाः पदानि etc. should go with the preceding and a fresh paragraph should commence with न तावत्पूर्णः कालः; no paragraph is necessary on p. 10; the

¹ Le Vārtika de Kātyāyana (1922), p. 77 (the amended instance occurring in I. 2. 64, Vārt. 57).

² The last two have been mentioned indeed on p. 17, but they have been mentioned incidentally and their views have not been stated. One cannot imagine when Pāṇini could have spoken of शब्दनित्यत्व.

comma after तद्विश्लेषात् should be dropped ; I think that M. M. Gaṅgādharaśāstri is right in reading a full point after उपाधिविरहात् and not before it (p. 52, l. 7).

Mistakes in transliteration are frequent and it would have been more convenient to Indian readers to have whole Sanskrit sentences, if not individual words, composed in Devanāgarī characters. No Greek quotation is printed in Roman types ; why should Sanskrit quotations be printed in Roman types ? (This I write with due deference to the views of the Congress President). The index of authors and works should have been according to the order of the Sanskrit letters.

These are minor details which do not at all detract from the greatness of the author's contribution to our knowledge. The Annamalai University is to be congratulated on its decision to offer the work at the very low price of Rs. 3.

V. G. Paranjpe

VOL. XIX]

[PART IV

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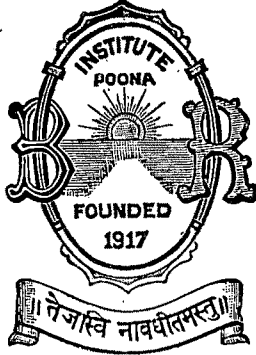
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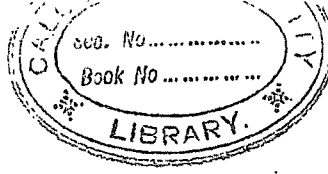
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Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

VOL. XIX]

JULY 1938

[PART IV

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE HINDOO NOSE-ORNAMENT CALLED "NATH"

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

Some time ago the Health Officer¹ of the Poona City Municipality suggested in a communication to the press that Hindoo women should cease to wear the nose-ornament called "*nath*" because this custom tends to keep the nose unclean and the ornament becomes a nuisance to the health of the wearer. Some controversy raged in the press as a result of the above suggestion. I had then a mind to examine the whole custom historically without suggesting in the least that Hindu women should discard their nose-ornament of whatever shape or value because such a suggestion may lead to reaction and we may find a revival of the custom in places where it has ceased to keep its hold either on the grounds of economy or owing to educated indifference to excess of ornament. I could not carry out my intention to record the historical references to the nose-ornament because of the scattered nature of such references and the difficulty of getting exact chronology for them. As, however, a beginning has got to be made in the interest of our sisters, I

¹ The late Khan Bahadur Dr. Kershaw Dinshaw Khambata, M. B. E., L. M. & S., L. R. C. P. S. who was Health Officer to the the Poona-city Municipality for many years. Unfortunately he is now no more as he died on 19-6-1936.

shall record in this paper the references gathered by me regarding the nose-ornament without prejudice to the desirability of the continuance or otherwise of the custom now in vogue.

The Indian nose-ornament appears to have attracted the attention of foreigners in the 17th and 18th century. Lt. Edward Moor on the Bombay Establishment of the East India Company, who wrote his *Narrative*¹ of the British co-operation with Parashuram Bhau Patwardhan against Tipoo Sultan between A. D. 1790 and 1792 and who was a minute observer of men and things not to say an accurate and erudite scholar, makes the following observations on *nath* in his chapter on *Historical and Descriptive Particulars of Canara and the Canarese* (Chap. XXI) pp. 288-289 :—

“In common with most other sects of Hindoos; the women wear an ornamental ring or jewel in their nose, called in Hirdvi *nutt*. A great deal of money is sometimes expended, and a great deal of taste sometimes displayed, in the execution and design of this favourite appendage, which whatever mere Europeans may think, must be allowed a very becoming, and almost irresistible addition to the nose of a pretty face. This ornament is sometimes, but here not very frequently, affixed to the septum of the nose, but it then assumes a different name and form, and we

¹ *Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment and of the Maratha Army commanded by Purseram Bhow, during the late confederacy in India against Nawab Tipoo Sultan Bahadur, By Edward Moor, Lieutenant on the Bombay Establishment, London 1794, Pp. XV+526.* The following particulars about Edward Moor are noted on p. 298 of *Dictionary of Indian Biography* by C. E. Buckland, London, 1906 :— “*Moor Edward*—(1771-1848) Major: born 1771. Went out to India in 1782. Reached Madras 1783. Served with the Maratha Army against Tipoo, 1790-91 at Dharwar, Doridrug, Gadgnur: Wrote 1794 an account of the operations: officiated as Q. M. G.: Garrison Store-keeper i. e. Commissary General, at Bombay, 1799-1805: retired in 1805: compiled the military orders and regulations: Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1796: F. R. S. 1806: F. S. A. 1818: original Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, which he helped to found: member of other learned Societies: Published his *Hindu Pantheon* 1810: Wrote *Hindu Infanticide* 1811; *Oriental Fragments* 1834; and on India in *Cyclopaedia*; died Feb. 26, 1848”—The *Centenary Review* of the Asi. Soc. of Bengal (1734-1883) Calcutta 1885, p. 162 records E. Moor's paper contributed to *As. Res.* VII, 383 on the Chinchvad Samsthāna near Poona.

think, loses all its effect, there not being an equal opportunity of displaying either taste or judgment, as in the circular trinket, suspended in the usual style.

Tavernier ¹ says, (*Persian Travels*, p. 86) the Arabian women bore the septum only for the admission of the ring. "The Arabian women only bore the separation between the two nostrils, where they wear hollow rings, as well to spare cost as for lightness; for some are so big that you may almost thrust your fist through them. Beyond all this, the more to beautify themselves, they make a round ring around their eyes with a certain sort of blacking; and as well men as women, in the desert, put the same near their eyes to preserve them, as they say from the heat of the Sun."

Hanway (*Travels in Persia*, Vol. I, p. 230) speaks irreverently of the *nuth*, as it is worn by the Persian ladies, but he was too little of an Asiatic to feel its fascinating effects; and from the unpleasant circumstances attending his journeyings in Persia, it would not be surprising if he were so displeased with everything in that quarter, as to speak irreverently of the ladies also."

The foregoing references from the *Travels* of Tavernier and Hanway prove that the custom of boring the septum of the nose and introducing a ring into it is of Arabic origin. In the same way the custom of boring one of the nostrils and introducing the *nuth* into it appears to have been current in Persia as observed by Hanway. From the evidence to be recorded in this paper it will be apparent that the existence of the *nuth* in India and references to it in literature and representation of it in painting and and sculpture are associated with the post-Muslim period of Indian history and consequently the conclusion becomes irresistible that the *nuth* or nose-ring has been imported into India from a foreign source. ²

¹ Tavernier began his numerous journeys in the East in 1632-3. Soon afterwards (1642-8) he returned east-wards and reached India by way of Ispahan [Vide p. 62 of *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V. British India (1497-1858) Cambridge, 1929].

² It is a curious coincidence that just when this paper was being drafted Dr. A. S. Altekar's article on " Dress and Ornaments of Hindu Women " (*Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, Vol. II, 1938, pp. 399-422) should
(continued on the next page)

In a work published in London in A. D. 1832 on the *Customs of the Moosulmans of India*¹ we find the following references to the nose-ring :—

Page 210— While dealing with the *Mohurrum Fugeers* the author states that one of the 47 Fugeers called "*Khogeer Shah*" (king saddle) goes along repeating a verse somewhat to this effect :—

" In every lane, in every street,
The heaps of sweetmeats rise ;
Nose-jewelled * damsels, not less sweet,
View them with longing eyes "

(* the original expression is "*nuth-* (or *Boolaq-*) lady ")

Page 275— The Mahomedans perform certain vows and " in the same manner in the name of renowned individuals they put on their children *nuthnees* etc. "

Page xxi of Appendix— "Ornaments worn on the nose. The nose has its share in the decoration of the Hindoostanee ladies

reach my hands and corroborate my view about the foreign origin of the nose-ring worn by Hindu women. I shall indicate some of Dr. Alcock's statements on the subjects :— (1) The nose-ring is a sign of *Saubhāgya* or married bliss, yet in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (23rd chapter) it is not included in the exhaustive list of ornaments of women (2) Sanskrit poets and dramatists show no acquaintance with the ornament (3) There is no word in Sanskrit language to denote the ornament (4) The words *natha*, *nathia*, *nathnā*, *natthā*, *nathdhag* found in Indian vernaculars are derived from the Prakrit word *natthā*, meaning the nose-string used for controlling an animal. (5) The nose-ring is not found in the Sculptures at Udayagiri, Bhuvanēśvara in Orissa, Bodhagaya, Patna in Bihar, Bharhut and Sanchi in Central India, at Mathura in U. P., at Taxila in the Punjab, at Ajanta, Elora, Badami in the Deccan and the Amraoti in the Madras Presidency, though these sculptures show a rich variety of women's ornaments. (6) It is clear that the nose-ring was unknown throughout the whole of India during the entire Hindu Period. (7) Hindu sculptures of Puri and Rajputana of the post-Muslim period begin to show the nose-ring for the first time. (8) The nose-ring seems to have been clearly borrowed from the Mahomedans. " It is a mystery how this ornament of foreign origin should have come to be regarded as the most important insignia of *Saubhāgya*, " (pp. 420-423 of the *J. B. H. Univ.* Vol. II).

¹ *Qanoon-e-Islam* or the custom of the Moosulmans of India by Ja'fur Shurreef and G. A. Harklots, London 1832. The copy available to me for reference has the autograph of " F. Edward Hall ".

and bears several ornaments. *Nath*— an ornament passed through the left nostril, consists of a piece of gold wire as thick as a small knitting needle, with the usual hook and eye, and furnished at the centre or nearly so, with several garnets, pearls etc. perhaps to the number of seven or more separated by a thin plate of gold, having generally serrated or scolloped edges, and being fixed transversely upon the wire which passes through their centres as well as through the garnets, pearls etc. The common diameter of the circle of a *nath* is from one inch and a half to two and a half. On the coast of Coromandel a somewhat similar ornament is worn in each year by men of respectability (called *Pogool*)” *Boolaq*--a nassal trinket flat in form etc. ”

The frontispiece of the above book is a plate showing “ *An Indian Woman decked out in her jewels* ” which include among others the *Nuth* and *Boolaq*. This plate is dated *September 1832*.

The above references give us a clear idea about the type of nose-ring or *nath* worn by Muslim women about a hundred years ago.

In a work on music called the *Samgraha-cūḍāmaṇi*¹ by Govindācārya composed before A. D. 1750 or so we find in the list of *rāgas* the names “ *Nāsāmaṇi* ” and “ *Nāsikābhūṣaṇi* ” in the following line:—²

“ नासिकामूषणी मेलान्नासामणिरजायत ”

The term *Nāsāmaṇi* means a nose-jewel and hence this term has been applied to a musical *rāga* by a metaphorical employ of the word.

In the poem called the *Parṇālaparvata-graṇāṇākhyaṇa*³ or the capture of the Panhala fort near Kolhapur by Shivaḥi's men

¹ Adyar Edition, 1938—Vide *Intro.* p. xxxiii—the date of composition is recorded as “ *not later than the latter part of the 18th century* ”.

² Ibid, p. 148.

³ Edited by S. M. Divekar. Vide chapter IV, verse 37 which reads, as follows :—

“ नासामुक्ताफलं यस्या दंतोष्ठयुतिपादलम् ।

दध्ने शुकास्यसंसकपकदाडिमबीजताम् ॥ ३७ ॥ ”

The date of composition of this poem is A. D. 1673 according to the Editor

The *Rājavyavahārakośa* composed by Raghunatha Paṇḍit for the Maratha King Shivaḥi the Great has the following verse about the नथ :—

(continued on the next page)

there is a description of the image of the goddess Bhavānī at Pratapgad in which the goddess is shown as wearing a nose-pearl or *nāsā-muktāphala*. It will thus be seen that in Shivāji's time the *nose-pearl*, which evidently presumes a nose-ring, has entered the sacred precincts of the Hindu goddess Bhavānī, the tutelary deity of Shivāji in spite of the foreign origin of the ornament.

In a Kangra miniature ¹ (depicting the adoration of Śiva as 'Destroyer' by Kṛṣṇa, Brahma and other Hindu Gods and ṛṣis) available in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, the goddess *Pārvatī* is shown seated holding Kārtikeya. In this picture by a Rajput artist we find a *nose-ring with three or four pearls* in the nose of Pārvatī.

In an illustrated Ms of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* ² from Jodhpur dated A. D. 1611 we find pictures of ladies wearing the *nose-ring with three pearls*. Edward Terry, ³ the chaplain of Sir Thomas Roe who visited India between A. D. 1616-19 gives a very accurate description of male and female costume of the period. He describes

(कार्यस्थानवर्ग verse 13) — “ नासामणिर्नथोमुक्ताफलंमोतीकुलीतितु ।

नासापुष्पं, बाहुमणिर्वाजूवंधामिधायकः ॥ १३ ॥ ”

I am thankful to Mr. Y. R. Date, Editor *Maharashtra Śabdakośa* for drawing my attention to this verse.

In a work called *Hamsavilāsa* by Śrī Hamsamiṭṭhu (G. O. S. Baroda, 1938) born in *Saṃvat* 1794 (= A. D. 1738) there is a section called “*alaṃkara-opacāra* (pp. 225-27) in which we find a reference to the nose-ornament as follows :—

“ ललन्मौक्तिकयुगलोल्लसिताभिः अरुणरत्नरुचिराभिः नासाभूषाभिः नासिकाः परिष्कृत्य ”. The women-disciples of the *guru* are required to present themselves before him in their best attire and ornaments. On p. 274 we find a description of the sportive behaviour of these ladies, one of which is said to be putting her ornaments wrongly on the different parts of her body (“ केशपाशे कर्णभूषणं कर्णे नासाभूषा च, वेणायामकुलीयकम् etc. ”).

¹ Vide *Gaṇeśa* by Alice Getty, Oxford, 1936. Plate 9b and Page 34.

² Vide M. R. Mujumdar's article on this MS in the *Navacetana* (in Gujarati) June 1938, Calcutta. Some of the illustrations are reproduced in this article. Vide also his *Jaina Citrakalpadruma*, Baroda, 1935, Plate C, which contains a picture of Śāntidāsa and Kapurbāi. Kapurbāi is shown with a *nath* in her nose. The date of this picture is *Saṃvat* 1685 = A. D. 1629. Vide p. 215 of the volume.

³ *Early Travels in India* by Edward Terry pp. 308-309 as quoted by Mr. Motichandra (Vide *Bombay Univ. Journal*, Vol. VII, Part 1, p. 113).

the ear and nose-ornaments of Muhammedan women as follows:-
 "Round about their ears are holes made for pendants and every woman hath one of her nostrils pierced, that there, when as shee please shee may weare a ring." In the early Deccani paintings described by Mr. Motichandra the women wear silver rosettes on one side of the hair, earrings, necklaces, *nose-rings* (*nath*) armlets, bangles, and anklets.¹

From the 17th century we may now go to the 16th century and record a few references to the *nath*. In a Ms² of the commentary of the *Kirātārjunīya* by Ekanāthabhaṭṭa copied in *Saṃvat* 1639 i. e. A. D. 1583 we find the picture of the goddess *Sarasvatī* in colours, wearing a nose-ring with two or three pearls. In South India in the Travancore State some mural paintings³ belonging roughly to the 16th century were discovered some years ago. They have been reproduced by the Archaeological Dept. of the Travancore State in their report for 1934-35. In *Plate 2* we find two figures of women wearing *naths*. In *Plates 1* and *3* also we notice in each two figures of women wearing *nath*. These mural paintings were discovered on the walls of an old palace in the Travancore State.

Evidence of the existence of *nath* in South India in the 14th century is found in the mural paintings⁴ on the walls of the

¹ Ibid, p. 114—Mr. Motichandra's article on "Three Deccani Paintings on canvas" in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

² MS No. 179 of 1879-80 in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. The date of copy is recorded as *Saṃvat* 1639 and *Śaka* 1505 = A. D. 1583.

³ Vide *Travancore Archaeological Report* for 1934-35, pp. 5, 6.

⁴ Vide *Report of Travancore Archaeo. Dept.* for 1936-37, dated 15th February 1938, page 1. Vide *Plate 1* facing page 6 depicting the "relics of mural painting at Tiruvampadi Shrine, Trivandrum". Page 6—These mural paintings are considered to belong to the reign of the Travancore King Aditya Varma Sarvāṅganātha (14th century A. D.) who was a great patron of art and letters. The Sanskrit inscription engraved in the shrine records that King Sarvāṅganātha constructed at the town of Syānandūra (Trivandrum) the shrine of Kṛṣṇa, the *gośāla*, a *maṇḍapa* and a *dīpikāgrha* in the *Śaka* year 1296 corresponding to A. D. 1374-75. These newly discovered relics comprise mostly figures of women in different kinds of drapery and wearing many varieties of jewelry among which the *nath* is prominent. In *Plate 4*, I find about 9 women shown wearing *nose-rings* with pearls.

Tiruvāmbādi shrine in the Śrī Padmanābhasvāmi temple, Trivandrum belonging to the 14th century and depicting a music party of women etc. Many of these women wear nose-rings (with three pearls) in their left nostrils as is clear from Plate 4 of the Travancore Archaeological Report for 1936-37.

Dr. Altekar observes that there is no word in the Sanskrit language to denote the nose-ornament. This remark is true enough but we find that the deficiency was made good by later Sanskrit writers by adopting the phrases like “*nāsāmauktika*” “*nāsāgramuktāphala*,” “*nāsāmani*” as will be seen from the collection of verses dealing with “*Nāsābhūṣaṇa*” in the *Subhāṣita-ratnabhāṇḍāgāra*.¹ One of these verses is identical with verse No. 3305 quoted in the *Śārngadharapaddhati*² composed by

¹ Edited by K. P. Parab, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1886, pp. 435-36.

“(नासाभूषणम्)

- (1) नासामौक्तिकमबले किमधरबिम्बेन विद्रुमं कुरुषे ।
दृष्ट्या गुञ्जाबीजं शिव शिव भूयस्तदेव हसितेन ॥ १२५ ॥
- (2) श्लेष्मागारे वसतिर्जातास्माकं तदत्र मायात ।
आन्दोलनच्छलादिह निवारयन्तीव मौक्तिकानि विटान् ॥ १२६ ॥
- (3) सुधामयोऽपि क्षयरोगशान्त्यै नासाग्रमुक्ताफलकच्छलेन ।
अनङ्गसंजीवनदृष्टिश्चकिर्मुखासृतं ते पिबतीव चन्द्रः ॥ १२७ ॥
- (4) आकाशात्पतितं पुनर्जलनिधौ मध्ये चिरं संस्थितं
पश्चाद्दुःसहदेहर्न्ध्रजनितक्लेशान्वितं मौक्तिकम् ।
बाले बालकुरङ्गलोचनयुगे घोरं तपः संचर-
न्नासाभूषणतामुपैति सखि ते बिम्बाधरापेक्षया ॥ १२८ ॥
- (6) अस्याः कामनिवासरम्यभवनं वक्त्रं विलोक्यादरा-
न्निश्चित्येव सुधाकरं प्रियतमं भूमगितं शोभनम् ।
नासामौक्तिककैतवेन रुचिरा तारापि सा रोहिणी
मन्ये तद्विरहासहिष्णुहृदया तत्संनिधिं सेवते ॥ १२९ ॥

² From the six verses quoted above I have been able to identify No. 3—“सुधामयोऽपि.....चन्द्रः” It is identical with stanza No. 3305 in *Śārngadharapaddhati* (Peterson's Edition 1888, Vol. I-Text) There it is mentioned as “वेद्यनाथस्य”. This stanza is therefore earlier than the date of the author of the *Śārngadharapaddhati*.

In Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali* (15th century according to Keith *HSL*, 222) we find the following references to नासामौक्तिकः—

(continued on the next page)

Śārṅgadhara son of Dāmodara, grandson of Rāghava and great-grandson of Hammīra Bhūpati of Śākambhari country.¹ Śārṅgadhara introduces the stanza with the endorsement “*Vaidyanāthasya*” which indicates that the stanza is a work of Vaidyanātha, a poet of an earlier date. The question now arises what is the date of this Vaidyanātha? Though I cannot answer this question conclusively I can at least push back the lower limit for Vaidyanātha's date from A. D. 1363 to about 1258 A. D. because this very stanza is found quoted in the *Sūktimuktāvalī*² of Bhagadatta Jalhana and there also it is stated to be the work of Vaidyanātha

Stanza 2137 (Peterson's Ed. 1886) —

“आदौ मज्जनचरिहारतिलकं नेत्राञ्जनं कुण्डले
नासामौक्तिककेशपाशरचना सत्कञ्चुकं नूपुरौ ।
सौगन्ध्यं करकङ्कणं चरणयो रागो रणन्मेखला
ताम्बूलं करदर्पणं चतुरता शृङ्गारकाः षोडश ॥”

Stanza 1505 —

“अस्याः कुशेशयदशः शशिशुभ्रशुभ्रं
नासाग्रवर्ति नवमौक्तिकमाचकास्ति ।”

Stanza 1504 —

“मुक्ताफलं शशिसमस्य मुखस्य तस्य
हेमोर्मिकान्तगतमश्रुति नासिकान्ते ।”

—“पं० जोनकस्य”

Stanza 1506 —

“आश्यानतामुपगतोस्य रुचा चकास्ति
नासाग्रमौक्तिकमिषादमृतस्य बिन्दुः ॥”

“श्री बकस्य”

Stanza 27 —

“नासाग्रे नवमौक्तिकम्”

The above references have been pointed out by Mr. N. N. Das Gupta in his article on “Nose-Ornaments in India” (*Calcutta Review*, May 1937, pp. 142-144). In this article Mr. Das Gupta refutes the view of Mr. N. B. Divatia (*JASB*, 1923, New Series, XIX, pp. 67-70) that “we find no mention of the nose-ring in Sanskrit literature, lexicons included”.

¹ Vide p. 386 of *Krishnamachariar's H. C. S. Literature*, Vide also p. 222 of Keith: *His. of Sanskrit Literature* 1928. This anthology is arranged in 163 sections and contains 4689 stanzas including some by the author himself.

² Ed. by E. Krishnamacharya, *G. O. Series*, No. LXXXII, 1938.

[Annapal, B. O. R. I.]

(*Vaidyanāthasya*).¹ Jalhana, son of Lakṣmīdeva was like his father minister of Kṛṣṇa who ascended the throne in A. D. 1247 and to whom the composition of the *Sūktimuktāvali* also called *Subhāṣitamuktāvali* is ascribed.² According to Mr. E. Krishnama-charya, the Editor of the *Sūktimuktāvali*, the work was composed by a physician of the name Bhānu in 1258 A. D. or Śaka 1179³

¹ Ibid p. 268—

“ सुधामयोऽपि क्षयरोगशान्त्यै नासाग्रमुक्ताफलकच्छलेन ।
अनङ्गसंजविनदृष्टशक्ति मुक्तामृतं ते पिबतोव चन्द्रः ॥ ७ ॥ ”

वैद्यनाथस्य

Other verses ascribed to Vaidyanātha Paṇḍita are :—

Page 111—Under वृक्षान्योक्ति—चम्पकः

“ कुन्दे कुण्ठय कौतुकं त्यज रविं न्यग्रोधरोपग्रहे
मा यत्नं करवीररोहणविधौ कार्ष्णिस्सपर्योचिते ।
भ्रातः काननपाल चंपक तरुः कुत्राप्यसौ मृग्यतां
यस्यामोदवशात् स्मरप्रियतमा माद्यन्ति चैत्रश्रियः ॥ २८ ॥

वैद्यनाथपण्डितस्य

Page 108—Under सरः पद्धतिः

सौवर्णः कमलाकरश्शशिशिलास्सोपानयद्वक्त्रमाः
वारि क्षीरसहोदरं तटतरुश्रेणीमुक्ताः क्षोणयः ।
सर्वे ते सचिरं सरोवरपरं निन्द्यः कुनोऽयं विधिः
क्रूरग्राहभयात्प्रयान्ति विमुक्ताः पान्था निदधेऽप्यमी ॥ ६ ॥

वैद्यनाथपण्डितस्य ।

² Keith : *His. of San. Literature*, p. 222.

³ Vide p. 12 of Intro. to the *Sūktimuktāvali* (G. O. S. Baroda, 1938). The following verses appearing at the end of this anthology (p. 463) gives us the date of the work and some information about the author and his environment :—

“ शाकेऽङ्गाङ्गीश्वरपरिमिते वत्सरे पिङ्गलाख्ये ।
चैत्रे मासे प्रतिपदि तिथौ वासरे संवत्सरे ।
पृथ्वीं शासत्यतुलमहसा यादवे कृष्णराजे
जह्लस्यार्थे व्यरचि मिषजा भानुना सेयमिष्टा ॥ १ ॥
शश्वत्कृष्णमहीपसंपदुद्धेर्बुद्धौ निशाकारकः
का[व्या]म्भोजविकासतिग्मकिरणव्याणक्यचातुर्यवान् ।
स्फूर्जन्तर्करहस्यकंकशमतिः साक्षाकृतालंरुति-
प्राग्भारो मिषजां वरो विजयते श्रीभास्कराख्यः सुधीः ॥ २ ॥ ”

(continued on the next page)

for his patron Jalha or Jalhana, whose genealogy and family history is recorded in the first 41 verses of the *Suktimuktāvali*.¹

हरीशयोस्त्रयस्त्रिंशत्पद्मतीनामिदं शतम् ।

श्रमिता भगदत्तेन जह्णणेन व्यरच्यत ॥

श्रीकण्ठीरवराजस्य धर्मवित्तिम्ममन्त्रिणः ।

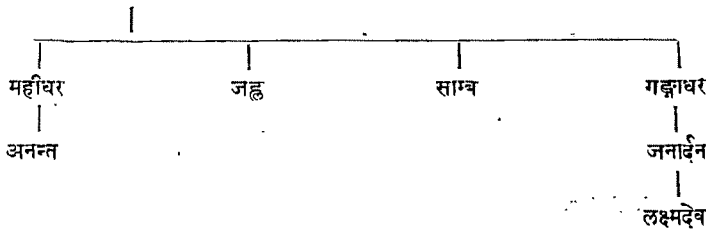
सूक्तिमुक्तावली सेयं कुर्यात्कल्याणसंततिम् ॥

The particulars regarding the date of the work as furnished by verse No. 1 above are Śaka 1179, of the name *Pīṅgala* month of *Caitra*, *Pratipadā tithi*, *Saptasapti vāsara* (i. e. Ravi vāsara). These details give us the exact date of the work viz. *Sunday, 18th March 1257* (Vide *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. IV, p. 116). King Kṛṣṇa referred to in verse 2 is identical with Kṛṣṇadeva of Devagiri. Mr. K. A. Padhye (*Life of Hemādri* in Marathi, 1931 page 119) states that Kṛṣṇadeva was contemporary of Cakradhara, the founder of the Mahānubhāva Sect. Mr. Padhye quotes an extract from the Mahānubhāva literature in which a meeting of Kṛṣṇadeva and his brother Mahādevarao with Cakradhara svāmi took place in Śaka 1178 (= A. D. 1256) at Loṇār (Dist. Buldhana in Berar), Mr. Padhye records the following inscriptions of Kṛṣṇadeva's time :—

- (1) A. D. 1249—Minister Mallīśeṭi gives a grant to Brahmins on 26-6-1249 (Copper-plate) in Canarese (language).
- (2) A. D. 1249—Mallīśeṭi gives a grant on 22-7-1249 (Copper-plate)
- (3) A. D. 1250—Stone inscription at Kolhapur.
- (4) A. D. 1253—Copper-plate grant in Sanskrit by Caṇḍarāja, son of minister Bicaṇṇa.
- (5) A. D. 1253—Copper-plate grant of some lands by Mallīśeṭi.
- (6) A. D. 1259—Copper-plate grant in Canarese language.

¹ Jalhana is stated to have been an officer in charge of the Elephants (*Karivāhinīpati* or *Karivṛndanātha*) of Kṛṣṇadeva's army. Jalhana's genealogy (verse 5ff) is given as follows :—

दादाः



(Author of the *Suktimuktāvali* and an officer in charge of Elephants of Kṛṣṇadeva (A. D. 1247-1260)

It is clear from the above identification in the *Sūktimuktāvali* of Vaidyanātha's stanza referred to above that the nose-ornament or *nāsāgra-muktāphala* was an established feature in A. D. 1257, the date of this anthology. This conclusion is further supported by three more verses¹ in this very anthology referring to the nose-ornament, one of which is ascribed to Kṣemendra but the authorship is not supported by all Mss., while another is ascribed to Bhānupaṇḍita, who is identical with Vaidyābhānu,² the real author of the *Sūktimuktāvali*. All these four references clearly prove that the nose-ornament consisting of possibly a ring with a pearl (*nāsāgramauktika*) had become an established feature of the decorations of Hindu women about 1250 A. D. as it is referred to in the *Sūktimuktāvali* composed in A. D. 1257 as we have seen above.

The foregoing references to the nose-ornament get independent corroboration from the Mahānubhāva literature. *Līlācaritra*, one of the oldest works of the sect of the Mahānubhāvas which deals with the incidents of the life of Cakradhara the founder of this

¹ Page 179 (of the *Sūktimuktāvali*) :—

“ पुण्डरीकमिवाभाति नासावंशगमौक्तिकम् ।

कुचसिंहासनस्थस्य स्मरभूपस्य सुध्रुवः ॥ १४ ॥ ”

क्षेमेन्द्रस्य (ग. पुस्तके अयं निर्देशः)

Page 180—

“ ललाटे लोलाक्ष्यास्तिलकमिषधारी विधुरयं

स्वमापूर्णं वाञ्छन्नधरसुधया देवहितरुत् ।

अतो नासाग्रेऽसौ तदुपहतये मौक्तिकमिषात्

स्फुटं दैत्यामान्योऽधरशशभृतोरन्तरगतः ॥ १६ ॥ ”

Page 181—

“ तस्या वदनचन्द्रस्य कान्तिरन्यैव जायते ।

कलङ्कनुलनां धत्ते यत्न नासाग्रमौक्तिकम् ॥ २७ ॥ ”

भानुपण्डितस्य

² Ibid, Intro., p. 61. Verses mentioned as of “Vaidyabhānupaṇḍita” are found on pp. 206, 377, 113, 340, 133, 229, 71, 5, 158, 305, 343, 85, 347, 5, 462, 158, 448, 376, 278, 232, 403, 183, 455, 399, 68, 213, 5, 206, 219, 107, 226, 463, 85, 5, 178.

sect mentions the nose-ornament in the following extract¹ which specifies the dress and ornaments of the goddess Mhālsā (= Mahālasā) :—

“कांक्षे: कळाविया सोनयांची तानवडें भंवरिया भांगु: टीळा नाकीं मोतीं”

(*Līlā* 172 of *Līlācaritra*)

The expression “नाकीं मोतीं” meaning a *pearl on the nose* corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit phrase “नासाग्रमुक्ताफल” and as both these expressions belong to the 13th century it would be reasonable to conclude that the nose-ornament had not only captured the noses of Indian women of the 13th century but that it had entered the sacred precincts of the goddess Mhālsā as well, thus suggesting a greater antiquity for it than is proved by five different 13th century references recorded above.

Earlier testimony regarding the existence in India of the nose-ornament is recorded by Mr. N. N. Dasgupta² from a work of the 11th century called the *Śāradaṭīlaka* of Lakṣmaṇa Deśika as follows :—

¹ This reference to nose-ornament has been pointed out by my friend Mr. H. N. Nene of Nagpur, the editor of many old Mahānubhāva texts (Vide *B. I. S. Mandal Quarterly*, Poona, October 1938, p. 55) I translate Mr. Nene's remarks regarding the nose-ornament !—“ The names of the different ornaments and the pearl on the nose of the goddess should be noted for consideration. We must decide on thorough investigation if women of the time of the Yādava Kings of Davagiri used to wear *naths* or only one pearl ”. About the Mahānubhāvas and their literature vide pp. 247-8 of Farquhar's *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, Oxford 1920 and pp. 725-779 of the *Htstory of Marathi Literature* by L. R. Pangarkar, Poona, 1935.

² My friend Prof. N. B. Roy of Mymensing has kindly drawn my attention to Mr. Das Gupta's article on *Nose-Ornaments in India* —*Calcutta Review*, May 1937, pp. 142-144. I have to thank Prof. Roy for this reference. The following points from Mr. Das Gupta's article may be noted here :— (1) Refutation of Mr. N. B. Divatia's view that the nose-ornament is a Muslim importation. (2) Refutation of the article in *Pravāsi* (Vol. XXVII, Pt. I, pp. 563, 716-18) in which an attempt is made on pictorial evidence (not anterior to the 16th century) to prove that the nose-ornament is a non-Hindu institution. (3) Reference to nose-ornament by the author of the *Śāradaṭīlaka* of the 11th century refutes the theory that the ornament was imported by the Muhammedans in or about the 16th century. (4) Reference to *nose-pearl* in Vaidyanātha's verse “*Sudhāmayopi* etc.” (v. 3305) found in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* of A. D. 1363. (5) Reference to *nose-pearl* in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali* which belongs to “ *in or before*”

(continued on the next page)

"As to Sanskrit literature, the *Śāradātīlaka* (composed by Lakṣmaṇa Deśika, in course of delineating an Andhra woman represents her, we are told (*Pravāsi*, 1341 B. S. Kārttika, pp. 109-110) as one with whose breathings oscillates the pendant pearl of her nose-ring (*nās-āṅgurī*) Mr. Das Gupta further observes:—"In Prof. Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I (Cal. Univ. 1927, p. 604) it (i. e. *Śāradātīlaka*) is placed in the 11th century, and if so, it alone is enough to invalidate the theory that nose-ornament was imported in or about the 16th century."

I have not examined the passage in the *Śāradātīlaka* which refers to the nose-ornament according to the writer of an article in the *Pravāsi* referred to by Mr. Das Gupta as this article is not available to me but in view of the evidence recorded in this paper the antiquity of the nose-ornament is pushed back on authentic grounds upto A. D. 1200 or so and there is every possibility of its existence in India about 1000 A. D. if not earlier.¹

1159 A. D." according to Dr. De and the "fifteenth century" according to Peterson and Keith. (6) Baka's verse quoted by Vallabhadeva referring to nose-pearl must have been an interpolation as Baka flourished 1417 A. D. (7) Verse No. 27 of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* containing a reference to nose-pearl is found in the *Kṛṣṇakaraṇāmṛta* of Bilvamaṅgala assigned to 9th century A. D. (IHQ, VII, 1931, pp. 334-42). (8) References to nose-ornament in *Brahmaṇḍavartapūrāṇa* and the suggestion wrongly made that the latest recension of this *pūrāṇa* took place in the 16th century (*Bhārata-varṣa*, (1337 B. S. p. 35). Conclusion:—"nose-ornament was known in the Hindu period of Indian history".

¹ Vincent Smith (*Oxford History of India*, 1928, p. 190) observes that the Hindu States enjoyed exemption from foreign invasion until almost the end of the 10th century. They were not seriously affected by the Arab conquest of Sind at the beginning of the 8th century or by the later Muslim occupation of Kabul. The first raid into Indian territory was made by Sabuktigin, the Amir of Ghazni in A. D. 986-7 (A. H. 376). I have at present no references with me to the nose-ornament in India earlier than 1000 A. D.; neither have I any references to it from Persian or Arabic Sources earlier than 1000 A. D. which may throw more light on the question of the genesis of the nose-ornament. It is for Arabic and Persian scholars to prove the antiquity of the nose-ornament prior to A. D. 1000 on the strength of references to it in Arabic or Persian literature of the early period (prior to the Arab conquest of Sind at the beginning of the 8th century). If the

(continued on the next page.)

Mr. Das Gupta states that verse No. 27 of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali* which contains a reference to nose-ornament ("नासाग्रे नवमौक्तिकं") is found in the *Kṛṣṇa-karnāmṛta* of Bilvamaṅgala alias Lilāśuka who is assigned to the 9th century A. D. Even if Bilvamaṅgala belonged to a period one or two or three centuries later, Mr. Das Gupta observes, the evidence of the above verse and also of those noted by him places it above all doubt that the nose-ornament was known in the Hindu period of Indian history.

The Hindu period of Indian history normally ends with the end of the 10th century when the first raid into Indian territory was made by Sabuktigin. If Bilvamaṅgala belongs to the 9th century the reference to the nose-ornament in the *Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛta* of Bilvamaṅgala as pointed out by Mr. Das Gupta surely supports his statement that this ornament was known in the Hindu period and consequently the theory of Muslim importation gets weakened. Let us however, examine the genuineness of the verse of Bilvamaṅgala on which Mr. Das Gupta takes his stand and which reads as follows :—

“कस्तूरीतिलकं ललाटफलके वक्षःस्थले कौस्तुभं
नासाग्रे नवमौक्तिकं करतले वेणुं करे कङ्कणम् ।
सर्वाङ्गे हरिचन्दनं सुविमलं कण्ठे च मुक्तावलीं
विभ्रन्त्रीपरिवेष्टितो विजयते गोपालचूडामणिः ॥”

This verse is No. 27 in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvali* edited by Peterson. Dr. S. K. De has recently published a critical edition of the *Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛta*.¹ In the constituted text of the poem, (Bengal recension) the above verse is not found. It appears, however, in the additional verses given in the 2nd and 3rd *Āśvāsas* of Pāpayallaya Sūri's text of the *Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛta* (South Indian Version). This version also contains an additional reference to nose-pearl (p. 317) in the following verse :—

Arabic origin of the nose-ornament is proved it may enable us to postulate in a stronger manner the theory of foreign importation that now holds the field owing to the absence of references to the nose-ornament in the Hindu literature, architecture painting etc. prior to the end of the 10th century.

¹ Dacca University Oriental Publications Series No. 5—*Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛta* with commentaries of Gopālabhaṭṭa, Caitanyaḍāsa, and Kṛṣṇaḍāsa Kavirāja, 1938, p. 319.

“मौलौ मायूरबहू सृगमदतिलकं चाकलालाटपट्टे
कर्णद्वन्द्वे च तालीदलमतिशुद्धं मौक्तिकं नासिकायाम् ।
हारोमन्दारमाला परिमलभरिते कौस्तुभस्योपकण्ठे
पाणौ वेणुश्च यस्य व्रजयुवतियुतः पातु पीताम्बरो नः ॥ १३ ॥”

The Bengal tradition originating from the time of Caitanya (1486-1533 A. D.) knows nothing about the two *Āśvāsas* of Pāpayallaya Sūri's text in which the above quoted two verses are found. Pāpayallaya Sūri who refers to Mallinātha (14th century) may have lived considerably after that date. Caitanya who brought the *Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛta* from Southern and Western India brought back to Bengal the tradition only of one Śataka of the text and hence Dr. De raises “legitimate doubt regarding the genuineness of the 2nd and 3rd Śatakas of the poem included in Pāpayallaya Sūri's southern version of the text.”¹

In view of the doubtful character about the chronology of the two verses quoted above it is difficult for us to regard them as conclusive proof of the existence of the nose-ornament in the Hindu period of Indian history. I hope, therefore that Mr. Das Gupta will give us an incontrovertible proof in support of his contention that the “nose-ornament was known in India in the Hindu period of Indian history.” Though personally, I have an open mind on the question of the Muslim importation of the nose-ornament the uniform absence of authentic references to nose-ornament in literature prior to the end of the 10th century as also the non-representation of this ornament in early sculpture and painting contrasted with the numerous references to it after 1000 A. D. as proved by the present paper has a cumulative force for compelling us to nod our head with the advocates of the theory of foreign importation of the nose-ornament, leaving aside the questions of the exact time when it was imported into India and the exact source from which the importation has taken place.

I have recorded above the reference to the nose-ornament (referred to by Mr. N. N. Das Gupta in his article in the *Calcutta Review*, May 1937) in the *Sāradātīlaka* of the 11th century. As however, I have not been able to identify this reference I have to record here another reference to the *nose-pearl* found by me

¹ *Kṛṣṇakarnāmṛta*, Intro., p. xiii.

in a work of the 11th century. This work is no other than the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*¹ or the life of king Virkramāditya, Tribhuvanamalla of Kalyāṇa, composed by Vidyapati Bilhaṇa in the "Eighth decade of the eleventh century" according to Dr. Bühler.² This poem gives us a fine description of the *Svayamvara* of the Śīlāhara princess Candralekhā or Candaladevi at Karahāṭa or Karhāḍa. Bilhaṇa gives us a minute inventory of the charms of the princess in chapter VIII of the poem. The following verse contains a reference to the *nose-pearl* or *nāsā-vamśa-muktāphala* :—

“नासावंशविनिर्मुक्तमुक्ताफलसनाभिना ।

भाति मालतलस्थलेन बालचन्दनविन्दुना ॥ ७९ ॥”

The expression “नासावंशविनिर्मुक्तमुक्ताफल” reminds us of the following verses in Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī* of A. D. 1257 quoted by me already :—

“पुण्डरीकमिवाभाति नासावंशगमौक्तिकम् ।”

It is therefore clear that about 1080 A. D. when Bilhaṇa composed his poem the *nose-pearl* had taken possession of Hindu ladies and was sitting tight on the rings in their noses as we must presume a *nose-ring* for a *nose-pearl* to wear on.

A further interesting reference to the *nose-ornament* or “*Nāsā-vibhūṣā*” is found in a work ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya and included in the *Works of Śaṅkarācārya*.³ The verse in which this

¹ Ed. by G. Bühler, Bombay 1875.

² Ibid. Intro. p. 20. Bilhaṇa mentions two Kings of Kashmir Ananta and Kalaśa. “Ananta's succession to the throne falls in the beginning of the year 1028 A. D. and his death in 1080. Kalaśa's rule lasted from A. D. 1080-1088, while his coronation and the nominal beginning of his reign fall in 1062”. As Bilhaṇa mentions Ananta as “*āsīt*” Bühler concludes that he was dead when the poem was composed.

Vikramāditya VI, the Cālukya King of Kalyāṇa ruled from A. D. 1076-1127. The date of the *Vikramāṅkadeva Carita* appears to fall before A. D. 1088 because the work passes in silence the great expedition of the King to the South which then took place. Bilhaṇa also mentions Harṣadeva of Kashmir as prince and not King. We know also from Kalhaṇa (VII, 936-8) that Bilhaṇa lived to hear of Harṣadeva's accession (Keith: *His. of San. Lit.*, p. 153).

³ Ed. by Sri Vani Vilasa Press, Srirangam, Vol. I of the Memorial Edition of the Works of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, p. 197. I am thankful to Dr. S. K. Belvalkar for drawing my attention to this verse containing a reference to *nose-ornament*.

reference occurs forms part of the *Tripurasundarīmānasapūjā-stotra* and reads as follows :—

मध्यस्थारुणरत्नकान्तिरुचिरां मुक्तामुगोद्भासितां
 देवाद्भार्गवजीवमध्यगरचेर्लक्ष्मीमधः कुर्वतीम् ।
 उत्तिकाधरबिम्बकान्तिविसरैर्भौमीभवनमौक्तिकां
 मङ्गताम्ररीकुरुष्व गिरिजे नासाविभूषामिमाम् ॥ ४५ ॥

The nose-ornament offered to the goddess in this verse appears to be an elaborate one. It consists of a red jewel in the centre surrounded by pearls.¹ Dr. Belvalkar² includes the *Tripurasundarīstotra*, among 210 *stotras* the authorship of which is ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya but which may be "safely pronounced as not genuine works of Śaṅkarācārya." I think the elaborate character of the nose-ornament referred to in the verse quoted above argues in favour of a late date for the above *stotra* and fully supports Dr. Belvalkar's remarks quoted above. If, however, any scholar can prove beyond challenge that the *stotra* in question is a genuine work of Śaṅkarācārya we shall have to believe in the view of Mr. N. N. Das Gupta that the nose-ornament was current in the Hindu period of Indian history; but for the present the theory of foreign-importation of this ornament appears to hold the field as I have observed already, whatever be the source from which it was imported into India and later spread throughout the length and breadth of the Indian peninsula.³

¹ The *nāsā-vibhūṣā* is described as beautiful on account of the red lustre of the jewel in the centre (मध्यस्थारुणरत्नकान्तिरुचिरां) and resplendent with the light of pearls (मुक्तामुगोद्भासितां) which surrounded the jewel in the centre. I am unable to say exactly what is meant by the word मुग in 'मुक्तामुग' as मुग does not appear to be a Sanskrit word. In the Canarese language a nose-ornament is called 'मयुवट्टु' where मयु means 'nose' but it is difficult to connect मयु with मुग in 'मुक्तामुग'. Perhaps मुग may mean a stud or a grain (Marathi मुग or Sanskrit मुद्गर) but this interpretation of the word needs some authority in its support. Whatever be the interpretation of the word मुग, the verse clearly states that the nose-ornament offered to the goddess consisted of a jewel and some pearls. In the early references to the nose-ornament recorded in this paper we have only a pearl but no jewel or *ratna*.

² *Basu Mallik Lectures*, Part I, Poona, 1929, p. 223.

³ It would be a useful study to collect and record with illustrations the different varieties of the nose-ornament now current in India and compare them with the nose-ornaments current in our side countries. Though such a study would be highly beneficial to the cultural history of Hindu India it

The *Amarakoṣa* of Amarasimha, one of the earliest Sanskrit lexicons composed before 8th century A. D. gives us a list of ornaments in the *manuṣyavārga*. This list includes such ornaments as *mukuta*, *kirita*, *cūḍamani*, *tarala*, *patrapāśyū*, *karnika*, *kuṇḍala*, *lambana*, *Uraḥsūtrikā*, *hāra* etc., but this list makes no mention of any nose-ornament. This omission is quite significant and we may be justified in presuming that the nose-ornament was not current in the time of Amarasimha.

Before concluding this paper I shall show in a tabular statement the antiquity of the nose-ornament from A. D. 1000 onwards as proved in the foregoing paragraphs :—

No	Date of Reference	Source of Reference	Manner of Reference
1	about A. D. 1080	Bilhana	“नासावंशविनिर्मुक्तमुक्ताफलं” E A A
2	Eleventh century	Lakṣmaṇa Deśika	“Nās-āṅguri”
3	A. D. 1257	Jalhana (or Bhānu- pandita)	“नासावंशगमौक्तिक” or “नासाग्रमौक्तिक”
4	about A. D. 1250	<i>Līlācaritra</i>	“नार्की मोती”
5	A. D. 1363	<i>Śārṅgadharapaddhati</i>	“नासाग्रमुक्ताफल”
6	15th Century	Vallabhadeva	“नासाग्र-नवमौक्तिकं”
7	15th Century	Pāpayallaya Sūri's text of <i>Kṛṣṇakarmā- mṛta</i>	“मौक्तिकं नासिकायाम्”
8	14th Century	Mural Paintings at Tiruvāmbadi shrine, Trivandrum	Picture of a music party of women, wearing nose-rings with pearl

would involve considerable expense and trouble in procuring reliable information with pertinent illustrations. I shall, however record here some information sent to me from Assam by my friend Dr. B. Kakati of Gauhati. The nose-ornaments, worn at present by Assamese women are (1) *Nak phul* (nose-flower), (2) *Nāk Cāndā* (nose-moon) and *Nalak* or *Nalakh* (nose-lotus). All of these ornaments are made of gold. *Nak phul* is made of fine gold wire, twisted and interwoven and looks like a small lotus bud. With the hook it is fastened into the hole of the nose bored through. *Nāk Cāndā* is made of fine gold wires and similarly put on. *Nalak* has a ring and a pendant and is put on like a *nath*. As Assamese literature does not go beyond the 15th century no literary references are available—so states Dr. Kakati in his letter of 31st October 1933. It is curious that no pearl is found on these Assamese nose-ornaments.

9	16th Century	Mural Paintings in the Old Palace in the Travancore State	Figures of women wearing <i>nath</i> are represented in the paintings.
10	A. D. 1583	B. O. R. Institute Ms	Picture of goddess <i>Sarasvati</i> wearing a nose-ring with pearls
11	A. D. 1611	<i>Bhāgavatapurāṇa</i> Ms at Jodhpur	Pictures of ladies wearing nose-rings with 3 pearls each
12	A. D. 1616-19	Edward Terry's <i>Travels in India</i>	Terry refers to nostrils pierced and nose-rings worn by ladies
13	A. D. 1673	Jayarāma Kavi	"नासासुक्ताफल" worn by the goddess <i>Bhavāni</i> on the <i>Pratāpagad</i> fort
14	c. A. D. 1750	<i>Saṁgraha-cūdāmaṇi</i>	Musical <i>rāgas</i> called as "नासिकाभूषणी" and "नासामणि"
15	c. A. D. 1750	<i>Hamsavilāsa</i> of <i>Hamsamitṭhū</i>	"नासाभूषा" with मौक्तिक-युगल and अरुणरत्न Of. नासाभूषा with अरुणरत्न and मुक्तासुग mentioned in the <i>Tripurasundarī-Stotra</i>
16	A. D. 1642	Tavernier	Arabian women bore the septum of the nose for admitting the ring
17	A. D. 1794	Edward Moor	"nutt" worn by Canarese ladies
18	A. D. 1832	<i>Qanoon-e-Islam</i>	<i>Nath</i> , <i>Boolaq</i> , <i>Nuthnee</i> "nose-jewelled" damsels, (with illustrations)

P. S.— Since this article was composed the following additional information about the nose-ornament has been received :—

(1) Dr. B. Kakati writes under date 14-12-1938—" Regarding your query about Assamese nose-ornaments as represented in painting and sculpture, a competent Assamese scholar informs me that there is no nose-ornament traceable in existing painting and sculpture. I informed you already there is no reference to it in existing literature which dates from the 16th century. This would perhaps lend weight to your theory that nose-ornaments were introduced by the Moslems. Assam was never a Moslem province. "

(2) Mr. G. N. Shrigondekar of the Bhandarkar Institute has kindly drawn my attention to the following verse quoted anonymously by the late Mr. Visnushastri Chiplunkar in his *Nibandhamālā* (Vide p. 51 of the collection of the *Subhāṣitas* in the *Nibandhamālā*, published by Chitrashala, Poona, 1926).

“ इन्दीवराक्षयाः स्फुटाविदुमौषध्याः सङ्केतमुद्दिश्य वने चरन्त्याः ।

चौराः समस्ताभरणानि हत्वा नासामार्णि नापहरन्ति चित्रम् ॥ १५७ ॥ ”

The above verse occurs in the *Subhāṣitaratna-bhāṇḍāgāra* (N. S. Press, 1886) p. 314 verse 84 but here also the name of the author is not recorded.

(3) I am thankful to Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, M. A. for the following remarks dated 22-12-1938 on the nose-ornaments in South India :—“ Three nose-ornaments are in use in South India. One is a screw inserted on the side of the nostril, in a hole bored for the purpose. Its name is *Mookku-Kutty*, i. e. nose-peg. Ladies wear it on both sides of the nose and usually there is a precious stone embedded in the centre of the screw. It is obligatory for married women and virgins to wear at least one of these. *Bulak* and *Nattu* are two ornaments, not now in fashion. As their names denote, they were borrowed from North India.

Very curiously in lithic figures in temples these ornaments are not traceable, probably because of the difficulty of representing them in stone. But I have noticed the screw, in mural paintings in Travancore. I am disposed to regard its wearing as a fairly old custom. ”

(4) Anantabhaṭṭa, author of *Campūbhārata* is reported to have “ lived about 1500 A. D. ”. His sister’s son was Somanātha, the author of *Vyāsayogicaritacampū*. Somanātha was contemporary of king Acyutadevarāya of Vijayanagar and must have lived about 1535 A. D. (Vide p. 285 of M. Krishnamachariar’s *History of Classical Sans. Lit.* 1938 and B. Venkobarao’s Edition of the *Vyāsayogicaritacampū* (Bangalore) Introduction, pp. iv-ix. Acyutadevarāya ruled from A. D. 1486-1542.

Anantabhaṭṭa in verse 89 of 2nd *Stabaka* of his *Campūbhārata* (Page 80 of N. S. Press, Edition, 1903) puts a nose-ornament on the nose of Draupadī and describes its beauty as follows :—

“अधिनासिकाशिखरमाकलितं नवमौक्तिकं नरपतेर्द्विदितुः ।

शुशुभे सुखास्त्रुहमध्यचरास्मितहंसिकाजनितमण्डामिव ॥ ८९ ॥”

The pearl on the tip of Draupadi's nose looked as if it were an egg laid in the lotus of her face by the female swan viz. the smile on her face.

Anantabhaṭṭa hardly dreamt of the anachronism involved in the reference !

(5) Prof. R. D. Laddu of the S. P. College, Poona, has kindly drawn my attention to the following reference to nose-ornament (नकफूली) occurring on p. 191 of *Dholā-Mārūrā Dūhā* edited by Ram Singh and others and published by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares, 1935 :—

Dūhā Nos. 571, 572 read as follows—

“सुंदरी चोरे संग्रही, सब लीया सिणगार ।

नक-फूली लीथी नहीं, कहि साखि कवण विचार ॥ ५७१ ॥

[Compare the above *Dūhā* with the anonymous verse quoted above which reads :—

“इन्दीवराक्ष्याः स्फुटविद्रुमौष्ठयाः सङ्केतमुद्दिश्य वने चरन्त्याः ।

चौराः समस्ताभरणानि हत्वा नासामणिं नापहरन्ति चित्रम् ॥ ”]

“अहर-रंग रत्तउ हुवइ, मुख काजळ मासि-ब्रन्न ।

जाण्यउ गुंजाहळ अछइ, तेण न दूकउ मन्न ॥ ५७२ ॥ ”

According to the Editors the *D. M. Dūhā* was composed between *Samvat* 1000 and 1618 i. e. between A. D. 944 and 1562. It may be earlier than *Samvat* 1450 i. e. A. D. 1394 (Vide *Prastāvanā* of the work, p. 10). The upper limit of A. D. 944 fixed by the Editors is the date of the hero of the poem viz. Dholā. There is no evidence to prove that the work is contemporary. This reference to nose-ornament can be easily assigned to the period, 1000 A. D. to 1394 and hence it does not go against the theory of the foreign importation of the nose-ornament after the advent of the Muhammedans.

THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ " RIDDLE " UNRIDDLED

BY

Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR, M. A., Ph. D.

In the *New Indian Antiquary*, I. i, pp. 62-68, Professor F. O. SCHRADER has a paper entitled " An Implication of the Bhagavadgītā Riddle ", wherein he tries to show that, since a tradition of respectable antiquity vouches for the existence of a *Bhagavadgītā* of 745 stanzas, and since the *Gītā* text of the *Suddha Dharma Maṇḍala* of Madras (1917) intended to answer to this traditional description cannot be accepted as genuine, we must per force assume the existence, at some time or other, of a form of the *Gītā* wherein—among other things—Arjuna spoke only 57 stanzas instead of the 84 that he has in the current text of the Poem. In other words we must be prepared to admit that 27 of the stanzas now assigned to Arjuna represent a later addition. Schrader then goes on to show how GARBE had long ago suspected 17 of Arjuna's stanzas as later additions (viz. viii. 1-2, x. 12-18, xi. 15-16, 18-19, and 37-40) and R. OTTO only 9 (viz. viii. 1-2, xi. 15-16, 18, 37-40); but since we want 27, Schrader proposes, while on the one hand lifting the ban of suspicion from the stanzas from Chapters viii and x rejected by both Garbe and Otto, to place the ban instead on exactly 27 stanzas (viz. 1-2, 15-30, 36-44) all taken from Chapter xi, alleging that their omission does not disturb the context¹ and that they could therefore be easily spared. At the same time, if the variant reading found in two Kashmirian Mss. (K¹ and Ś)—which makes Arjuna speak 55 instead of 57 stanzas—is to be accepted as more authentic; Schrader is willing to agree with Garbe and Otto in rejecting viii. 1-2 and thus conform to the reduced requirement. Schrader accordingly concludes that the traditional description of the extent of the *Bhagavadgītā* as recorded in the following three lines—

¹ This is a very unsafe argument. On its basis we can omit any number of stanzas from the *Vibhūti-varṇana* Chapter and elsewhere.

षट्शतानि सर्विज्ञानि (620) श्लोकानां प्राह केशवः ।

अर्जुनः सप्त(v. l. पञ्च)पञ्चाशत् (57 or 55),

सप्त(v. l. पञ्च)षष्टिं (67 or 65) च संजयः ॥

धृतराष्ट्रः श्लोकमेकं गीताया मानमुच्यते ॥

has to be regarded as "coercive literary evidence" for the existence, at some period, of a shorter version of the *Bhagavad-gītā* wherein Arjuna spoke 27 (or 29) stanzas less, as also for the existence of another and a longer version wherein both Saṁjaya and Kṛṣṇa spoke many more stanzas than those preserved in the current version. The so-called *Kashmir Recension of the Bhagavadgītā* to which Schrader was the first to draw the attention of scholars has, according to him, salvaged some few of these extra stanzas of the longer recension. The others must await further research.

Schrader very rightly rejects the attempt of Pandit R. M. SHASTRI to solve the "Riddle" by understanding a Śloka as the equivalent of 32 syllables.¹ Shastri was able to achieve conformation to the traditional requirements in details by taking into computation the syllabic value of even the colophons occurring at the end of each of the 18 chapters of the Poem, and—what is worse—by taking Arjuna's eulogy of the Lord's *Virāṭsvarūpa* or Cosmic Manifestation (xi. 15-31 and 36-46) as the words of Kṛṣṇa on the ground that they were inspired by a special divine dispensation. I fully share Mr. TADPATRIKAR's objection to such a strange procedure²—and that for this additional reason also that from Shastri's own point of view the eulogy must be computed to the account of *both* the Lord the inspirer and of Arjuna the passive medium.

To me accordingly it seems fairly clear that when Śaṁkarācārya, in the introduction to his *Gītābhāṣya*, says—

तं धर्मं भगवता यथोपदिष्टं वेदव्यासः सर्वज्ञो भगवान् गीताख्यैः सप्तभिः
श्लोकैरुपनिबबन्ध ।

¹ *Allahabad University Studies*, Vol. XII (Arts and Science), pp. 67-82.

² *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 357-360.

and when Keśava Kāśmirin, in the same context, states—

तच्च गीताशास्त्रं पञ्चचत्वारिंशदधिकसप्तशत(745)लोकैर्महाभारते
भगवता व्यासेन निबद्धम् ।

both statements are understood most naturally if the word *śloka* is taken in its normal connotation of a stanza, irrespective of the total number of syllables that constitute it. A Triṣṭubh of 4 pādas of 11 syllables each, an Anuṣṭubh of 6 pādas of 8 syllables each, or an ordinary Anuṣṭubh of 4 pādas of 8 syllables each, should alike count as just one śloka only.

The Suddha Dharma Mandala *Gītā* of 26 chapters is condemned by Schrader and others as an artificial fabrication. The specific divergence noticeable in the S. D. M. text in the number of the actual and the traditionally-recorded stanzas uttered by Arjuna and Śrī Kṛṣṇa, to which Schrader (*Op. Cit.*, p. 62) draws attention, may possibly be explained away by the protagonists of that version on the plea (similar to that of R. M. Shastri above referred to) that the Devistuti—like every genuine *mantra*—must be assigned, on account of its being divinely inspired, to the authorship of the Lord; but will have to face the further objection pointed out above that a *mantra* or *stuti* can be efficacious only after being *repeated* by the *Sādhaka*; so that the stanzas in question do not cease to be computed to the credit of Arjuna. I have a number of other objections to urge against the authenticity of the S. D. M. text of the *Bhagavadgītā*, showing in particular how several stanzas are therein torn from their proper context and so yield only a halting and very unsatisfactory sense. I shall however ignore all that for the present and concentrate here upon a critical examination of Schrader's so-called "coercive literary evidence."

Now it is true that, on the evidence of the Mss. of which more than 50 have been collated at the B. O. R. Institute, the 11 lines of the *Gītāpraśasti* found in the beginning of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* Chapter 43 of the Vulgate have to be treated as a late interpolation, being absent in a large number of important Bengali and Southern Mss. That does not take us very far. The question still arises and must be faced: Where do these lines come from—do they stand by themselves alone—and, to what condition of

the Poem do they bear evidence? Here, as regards the first part of the query, I wish to invite special attention to the last two lines of the *Gītāprasasti*--

भारतामृतसर्वस्वगीताया मथितस्य च ।
सारमुद्धृत्य कृष्णेन अर्जुनस्य मुखे हुतम् ॥

Here is mention made of *Gītāyāh sūram*, the quintessence--not of the *Mahābhārata*, but--of the *Gītā*. What could have been meant by that expression?

Now we possess, as a matter of fact, different Mss. that call themselves *Gītāsāra*, and there seem to be in existence at least two works passing under this title. One of them is represented by Mss. No. 563 of 1886-92 and No. 164 of 1883-84 of the B. O. R. Institute Mss. Library, the latter written in Śāradā characters. The work begins thus--

अर्जुन उवाच ।

ॐकारस्य च माहात्म्यं रूपं स्थानं परंतप ।
तत्सर्वं श्रोतुमिच्छामि ब्रूहि मे पुरुषोत्तम ॥ १ ॥

The work thus treats of the significance of the syllable ॐ, and is thrown into the form of a dialogue between Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa. It contains about 67 stanzas. Attention is particularly invited here to some of the concluding stanzas of the work, which we reproduce below--

गीतासारमिदं शास्त्रं गीतासारसमुद्भवम् ।
अत्र स्थितं ब्रह्मज्ञानं वेदशास्त्रसमुच्चयम् ॥ ५५ ॥
अष्टादश पुराणानि नव व्याकरणानि च ।
निर्मथ्य चतुरो वेदान् नुनिना भारतं कृतम् ॥ ५७ ॥
भारतोदधिमन्थस्य गीतानिर्मथनस्य च ।
सारमुद्धृत्य कृष्णेन अर्जुनस्य मुखे हुतम् ॥ ५८ ॥
सर्वशास्त्रमयी गीता सर्वदेवमयो हरिः ।
सर्वतीर्थमयी गङ्गा सर्वधर्ममयी दया ॥ ६१ ॥
गीता सुगीता कर्तव्या किमन्यैः शास्त्रसंग्रहैः ।
अत्यन्तनरकं घोरं गीताध्यायी न पश्यति ॥ ६४ ॥
गीता गङ्गा च गायत्री गोविन्दश्च हृदि स्थितः ।
चतुर्गकारसंयुक्ते पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ॥ ६६ ॥

या स्वयं पद्मनाभस्य मुखपद्माद्विनिःसृता ।

यः पठेत्परया भक्त्या स गच्छेद्विष्णुसंनिधौ ॥ ६७ ॥

इति श्रीभीष्मपर्वणि कृष्णार्जुनसंवादे श्रीसारगीता समाप्ता ॥

It will be noted that stanzas 64^{ab}, 67^{ab}, 61, 66, and 58 differ from the corresponding stanzas of the *Gītāpraśasti* only in a few variants. The three lines recording the *Gītāmānam* or extent of the *Bhagavadgītā* do not find a place in this *Gītāsāra*, which let us designate No. 1.

There is another and a distinct work which also claims to be *Gītāsāram*. This is given by Ms. No. 175 of 1883-84 written in Devanāgarī characters of the Kashmirian type. Let us call it *Gītāsāra* No. 2. There is a commentary on this work, designated *Brahmasambodhinī*, by a writer named ŚRĪDHARĀCĀRYA. The commentary is represented in the B. O. R. I. Mss. Library by two Mss. both in Śāradā characters, viz., No. 176 of 1883-84 and the first 15 folia of No. 179 of 1883-84. The introductory portion of Śrīdharācārya's commentary is worth quoting :

ॐ ॥ इह हि सकललोकविविधशूल्योद्धरणानुग्रहग्रहीतहृदयेन परमेश्वरा-
वतारेण साक्षाच्छ्रीकृष्णेन गीतास्वनवरतं प्रतिप्रतिपादितपरतत्त्वस्वरूपसंभृतपर-
मात्मदर्शनः सन् धनंजयः परानुग्रहाय संशयितमना इव पुनरपि श्रीकृष्णं ज्ञान-
स्वरूपं पृच्छति ।

“ अर्जुन उवाच ।

यदेतन्निष्कलं ब्रह्म व्योमातीतं निरक्षनम् ।

कैवल्यं केवलं शान्तं शुद्धमत्यन्तनिर्मलम् ॥ १ ॥

अप्रतर्क्यमविज्ञेयं विनाशोत्पात्तिवर्जितम् ।

ज्ञानयोगविनिर्मुक्तं तज्ज्ञानं ब्रूहि केशव ॥ २ ॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच ।

सर्वतो ज्योतिराकाशं सर्वभूतगुणान्वितम् ।

सर्वतः परमात्मानमक्षरं परमं महत् ॥ ३ ॥ ”

The original text covers, in all, between 45 to 60 stanzas—all, except 3 or 4, uttered by Kṛṣṇa. The text is not uniformly preserved, there being minor variations, additions and omissions. Towards the end occur, in one version of this *Gītāsāra* No. 2, the familiar stanzas—

सर्वशास्त्रमयी गीता सर्वदेवमयो हरिः ।
 सर्वतीर्थमयी गङ्गा सर्वपापक्षयंकरी ॥
 गङ्गा गीता च गायत्री गोविन्दो हृदि संस्थितः ।
 चतुर्गकारस्मरणात् पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ॥
 गीतासारं पठेद्यस्तु ह्यच्युतस्य च संनिधौ ।
 तस्माद्गुणसहस्रेण विष्णोर्निर्वचनं यतः ॥

The conclusion of the other version deserves to be much more fully quoted :

गीताः सुगीताः कर्तव्याः किमन्यैः शास्त्रसंग्रहैः ।
 याः पुरा पद्मनाभस्य मुखपद्माद्विनिस्सृताः ॥
 गीतागाङ्गोदकं पीत्वा पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ।
 सर्वशास्त्रमयी गीता सर्वधर्ममयी मता ॥
 सर्वभोगमयश्चायं सर्वमोक्षमयो ह्यहम् ॥
 छिन्नमूलस्य वृक्षस्य यथा जन्म न विद्यते ।
 ज्ञानदग्धशरीरस्य पुनर्देहो न विद्यते ॥
 गकारपूर्वाश्चत्वारो रक्षन्ति महतो भयात् ।
 गङ्गा गीता च गायत्री गोविन्दो हृदि संस्थितः ॥
 स्नातो वा यदि वास्नातः शुचिर्वा यदि वाशुचिः ।
 यः स्मरेत्पुण्डरीकाक्षं स बाह्याभ्यन्तरे शुचिः ॥
 स गच्छेत्तत्क्षणात् प्रायो ब्रह्ममूर्ते नमोऽस्तु ते ।
 गीतासारं पठेद्यस्तु विष्णुलोके महीयते ॥
 एतत् पुण्यं पापहरं धन्यं दुःस्वप्ननाशनम् ।
 पठतां शृण्वतां चैव विष्णोर्माहात्म्यमुत्तमम् ॥

इति गीतासारं समाप्तम् ॥

The facts above disclosed should make it clear, in the first place, that the *Gītāprāśasti* lines as we have them now in the Vulgate did not originally stand by themselves. They came towards the end of a more extensive work called *Gītāsāra*. In addition to the Mss. of the *Gītāsāra* that were available to me in the B. O. R. I. Mss. Library, AUFRECHT'S *Catalogus Catalogorum* lists some 4 or 5 such Mss. These I have not consulted, and I cannot therefore say whether, besides the two forms of the *Gītāsāra*, Nos. 1 and 2, other forms were ever in existence; nor is the inquiry essential for my immediate purpose. What I want to

point out is that, after the discursive philosophical teaching spread over the 18 chapters of the *Bhagavadgītā*, the desire for a short, trenchant summing up of the "quintessence" of the teaching was quite natural. Indeed, such a desire is in evidence towards the close of the 18th Chapter of the *Gītā* itself. The stanza—

यतः प्रवृत्तिर्भूतानां येन सर्वमिदं ततम् ।

स्वकर्मणा तमभ्यर्च्य सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः ॥ ४६ ॥

may be said to be such a summing up from the point of view of the Karmayoga, while the stanzas—

सर्वगुह्यतमं भूयः शृणु मे परमं वचः ।

इष्टोऽसि मे दृढमिति ततो वक्ष्यामि ते हितम् ॥ ६४ ॥

मन्मना भव मद्भक्तो मयाजी मां नमस्कुरु ।

मामेवैष्यासि सत्यं ते प्रतिजाने प्रियोऽसि मे ॥ ६५ ॥

are on the face of them such a summing up from the point of view of the Bhaktiyoga. The *Gītāsāra* No. 2, with which we are more immediately concerned, seems to have been intended (vide the opening remarks of the Commentary quoted above) as a summing up from the Jñānayoga point of view.¹

It is somewhat difficult to determine whether the familiar *Gītāpraśasti* stanzas about the four *gākāras* etc. originally belonged to *Gītāsāra* No. 1 or No. 2 or to a third common source. The lines in any case seem to have caught the fancy and were regarded as part of the indispensable contents of a *Gītāsāra*. The three lines detailing the *mānam* or the extent of the *Gītā*, as will be presently shown, came to be associated with *Gītāsāra* No. 2.

As the *Gītāsāra* was expressly stated to be a part of the *Bhīṣmaparvan*, there must have been Mss. of that Parvan which read the *Gītāsāra* as an integral part of the *Bhīṣmaparvan*; and it was satisfactory to find that two of the important Mss. collated at the B. O. R. Institute—namely the India Office Ms. designated K¹ and the B. O. R. I. Ms. H, both following the Kashmir version of the Epic in the main—do read our *Gītāsāra* No. 2.

¹ It is possible to regard *Gītāsāra* No. 1, the *Omākāramāhātmya*, as a summing up from the point of view of Yoga and Tantrism.

Ms. H, after the conclusion of the colophon of the 18th Chapter of the *Bhagavadgītā*, gives the *Gītāpraśasti* lines, except the last two, and straightway proceeds with—

अर्जुनः ।

यदेतन्निष्कलं etc.

i. e., the *Gītāsāra* No. 2, towards the end of which we have (with minor variations) the lines quoted on p. 340 above, ending with—

इति श्रीभीष्मपर्वणि गीतासारः समाप्तम् ।

Then follows the regular opening of the first Chapter of the *Bhīṣmavadhapaṛvan* :

संजय उवाच ।

ततो धनंजयं दृष्ट्वा etc.

According to Ms. H, therefore, the three lines recording the extent of the *Bhagavadgītā* are a part of the *Gītāsāra*, the *Sāra* itself following immediately upon the conclusion of the *Bhagavadgītā*, and attributed to the same author as the rest of the *Bhīṣma-parvan*.

Ms. K¹ gives the three lines of the *Gītāmānam* immediately after the colophon of the 18th Chapter of the *Bhagavadgītā*. It opens the following *Adhyāya* (= 43rd of the Vulgate) with—

गीता सुगीता कर्तव्या किमन्यैः शास्त्रसंग्रहेः ।

अर्जुन उवाच ।

यदेतन्निष्कलं etc.

After that we have the regular *Gītāsāra*, with the conclusion as in Ms. H.

Ms. S belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal does not contain the *Gītāsāra* or the *Gītāpraśasti* at all. Only, after the colophon of the 18th Chapter of the *Gītā*, on the margin, we read—

क्षेपकमिदम् ।

षट्शतानि सर्विशानि श्लोकानां प्राह केशवः ।

अर्जुनः पञ्चपञ्चाश पञ्चषष्टिस्तु संजय ॥

धृतराष्ट्र श्लोकमकमतद्गीतार्थसंग्रहम् ॥

नमो विघ्नहत्र । गीतायाः श्लोकाः ७४० ॥

Including K¹ and H, we have thus five Mss. of this *Gītāsāra*, two of them with a commentary. The *Gītāpraśasti* verses (8 lines) are in all Mss. found imbedded in our *Gītāsāra*, and in Ms. H both the *Gītāpraśasti* and the *Gītāmāna* verses (11 lines in all) are found so imbedded. Since all the five Mss. hail from Kashmir we would be justified in concluding that the *Gītāsāra* No. 2 is a Kashmiran contribution to the elaboration of the Epic, from which the current *Gītāpraśasti* is a mere extract.

In this connection I want to draw attention to another point that has a bearing on the question before us. It is well-known that the orthodox *Gītāpārāyaṇa* or recitation of the *Bhagavadgītā* invariably begins with a prologue or a metrical introduction. The best known of these is the Tantric introduction enumerating Ṛṣi (= Vyāsa), Chandas (= Anuṣṭubh), Devatā (= Śrīkṛṣṇa), Bija (*Aśocyān* etc., ii. 11), Śakti (xviii. 66^{ab}), and Kīlaka (xviii. 66^{cd}), followed by what is called the *Kara-nyāsa* and the *Aṅga-nyāsa* and ending with the *Dhyāna* or Meditation of nine stanzas beginning with—

पार्थाय प्रतिबोधितां भगवता नारायणेन स्वयं

and ending with—

यस्यान्तं न विदुः सुरासुरगणा देवाय तस्मै नमः ॥

When pressed for time, the last stanza of the *Dhyāna* is considered as the absolutely indispensable minimum by way of an introductory *Maṅgala*. This full-fledged introduction is reproduced in the Kashmirian Mss. K¹, H and A³, collated for the B. O. R. I. edition of the *Bhīṣmaparvan*, on which I am at present working. We have already seen that the first two of these Mss. give the *Gītāsāra* immediately after the conclusion of the *Bhagavadgītā*—we might almost say, by way of an appendix to it. Ms. A³ unfortunately lacks the concluding portion of the *Gītā*.

In view of the facts recited above, it seems to me legitimate to conclude that the *Gītāsāra* No. 2 is to the *Gītā*, on a smaller scale, what the *Harivaṁśa* is, on a larger scale, to the rest of the Epic. As the *Harivaṁśa* is the 19th or the *Khilaparvan*, so the *Gītāsāra* is practically the 19th or the *khila* chapter of the *Bhagavadgītā*; and hence, just as the *Harivaṁśa* is sometimes (as in the

enumeration of 100 sub-parvans) regarded as an integral part of the *Mahābhārata* and sometimes considered as a separate work, so it must have been with the *Gītāsāra*. The author responsible for the addition of this addendum must naturally have been anxious to ensure the inclusion of it in the *Gītā*, and the best way to do so was to keep on record the results of a detailed counting of the number of stanzas in the *Gītā* proper plus the *Gītāsāra* taken as a unitary work. This is the probable genesis of the traditional *Gītāmāna* lines.

Once the result of the detailed counting became fixed in black and white, it gained currency, first in the province of its origin, and later in the versions of the text copied from or conflated with that provincial text. This would explain why the copyist of Ms. Ś, while not interested in copying the *Gītāsāra*, thought it useful to record—even though on the margin—the traditionally understood extent of the *Gītā*. Copyists are after all copyists, and they can be excused if they did not verify the counting. Why, the copyist of Ms. Ś failed to correctly add up $620 + 55 + 65 + 1$ and gave the result as 740! Knowing the net result of the computation but not knowing how it was arrived at and not caring to verify, Keśava Kāśmīrin, while telling us that the *Gītā* contains 745 stanzas, wrote his commentary on just the 700 stanzas known to Śaṅkarācārya. So too when Alberuni or when the Persian translators of the *Gītā* give the extent of the poem as 745 stanzas, we need not be surprised if their *Gītā* is just the ordinary *Gītā* of 700 stanzas, or—if differing from it—the difference is due to the inclusion of the *Gītāsāra* into the *Gītā* proper. It may be added that if lines like xviii. 67-71 are to be part of the *Gītā* teaching, there is no reason why the *Gītāsāra* may not be so regarded.

Does the total of *Gītā* + *Gītāsāra* conform to the traditional figures of the *Gītāmāna* lines? Let us verify. Kṛṣṇa wants 46 stanzas more to make up his 620 and as the longer text of the *Gītāsāra* consists of 4 stanzas of Arjuna and 68 stanzas of Kṛṣṇa and the shorter of 3 and 48 stanzas respectively, this requirement is fully capable of being satisfied. Per contra, Arjuna must have 27 (or 29) less to make up his 57 (or 55), while our *Gītāsāra* gives him nevertheless 3 (or 4) more. Lastly, Saṁjaya must have 26 (or 24) more, and our *Gītāsāra* affords no help at all in this respect. So somebody would say—

भक्षितेऽपि लक्ष्णे नोपशान्तो व्याधिः ।

These two last-mentioned discrepancies, however, are capable of a solution which is very simple and which should prove as readily acceptable as the solution of the deficiency in Kṛṣṇa’s total, for which even Schrader saw no option but awaiting future discoveries of Mss. on the Poet’s plea—

कालो ह्ययं निरवधिर्विपुला च पृथ्वी ।

To begin with, let me ask in this connection the question, who is the speaker of stanzas 3-11 of the First Chapter of the *Bhagavadgītā*? They are the words of Duryodhana, but are computed to the credit of Saṁjaya: one may well demand, why? The only possible explanation can be that the stanzas in question are not Duryodhana’s direct words, but a paraphrase of them by Saṁjaya. How can we be sure of this; and, on that basis, why should not Arjuna’s words in i. 21^{cd} to i. 23, and in i. 28^{cd} to i. 46 be equally Saṁjaya’s paraphrase of Arjuna’s words? It is true that there is no *Duryodhana uvāca* before i. 3, while there is *Arjuna uvāca* before i. 21^{cd} and i. 28^{cd}; but is not this heading redundant after *vākyaṁ idam āha* (i. 28^{ab}) and *idam abravīt* (i. 28^{ab}) of the *Gītā* proper? Arguing similarly, we can omit *Śrībhagavān uvāca* preceding ii. 2, and credit ii. 2-3 to Saṁjaya. This gives 23 additional stanzas to Saṁjaya, who therefore now wants only 3 (or 1) more.

The above operation reduces Arjuna’s total by 21 stanzas. He still labours therefore under an excess of 6+3 (or 8+6) stanzas taking *Gītā* and *Gītāsāra* together. At the same time, incidentally, we have reduced Kṛṣṇa’s stanzas by 2, so that his deficit now rises from 46 to 48; but 48, it will be remembered, is the exact number of additional stanzas of Kṛṣṇa that the shorter version of the *Gītāsāra* gives us. So this fits in very nicely.

A further reduction of Arjuna’s total by 5 stanzas can result if, in view of the words *evam uktvā* in ii. 9^a, we drop the heading *Arjuna uvāca* preceding ii. 4 and transfer ii. 4-8 to the credit of Saṁjaya, which would convert Saṁjaya’s defect of 3 (or 1) to an excess of 2 (or 4) stanzas, while Arjuna’s excess now stands at 1+3 (or 3+6) stanzas.

At this stage we can well decide upon dropping the alternative (bracketed) figures in the above statement, by assuming that the author of the *Gitāmāna* computation had before him the more common *sapta* readings in the *Gitāmāna* passage in place of the *pañca* readings, and that he followed the shorter version of the *Gitāsāra*. This is a legitimate assumption, because our object is merely to determine the computator's specific text of the *Gitā* + *Gitāsāra*. Hence our final problem becomes now merely to reduce an excess of 2 in Saṁjaya's total, and of 4 in Arjuna's total.

Before proceeding further, I must point out that a very fatal objection to the above procedure of dropping the "*Uvāca*" headings and effecting transfers of lines from one speaker to another can be urged and must now be met. The presence of the words *tam uvāca* in ii. 10^a should occasion, by the same line of argument, a dropping of the heading *Śrībhagavān uvāca* preceding ii. 11, and the consequent transfer of Kṛṣṇa's instruction from ii. 11 to ii. 53 to Saṁjaya. If so, the remedy would be worse than the disease. Things are not, however, so hopeless as all that. Stanza ii. 11, it will be remembered, is the "Bija" of the *Gitā*. Śaṁkarācārya begins his *Bhāṣya* with this śloka. Everything from this point on was believed to constitute the *ipsissima verba* of the Divine Teacher and his devoted disciple, and so the objection above urged falls to the ground.

How about the small residuary discrepancy? I propose to invoke here the aid of another principle already generally recognised. It is well known¹ that a stanza in the Epic (the Anuṣṭubh as well as the Triṣṭubh) occasionally consists of 6 pādas, particularly where the pādas convey one homogeneous sense. Accordingly, I propose to give to Saṁjaya the following four six-pāda Anuṣṭubhs: i. 20 + i. 21^{ab}, i. 21^{cd} + i. 22, i. 26 + i. 27^{ab}, and i. 29^{cd} + i. 30. The sense is not repugnant to this procedure. On similar grounds Arjuna can be assigned the following two six-pāda Anuṣṭubhs: x. 13 + x. 14^{ab}, and x. 14^{cd} + x. 15, and the following two six-pāda Triṣṭubhs: xi. 36 + xi. 37^{ab}, and xi. 39^{cd} +

¹ Vide HOPKINS, *The Great Epic of India*, p. 194,

x. 40.¹ For the still obdurate excess of two stanzas in Arjuna's total, I may be permitted to evoke the aid of the Garbe-Otto-Schrader expedient of dropping viii. 1-2, or to assume that the computator read—

अर्जुनः पञ्चपञ्चाशत् सप्तषष्टिं च संजयः ।

I have thus, I believe, fully accounted for the intrusion of the *Gītāpraśasti* lines at the commencement of the 43rd chapter of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* in the Vulgate editon, and explained how the *Gītāmāna* of 745 could have been arrived at, with an exact correspondence as regards the sub-totals for the different interlocutors. This has been effected without recourse to the impossible surgical operation of Pandit R. M. Shastri, or the travesty of the *Gītā* presented by the S. D. M. edition. Nor have I indulged in any wild-goose chase after the earlier and the incipient stages of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Not that such stages might not have existed; but all attempts to determine them² have proved abortive so far. If the *Bhagavadgītā* has grown and evolved, it cannot have been by haphazard accretions of stanzas of no philosophical import—as seems to be the case with the so-called Kashmirian Recension³—but as a consequence of a definite change in the metaphysical and the ethical *Anschauung*, of the slowly-gathering phases of the onward march of which—at this distance of time—it must be declared :

¹ It is possible that by applying the above principle we can reduce Kṛṣṇa's total by four by considering the following six as six-pāda Anuṣṭubhs:

iv. 29 + iv. 30 ^{ab} ,	iv. 30 ^{cd} + iv. 31,
vi. 24 + vi. 25 ^{ab} ,	vi. 25 ^{cd} + vi. 26,
ix. 32 + ix. 33 ^{ab} ,	ix. 33 ^d + ix. 34;

and the following two as six-pāda Triṣṭubhs:

xv. 3 + xv. 4 ^{ab} ,	xv. 4 ^{cd} + xv. 5.
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If such a deficiency in Kṛṣṇa's total is at all to be urged, it can be met by assuming that the computator's *Gītāsāra* had already included 4 extra stanzas of the longer version. In the whole of the *Gītā*, I have not been able to find any other possible application of the six-line stanza principle.

² Including that of R. Otto, for which see my paper entitled "Mis-carriage of Attempted Stratification of the Bhagavadgītā", Poona, 1937.

³ A detailed examination of Schrader's thesis concerning this Recension forms the subject of a paper shortly due to appear in the *New Indian Antiquary*.

असंनिवृत्त्यै तदतीतमेते
मनोरथा नाम तदप्रपाताः ।

The problem of the traditional *Gītāmānam*, in the light of its probable origin as explained in this paper, becomes now a question of pure academic interest. There is nothing like an insoluble "riddle" about it, and it is certainly very far indeed from being the "coercive literary evidence" that it is sought to be made out.

Postscript: Please rectify the following misprints—

P. 337, line 6 — constitutes *for* constitute.

P. 343, line 2 — 6 *for* 8.

P. 343, line 4 — 9 *for* 11.

P. 344, line 34 — 6 *for* 4.

——, ——— — 53 *for* 68.

——, line 38 — 6 *for* 4.

PART IV. THE POST-MADHVA PERIOD *

Section I. SOME OF THE IMMEDIATE DISCIPLES AND EARLY

FOLLOWERS OF MADHVA

Chapter I. THE SVĀMIS OF THE UḌĪPI MUTTS

BY

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Towards the close of his life, Madhva had ordained eight monks¹ for the conduct of worship at the Maṭha of Kṛṣṇa founded by him at Uḍipi *M. Vij.* xv, 131 d. These monks established lines of their own by ordination and these became the precursors of the Aṣṭa-maṭhas² of later times. The early history of these Mutts is still shrouded in mystery and we have no information about the extent of religious and secular influence commanded by them until much later times. The Svāmis of the eight Mutts hold the office of the High Priest of the Kṛṣṇa Maṭha, by turns, for two years. This biennial change of office is known as Paryāya which takes place during *Makara-Saṁkramaṇa*. When not in office, the Svāmis tour the country for purposes of religious propaganda as well as obtaining supplies to last them during their terms of office. We have thus at Uḍipi, a very unique and well-organised system of religious administration which reflects credit upon its organisers whoever they might have been. The system is generally believed to have been established in its present form, by Vādirāja Svāmin, one of the Uḍipi monks, in the 16th century. There is no evidence to show

* The paper is part of my '*History of Dvaita Literature*'.

¹ Hrṣīkeśa, Narasimha, Janārdana, Upendra, Vāmana, Viṣṇu, Rāma and Adhokṣaja Tīrthas. Vide *M. Vij.*, XV, 128-29.

² Palimār, Adhamār, Kṛṣṇāpūr, Puttige, Śīrūr, Sode, Kaṭūr and Pejavat Mutts.

that it existed earlier, though certain inscriptions from Udipi¹ (Nos. 236 and 241—*Ins. Madras*, ii, p. 871, relating to the Kṛṣṇāpūr Mutt, recording gifts to Vidyā (dhi)-rāja Tīrtha in 1409 A. D.) go to show that the Svāmīs had come to be recognised widely, long before the 16th century.

Besides the eight Mutts mentioned above, there are two others tracing descent from Acyutaprekṣa himself in a senior line with Satyatīrtha as their head. These two go by the names of the Bhaṇḍārkere and Bhīmāna-Kaṭṭe Mutts. Their bifurcation seems to have taken place at the time of the fifth successor of Satyatīrtha. No outstanding contributions to Dvaita Literature appear to have been made by the Svāmīs of these Mutts except perhaps the illuminating commentary on the *Yuktimalikā* of Vādirāja, by Surottama Tīrtha who was most probably the same as the fourteenth in descent from Madhva, in the Bhaṇḍārkere Mutt. Even as between the Aṣṭamaṭhas of Udipi and the so-called "Main-Mutts" (मूलमठ) headed by a group of four itinerant disciples of Madhva—to be mentioned shortly,—the palm for literary activity and spread of Dvaita Philosophy belongs to the latter. The Svāmīs of the Udipi-Mutts have always confined their attention to their own community—the Taulavas, and have for the most part been devoting themselves solely to the worship of Kṛṣṇa at Udipi—one of the purposes for which they seem to have been intended, a fact which is also indicated by the system of Bālasamnyāsa that is in vogue amongst them. It is the Mutts represented by the other group of four disciples of Madhva, viz., Padmanābha, Narahari Tīrtha, Mādhava Tīrtha, and Akṣobhya Tīrtha and their successors that have made Dvaita Vedānta and Literature what they are to day. In this sense then and in no other the appellation "मूलमठ" given to them, is fitting. Even here there is no evidence apart from tradition that Mādhava and Akṣobhya were both personally ordained by Madhva. Nor do the terms "आचार्यपठि" or "मूलमठ" appear to have acquired any significance as yet during the lifetime of Madhva or of his immediate disciples. The *M. Vij.* gives absolutely no indication of the Ācārya's having had any other "head-

¹ The donors were Harihararāya II (1377-1402) and Devarāya Mahārāya I. (1406-18).

quarters " but Udipi. There is nothing to show that he founded any Mutt or Mutts of his own save perhaps the Kṛṣṇa-Māṭha of Udipi where he spent most of his time. It is thus quite misleading (till after the days of Jayatīrtha) to talk of X or Y as having "succeeded" Madhva "on the pīṭha" and "ruled" for so many years ! The only thing that is certain of the four so-called immediate disciples of Madhva—viz., Padmanābha, Narhari,¹ Mādhava and Akṣobhya as indeed of the others like Viṣṇu Tīrtha—is that they (might have) passed away one after the other in the cyclic years recorded for them in the various Mutts. Beyond this we cannot go and represent them as having occupied a particular pīṭha (vacated by Madhva) and "ruled" one after the other, handing over charge to the next in order at the time of his demise. This is a popular assumption for which there is no ground.

The *M. Vij.* says clearly that many were the ascetics ordained by Madhva (XV. 127). Many of these in their turn took disciples (X. V. 132—*सर्वप्रशिक्षा बहवः शिष्या येषां सुहुः*) and started small centres of religious propaganda in various parts of the country. In the course of a few generations, these grew and crystallised into so many Mutts. Each one of these could thus historically claim to be descended from Madhva; but it would be absurd to conclude from this that every one of their seats (पीठ) was at one time occupied by Madhva for a while or that he bequeathed to them any property. As for certain images of gods and sāla-grāmas acquired by him during his travels, these are admitted to have been freely distributed among his disciples lay and ascetic. So that the mere possession of one or more of such relics, cannot by itself confer any kind of special privilege or exclusive proprietary right upon any single individual or institution thus tracing descent from Madhva, to represent the आचार्यपीठ. It would moreover be impossible to say which of the heirlooms left by Madhva was the most sacred one and if anything, the care of the image of Kṛṣṇa so ceremoniously installed by Madhva (*M. Vij.* IX. 41-43) at Udipi would seem to confer by far the

¹ The case is other with Narhari Tīrtha (Vide: Śrīkūrmum Insc. Verse 6a and Padmanābha Tīrtha (*M. Vij.* XX. 120). There is however no mention of Mādhava and Akṣobhya in the *M. Vij.*

greatest title to representation in this direction! If that be so, the Uḍipi Mutts *collectively* would be more truly representative of Madhva's pīṭha than the so-called मूलाग्रमठs in the Deśh which date from after the days of Jayatīrtha. The subsequent popularity of the Mūla-maṭhas was due more to the epoch-making services of Jayatīrtha to the cause of Dvaita-Vedānta and the impression left by him upon the people, than to any other minor consideration such as that of the reputed possession of the Mūlarāma¹ or other images of worship.

After Jayatīrtha there came into being at least three different Mutts tracing descent from his disciple Vidyādhirāja. It would be unhistorical again, to claim any *one* of these three as the original Maṭha of Madhva (or of Jayatīrtha). Each of these Mutts again has been as great as the others in respect of the beneficial influence exercised upon society, the services rendered to the cause of Dvaita-Vedānta and the eminence of Pontiffs that have adorned their seats till now. The only disparity that may at all be discerned amongst them is that of worldly wealth, number of disciples under their jurisdiction or the extent of popular allegiance in particular parts of the country. But these are matters of a purely social or political character and they should not vitiate our understanding of the true historical origin and relations of the Mutts. The Mutts believed to have been established by Padmanābha, Mādhava and Akṣobhya though now comparatively insignificant and powerless to compete on equal terms of wealth, position, prestige and numbers with the so-called major Mutts (viz., the Vyāsarāya, Rāghavendrasvāmi and Uttarādi Mutts) are yet as a matter of historical fact, no less truly and legitimately descended from and representative of Madhva than their compeers elsewhere which are of Post-Jayatīrtha development. But for obvious reasons, these have not come up. The phenomenal glory attained by Vyāsarāya under the kings of the II and III dynasties of Vijayanagar pushed his Mutt into supreme power and prominence in the early XVI century and this position was zealously maintained by his successors. Shortly afterwards, the Uttarādi and Rāghavendra-

¹ It is curious indeed that the story of the acquisition of the Mūlarāma-pratima finds no place in the *M. Vij.*

svāmi Mutts rose to fame under the illustrious headship of Raḡhūttama Tīrtha and Vijayindra-Rāghavendra.

In the history of the Dvaita creed therefore, certain Mutts have been figuring more prominently than others in the public life from time to time. This does not however imply that the less prominent Mutts are also *ipso facto* the less ancient ones or confer upon the more prominent ones any right to exclusive honor and respect at the hands of the Mādhvas as the sole and only lineal or rightful representative of Madhva and his "pīṭha". Vide also the judgment on the "Tīrtha" question of the S. M. S. O. Sabhā, by the Madras High Court dated 20th Nov. 1929. We have seen that Madhva established no such pīṭha-not at any rate anywhere outside S. Kanara.

In the last analysis therefore, all talk of "main" and "sub-ordinate" Mutts; "आचार्यपीठ" etc., turns out to be but a distorted popular fancy fed and sustained by the repercussions to historical facts and political incidents. There is thus *not one* "मूलमठ" descended from Madhva, but *many* and one at least among them¹ dates from the days of Acyutaprekṣa (the Guru of Madhva) and his predecessors.

It is to be regretted that the Uḍipi Mutts, even today are not evincing that much of interest in Dvaita literature which they ought to. Vast collections of Mss. exist in these Mutts in an utterly neglected condition. It is some consolation however that the ex-Svāmi of the Pejāwar Mutt has taken a keen interest in such matters and has established a public library with the books and Mss. available in his Mutt.

It may be mentioned in this connection that a complete set of palm-leaf Mss. of all the thirty-seven works of Madhva, written in original Tulu characters, exists at Uḍipi in the Palimār Mutt. The Mss. now much-injured are said to represent the original copy of the Sarva-mūla (37 works of Madhva) prepared by one of the Ācārya's favourite disciples: Hṛṣīkeṣa Tīrtha who afterwards became the first Pontiff of the Palimār Mutt, in his own hand-writing. Enquiries show that this Ms. has in many places readings which are quite different from those of the vulgate text of the Sarva-mūla based upon the commentaries of Jayatīrtha and other writers. It would be a distinct advantage if the readings in this precious Ms. are made available to the public.

¹ Viz., the Bhaṇḍārkere Mutt.

1. *Hṛṣīkeśa Tīrtha* (C. 1280-1330)

Of Hṛṣīkeśa Tīrtha himself we possess some fragmentary details. He is mentioned in the *M. Vij.* XIII, 40, to have been a favourite disciple of his Master, who used to read out from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* at the discourses given by the latter. He was one of the monks ordained by Mādhva at *Kaṇva-tīrtha*. He was the founder and first Pontiff of the Palimār Mutt which to this day takes the place of honour among the Aṣṭamaṭhas of Uḍipi, probably as a token of the premier position of its founder among the disciples of Mādhva. He wrote a *Sampracāya-paddhati*¹ dealing with the early life of Mādhva and the method of ritual worship enunciated by him.

2. *Viṣṇu Tīrtha* (C. 1254-1320)

The only other important person from among the early Pontiffs of the Uḍipi Mutts is Viṣṇu Tīrtha—the younger brother of Mādhva. After the death of his parents he sought initiation from his elder brother and became a monk (*M. Vij.* XV, 91-96). He is believed to have been a great Yogin and set a very high standard of religious austerities and penance. His rigid austerities are described at some length in *M. Vij.* XV. 97-114. He is believed to be still doing penance² in the sylvan retreats of Kumāra Parvata near Subrahmaṇya-kṣetra, in S. Kanara. He founded a Mutt of his own at Subrahmaṇya which exists to this day presided over by a line of monks (Bālasaṁnyāsins). He was the founder of the Sode Mutt also.

The only work of Viṣṇu Tīrtha³ that is known, is a metrical tract in four chapters (granthas 660) on the duties of Saṁnyāsins (*Yati-dharma*). There is a Ms. of this work in the Mysore O. L.

¹ *Mādhva siddhānta Granthālaya*, Uḍipi.

² Tradition says that he will re-appear in the world to resuscitate the philosophy of Mādhva, at the end of Kaliyuga. See my article on *Mādhva's Underground Library at Kaṭṭatāla*, Annals B. O. R. I. Vol. XVI pp. 152-54.

³ "Tīrtha" is one of the ascetic titles assumed by the order of Paramahansa monks. It is the *only* title assumed by Mādhva Saṁnyāsins. Dr. S. K. De is quite wrong in stating (*Winternitz Com. Vol.* p. 201) that Mādhva ascetics retain their *Śikhā* (tuft) and *Yajñopavīta*. They do not. The only form of salutation used by them is " Nārāyaṇa ", On this point also, Dr. De is misinformed.

The author says that his main sources of information are the *Saṁhitās* of the *Pañcarātras*.¹ The work deals with such topics as Śauca, Guru-lakṣaṇa, Mantra, Dikṣā, Japa (ch. 2) Dhyāna etc. Passages are quoted from the *VTN.*, *Bhāgavata*, *Bhārata* and the *Saṁhitās* of the *Pañcarātras* cited by Madhva in his several works. The author warns his readers that Advaitins must be avoided as teachers (of Brahma-vidyā) and texts are cited on this point (P. 11, Ms. ²).

Chapter II. OTHER EARLY TAULAVA DISCIPLES AND

FOLLOWERS OF MADHVA

3. *Kalyāṇa Devī* (I)

To Kalyāṇa Devī, a sister of Madhva, perhaps the same as the one mentioned in *M. Vij.* II. 35, are ascribed three minor works of no importance. They are (1) a *Kṛṣṇa-stotra* in 8 verses (Printed Kumbakonam), (2) an *Aṇu-Vāyu-Stuti* and (3) a *Laghu-tāratamya Stotra* dealing with the gradation of souls. No further details concerning her later life or descendants are available.

4. *Kalyāṇa Devī* (II)

Tradition speaks of another Kalyāṇa Devī, a sister of Trivikrama Paṇḍitācārya of whom is recorded the curious fact that she never married. Her only work is a *Laghu-Vāyustuti* in six verses. (S. M. ³ pp. 249-50).

5. *Trivikrama Paṇḍitācārya* (c. 1258-1320)

The most outstanding personality among the Taulava disciples of Madhva was Trivikrama Paṇḍita, the father of the Ācārya's biographer Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya. He seems to have been the court-Pandit of Jayasimha, ruler of Kumbhā and converted to the Vaiṣṇavism of Madhva about 1300 A. D. After his conversion, he wrote a learned commentary on the *B. S. B* of

¹ नत्वा च देवान्यतिथिधर्मसम्पन्नवक्ष्ये...पञ्चरात्रोक्तमार्गेण तु संग्रहेण (P. 1. Ms.).

² Śaṅkara is equally intolerant of Dvaitin—teachers of Adhyātma-Vidyā. See his comment on *Kaṭha* Up. i. 2. 8a.

³ *Stotra Mahodadhi*, a collection of Mādhva Stotras, Belgaum 1923,

Madhva. His life and career are fully described in cantos XIII-XV of the *M. Vij.* This account has been supplemented by me in my paper on the *Life and Works of Trivikrama Paṇḍitācārya* (Annamalai University Journal, ii, 2) with the help of information gathered from the descendants of Trivikrama now surviving at Kāvu-goli (near Kāsargod, S. Kānara), and from personal investigation.

Trivikrama was by birth a Tulu¹ (Shivalli) Brahman like Madhva. Svārāma, Kāvu or Kāvu-goli as it is called, lying about two miles north of the modern town of Kāsargod was the village of his birth. His father Subrahmanya Paṇḍita belonged to the Āṅgīrasa-gotra. He had three sons of whom the eldest was Trivikrama. While yet in his teens, Trivikrama gave unmistakable proof of his future greatness by producing a Sanskrit kāvya of exquisite beauty the *Uṣāharāṇa*, in nine cantos, treating of the *affair d cour* between Aniruddha and Uṣā, the beautiful daughter of Bāṇa. Soon he mastered all the Śāstraic learning of his days and emerged as a scholar of extraordinary attainments and a master of his faith—the Advaita of Śaṅkara. But his mind was not at rest with his ancestral creed. It was at this time that news reached him of the growing success of the new system of philosophy that was being preached by Madhva. His younger brother Śaṅkarācārya was already in the employ of Madhva as his Librarian. Through him perhaps he managed to get copies of certain of Madhva's works and read them. He felt attracted by the new interpretations of the new teacher. When Madhva himself came later on to Viṣṇumaṅgala and was camping there, Trivikrama urged by his curiosity and longing, went to listen to his discourses. His heart was stirred to its depths by what he heard. His blood began to boil within him as he sat there watching the citadel of monism being razed to the ground without-fear or favour. He rose and offered himself for a debate. Madhva was only too glad to meet such an illustrious scholar as Trivikrama who had the proverbial "lakh and quarter" granthas of Śaṅkara, at his finger's ends. The debate lasted for full fifteen

¹ The alleged Nambudri parentage of Trivikrama, (K. Rama Pisharoti in *I. H. Q.* Dec. 1929) has been refuted in my paper in the *Journal of the Annamalai Uni.* II, 2.

days at the end of which Trivikrama felt dazed and was completely routed. He owned himself vanquished and begged to be admitted as a disciple of the Ācārya. It was done. The profound sincerity and prodigious scholarship of Trivikrama had not escaped Madhva. The Paṇḍita was commanded to write a commentary on the *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya* of Madhva, which he did under the name of *Tattvapradīpikā*.

The last days of Trivikrama were eventless. He seems to have had three sons the youngest of whom was Nārāyaṇa, the author of the *Madhvavijaya*.¹ We may place him between C. 1258-1320 A. D.

The *Tattvapradīpa* of Trivikrama is a commentary on Madhva's Bhāṣya on the B. S., in 5600 granthas. It is written in a lucid and somewhat excessively ornate style that is characteristic of the author. It is more a running and discursive commentary on the original than a strictly word for word *ṭīkā*. Barring the *Sattarkadīpāvali* of Padmanābha Tīrtha, it is the earliest commentary on the B. S. B. of Madhva, coming from the pen of one who had the unique privilege of measuring swords with the Ācārya and afterwards sitting at his feet to learn the inmost secrets of his system. There is a striking resemblance between the *Tattvapradīpa* on the one hand and the *Samkṣepa Śārīraka* of Sarvajñātman and *Prakāṣārtha* (on Śaṅkara's B. S. B.) on the other—in richness of diction and exuberance of fancy. With all its attractiveness the *Tattvapradīpa* (TD) was early superseded and eclipsed by the *Tattvapraśāsikā* of Jayatīrtha who was a more measured writer. A fragment of the TD covering the first five *adhikaraṇas* of the B. S. B. was published by me² in 1934. Trivikrama displays great dialectic ability and erudition in his commentary. He is deeply read in the works of Madhva and comes out very often in the course of his commentary with high-flown tributes³ to his Master. He quotes from many of the works

¹ त्रिविक्रमगुणनिधेः सुशिष्याः सुताः
सतामभिमतास्त्रयो यस्तृतीयोऽत्र नारायणः ॥ concluding verse in the *Madhvavijaya Bhāvaprakāśikā* of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, Udipi.

² Law Journal Press, Madras, 1934.

³ See ".....जगति सुवरपुस्तकविजनमनः सरसिजसहस्रकिरणेभ्यो भाष्यकारभट्टारकेभ्य इभ्यः....." (IV, 2. 7).

of Madhva including the *AV* as well as from Śaṅkara's bhāṣya on the Sūtras, and from the *Samkṣepasārīraka* (under B. S. i, 2, 12) and mentions by implication the com. of Śaṅkara on *Gītā* (See P. 80. of my edn. of the *Catus-sūtrī bhāṣya* of Madhva). His attacks on the Advaita are tinged with undisguised bitterness as are those of the *Prakāṣārtha* upon Realists; but his criticisms are as a rule sound and difficult to parry. It would be a distinct and valuable addition to the literature on the *Brahma Sūtras*, when his com. comes to be published in full.

The two or three other works attributed to him are all Stotras of small compass. His *Nṛsiṃhastuti* comprising 22 verses in *Mālinī*, has been published in the S. M. His *Viṣṇu-stuti* in 33 Sragdharā verses, was printed at Puṅganūr in 1890. The attribution to him of the *Maṇimañjarī* in the *Catalogus Cat.*, Part III, p. 52, and of the *Nayacandrikā* in the *Catal. of the Mysore O. L.* (C 2066) are unfounded—both of them being the works of Trivikrama's son Nārāyaṇa.

Among the *Stotras* of Trivikrama, the *Vāyu-stuti* (p) ¹ is the most important and widely popular one. It consists of 39 Sragdharā verses and praises the three incarnations of Vāyu namely Hanumān, Bhīma and Madhva.

6. Śaṅkarācārya

He was the younger brother of Trivikrama ² and was under the employ of Madhva as his Librarian, long before the Ācārya's meeting with his elder brother. In *M. Vij.* XV, 136, it is clearly stated that he was actually a disciple of Madhva. That this Śaṅkara was yet free to retain his former ("Smārta") name, is a clear indication of the catholicity of Madhva's temperament. ³ Śaṅkara was by no means a mere book-keeper. He was a scholar of some merit. He has left a very short and awfully puzzling commentary on the *AV*, of which two good Mss. in Devanāgarī,

¹ Printed at Uḍipi with the com. of Viśvapati Tīrtha.

² See Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita's com. on *M. Vij.* XV, 136.

³ In this connection, contrast certain absurd and malicious charges against the followers of Madhva made by Mm. Ananta Krishna Sastri, in his introd. to his edition of the *Nyāyāmrta-Advaitasiddhi* etc. Calcutta, Skt Series, no. 9, and my refutation of these in the Kuppussvami Sastri Commemoration Volume II, Madras (in print).

are to be found in the T. P. L. nos. 7877-8. The commentary called *Sambandha-dīpikā* is a synopsis of the adhikaraṇas of the B. S. in what is as difficult to make out as a code-language. It is quoted by Rāghavendra Svāmin in his *Parimaḷa* and by Raghunātha in his *Śeṣa-candrikā*. The total number of grāthas is 400. Con. p. 6058, of the *T. P. L. Cat.*, (Vol. XIV), our author is dismissed with a curt remark that " nothing more is known about him " save that his name " is said to be Śaṅkara " !

7. Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya

Trivikrama's youngest son, Nārāyaṇa earned lasting fame for himself by his great metrical biography of Madhva. Nothing is however known about his brothers. Like his father, Nārāyaṇa also was a good poet. He has more than established his claims to poesy by his biography of Madhva as well as by other compositions of real worth. He was an ardent Mādhva and the fire of religious zeal seems to have burned within his heart with all the freshness and vigour that may be expected in a recent convert. Part at least of the fiery language which he (like his father) uses, towards the professors of Advaita, must be put down to his passion for his new-found religion.

Works

Nearly twenty works have been ascribed to him of which just half a dozen have been printed. Of the rest some six are yet to be attested by Mss. A few others are known through references in later works.

(1) *Tattva-mañjarī* *

This is not attested by any Ms. so far as I am aware. A quotation purporting to be from the *Tattva-mañjarī* of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya, occurs in the *Bhāṣya-dīpikā* of Jagannātha Tīrtha (p. 39), and judging from the nature of the reference, it seems probable that the work was a commentary on the VTN.

* The following symbols have been used in the pages that follow :—

* To show that the work in question is not known through any Ms., but is supported by some literary reference.

** Means that there is neither a Ms. known nor a reference but only tradition. (p.) = printed, (m) = still in Ms. stage,

(2) *Pramāṇa-lakṣaṇa-tippaṇi*

In the Catalogue of the G. V. L. (p. 96) a commentary on the *Pramāṇapaddhati* (of Jayatīrtha) is ascribed to Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita. This is obviously a mistaken entry for the PL and it is also repeated in the Cat. of the Mysore O. L. (C 2333).

(3) *Naya-candrikā* (p) ¹

This is a running commentary (in 2730 granthas) on the AV. The exposition is clear and spirited and free from digressions and polemical discussions of an elaborate kind such as we have in the *Nyāyasūdhā* of Jayatīrtha. The author quotes from both the *Tattvapradīpa* of his father (p. 5) and the *Samnyāyaratnāvalī* ² of Padmanābha Tīrtha and refers to them with respect and admiration.

संन्यायरत्नावलयः संन्यायामृतबिन्दवः ।

श्रीमत्तत्त्वप्रदीपाश्च सन्तु नः शरणप्रदाः ॥

(Verse 8)

He also quotes from the *BT.* of Madhva (p. 34), is profuse in his admiration and regard for the memory of Madhva and lavish in his references to him (p. 54). He helps in fixing the identity of many of the texts from unspecified sources in the AV (see p. 52 lines 9-10 ; P. 54, 1, 4-5).

(4) *Bhāvadīpa* *

A work of this name is ascribed to Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita in the Catalogue of the G. V. L. No Ms. of it has yet been found and nothing can be said about its probable contents.

(5) *Ādvaita-Kālāṇala* (m)

A polemical tract bearing the aggressive title of " A furnace to Advaitism, " is ascribed to our author in the *Satkathā* (P. 174, new edn. Kannada). ³ Prof. S. Hanumanta Rao (*Madhvamunī Dāsa*, Dec. 1928, p. 157 f. n.) seems to approve of this ascription. But a work bearing the same name is ascribed in the Cat. of the Mysore O. L. (p. 503 c. 1406) to a Nārāyaṇācārya. He must evidently be a later writer not different from the author of the

¹ Dharvar (no year). Publisher G. R. Savanur.

² Dharvar. P. 38, i. 21 ff.

³ As well as on p. 297 of the *Vij. Sez. Com. Vol.*

Madhvamantrārthamañjarī to be mentioned in Appendix III. G. R. Savanur reports the existence of another *Advaitakālānala* by Kumbhārī Ācārya. The Mysore Ms. is said to contain but one chapter (designated ज्वाल). It adversely criticises the Advaita-Vedānta.

(6) *Yamakabhārata-ṭīkā* **

(7) *Kṛṣṇāmṛtamahārṇava-ṭīkā* **

(8) *Saṁgraha-Rāmāyaṇa* (p)

The last is a metrical epitome of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in six cantos each being divided into sargas (chapters). The work was printed at Belgaum.

(9) *Madhva-Vijaya* (p) B.¹

The life and achievements of Madhva are narrated in this Kāvya of 16 cantos. It is the earliest *extant* biography of Madhva though not the earliest ever composed. The author himself often quotes from another and perhaps a shorter metrical biography of the Ācārya, in his commentary on his own *M. Vij.* called *Bhāvaprakāśikā* (Cf. XIII, 1-3 ; XII, 46 ; XII, 2 ; V, 8-12 ; V, 46 ; X, 21-22 ; 50-51 ; 53-55 ; XI, 1). The details of the life and career of Madhva furnished by him have already been brought together in an earlier context and they need not be recapitulated here. The work deserves to be translated into English for the sake of much historical information contained in it. The account is in the main fairly full and accurate and reliable as regards the details. Though the theme is exclusively religious, the author manages to infuse a genuine element of poetry into his work and the *M. Vij.* stands as one of the major kāvyas in the Dvaita Literature. Despite this religious outlook, the author was himself a poet and what is more the son of a gifted poet. Even as a piece of kāvya therefore, the *M. Vij.* stands on a higher level than similar Vijayas in the field—notably the Śaṁkara-Vijayas of Ānandagiri and Mādhavācārya. In view of the fact that Madhva and his biographer are not separated by *too great* an interval of time, our author has been able to achieve a far greater measure of historical accuracy and wealth of (historical) details

¹ (p) B means = Printed at Belgaum (Rāmatattvaprasa Press). (p) D similarly will denote that the work was published from Dharvar (by G. R. Savanur).

than was possible for the authors of Śaṅkara's biographies, two of whom, Ānandagiri and Mādhava, were removed from their subject by more than five to six centuries.

(10) *Anu-Madhvavijaya* (p)

The *Anu-Madhvavijaya* or *Prameyanavamālikā*¹ is a short metrical outline of the author's *M. Vij.* in 32 stanzas. Towards the close of this work, reference is made to both the *M. Vij.* and the *Bhāvadīpa* (evidently the same as the *Bhāvaprakāśikā* commentary on the *M. Vij.*):

सुमध्वविजयाभिधं व्यधित, भावदीपाह्वयं
प्रमेयनवमालिकां पुनरिमां च दक्षां च ताम् ।
सतां श्रवणभूषणं व्यतनुतैष नारायणः ॥

(Madras O. L., D. C. XXI, No. 12144).

(11) *Madhvavijaya-Bhāvaprakāśikā* (p)²

The object of this short commentary on the *M. Vij.* is to elucidate the obscure passages in the original and offer historical notes and comments where necessary on the names of places and persons belonging to S. Kanara, which appear in their Sanskritised forms in the original *M. Vij.* This commentary is thus of immense value for a proper historical appreciation of those incidents in the life of Madhva whose scenes have been laid exclusively within the Tulu country. With this commentary before us we can easily reconstruct an almost accurate account of the movements of Madhva within the province of his birth.

As already observed, there are many references in the *Bhāvaprakāśikā*, to another biographical account of Madhva. That it is not identical with the *Anu-Madhvavijaya* is obvious. We are not in a position to say anything more than this interesting work at present. Such information as is furnished by it, adds vastly to our knowledge of the incidents in the life of Madhva.

The commentator assures us towards the close, that every attempt has been made by him to report the details as accurately

¹ Not "*Aprameya-mālikā*" as mentioned by Aufrecht, *Cat. Catal.*, p. 291. The work is also preserved at the India Office Library, with a commentary (Keith, *I. O. C.*, II, no. 6062). It has been printed at Uḍipi.

² Śrī Kṛṣṇa Press, Uḍipi, 1925.

as possible. He makes it more or less certain that he was not an eye-witness to many of the events chronicled by him. It follows from this that he had no personal contact with Madhva and had presumably never seen him in his life. At any rate, he had no definite recollection of any such experience, which accords with the fact that he was the youngest son of Trivikrama. The earlier biography quoted by him, his own father and certain other eye-witnesses mentioned by him, (conclusion, verses 6-9) must have been his main sources of information.

(12) *Mani-Mañjari* (p)

This is prologue to the *M. Vij* in 8 short cantos, providing a sort of mytho-poetic background to the rise of the Dvaita-Vedānta of Madhva. The first four cantos are a summary of the story of Avatāras of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. The fifth deals with the persecution of the Buddhists and the stifling of Avedistic beliefs by the campaign of the Mīmāṃsakas. The sixth leads up to the emergence of the Advaita. The seventh details the growing success of Śaṅkara's Māyāvāda, his victory over Maṇḍana and Śureśvara (who are rightly distinguished from each other) and the campaign of religious persecution set on foot by his followers against the forerunners of the Dvaita creed. The eighth continues the story of persecution, giving a graphic account of the atrocities said to have been committed by the persecutors and the steps taken by the disciples of Prājñātīrtha in self-defence. The account is brought up to the birth of Madhva which put an end to the reign of Advaitism and gave the people their much-desired freedom of belief.

(13) *Śubhodaya*-(*Kāvya*)*

This is known at present, only through a quotation in Sumatindra Tīrtha's commentary on the *Uṣāharaṇa* (VIII, 2).

(14) *Pārijātāpaharaṇam* (m)

This is a Kāvya in 3 cantos dealing with the story of the 'theft' of the celestial Pārijāta tree, by Kṛṣṇa, at the request of Satyabhāmā. Aufrecht (III, 62) notes a work of this name ascribed to Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita. There is a much-injured palm-leaf Ms. (Nandīnāgarī) of the work in the Madras O. L. (D. C.

11860).¹ The author revels in *yamakas*. The Madras Ms. contains also a commentary, probably by the author himself.

(15) *Yoga-dīpikā* (m)

This is a work on ritualistic worship (पूजा)² in 670 granthas. The author bows to his father Trivikrama and gives a complete account of the daily duties of a house-holder. The work is divided into nine chapters called पदस. Details about image-worship (देवपूजा) are found in the III chapter. The meaning and significance of Vedic mantras to be used in the daily worship of the Mādhvas are also explained in the work which is sometimes referred to in commentaries on the *Tantrasāra* of Madhva.

MINOR WORKS

(16) *Śiva-Stuti* (p)

This is a stotra on Śiva in 13 verses. It has been printed twice from Belgaum (S. M. p. 283-6) with and without a commentary³ It is a significant reminder of the fact that Mādhvas are not certainly opposed to the worship of Śiva. The other stotras of the author include (17) an *Anu-Vāyustuti*; (18) a *Laghutāratamya-Stotra* and (19) a *Nṛsiṃha-stuti* in 39 verses (S. M. pp. 125-26). His (20) *Tithitrayanirṇaya* is a tract for the proper ascertainment of the three tithis: daśamī, ekādaśī and dvādaśī. The *Mādhva-mantrārthamañjarī* is not as is stated in the *Satkathā* (1896, p. 75), a work of our author as will be clear in Appendix III. Yet another work ascribed to him is (21) an *Aṃśāṃśi-nirṇaya* ** of which nothing more is known.

8. " *Trivikramārya-Dāsa* "

A son and disciple of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍitācārya,⁴ who describes himself merely as वैविक्रमायदास—a devotee or slave of the son of

¹ Glassenapp (*Madhva's Philosophie Des Viṣṇu-Glaubens*), refers (P. 55) to an edition of the work, dated 1890 (Punganur). It is not now available.

² A Devanāgarī Ms. in good condition is preserved in the Tanjore Palace Library (XIV, no. 8126). It is airily remarked by the Editor that the work is "an explanation of the word 'Yoga' in Vedānta-Sāstra" (p. 6223) which is an absurd guess.

³ Of Viśvapatī Tirtha. (Uḍipi).

⁴ अशेषवेदान्तकृतान्तसारव्याख्याविहारान्तरिमक्तिसिन्धुः ।

त्रिविक्रमायदासपरमान्धुरमुने नारायणायार्थं गुरुजनतोऽस्मि ॥

(Verse 3, of *Ānandamālā*)

Trivikrama, wrote a commentary on the *Anubhāṣya* entitled *Anandamālā*, of which a Devanāgarī Ms. is preserved in the Mysore O. L. (C 2088). A passage from it is quoted by Jagannātha Tīrtha in his *Bhāṣyadīpikā* (p. 1097), dismissing the explanation given by Vādirāja Tīrtha of the passage: “सच्चिदानन्द आत्मेति” with the remark that the latter’s explanation is opposed to that of the *Anandamālā*. The S. K. (p. 20), has wrongly attributed the work to Padmanābha Tīrtha.¹ Internal evidence however leaves no room for doubt that the author was a son and disciple of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita. He has not however chosen to reveal his real name.²

This commentary is full and informing (e. g. see p. 26 Ms. ब्रह्मणेत्यादेरयमर्थः). The author’s ornate style bears a family resemblance to that of his own father and grandfather. In him also we meet with the same gushing rhapsodies of admiration for Madhva, as in Trivikrama and Nārāyaṇa. The following would be a typical example :—

नहि बहुविशेषज्ञज्ञडामणिं सर्वज्ञभास्करमन्तरणैव तादृशभाष्यानुभाष्याविरचने चतुरचेताश्चतुर्दशभुवनेष्वस्ति ! किं पुनरेकेनैव वाक्येन पदेनाक्षरेण वा तत्तदधिकरणार्थसंग्रहभाषणे कुशलमतितर्ह्यस्तीति । यदभिप्रेताभिमतस्यांशांशमपि लेशत एव वक्तुं संप्रति यतामहे । न चास्माकं तत्प्रतिपादनपाटवमपटुधियाम् । यद्यप्यस्मदाचार्याश्रयान्मध्वसूर्यसंदर्शितार्थास्तत्प्रसादैकबलवमलम्ब्य कथंचित्प्रायशः प्रकाशयितुं शक्नुमः किं तर्हि मनोवागभिमततद्भाष्यभावावर्तनलौल्याद्वायमस्मत्तन्नाहविजृम्भः ।”

(P. 6^b Ms.).

Quotations occur from the B. S. B and AV of Madhva, and reference is made to the *Nayacandrikā*³ of Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita.

Chapter III THE PRACĪNA-TĪKAKARAS

We have spoken of that group of four disciples of Madhva which was itinerant and was entrusted with the task of propagating the Dvaita-Siddhānta outside S. Kanara. Three of them : Padmanābha, Mādhava and Akṣobhya established Mutts of their own which exist to this day. In about 1412 A. D. this

¹ The mistake is repeated also on p. 297 of the *Vij. Sex. Com. Vol.*

² In the colophon to the work he is simply called त्रैविक्रमार्थदास ।

³ तदर्थश्च नयचन्द्रिकायां गुरुमिरेव व्यक्तं विवृतः (P. 26, Ms.).

"main Pīṭha" itself branched off into two, the younger of which was again subjected to a further split about 1435. These three branches which now go by the names of (1) the Vyāsārāya Maṭha, (2) the Rāghavendra Svāmi maṭha and (3) Uttarādi Maṭha, occupy a premier position among Mādhva Mutts in the Deśha.¹ Since most of the makers of the Dvaita Vedānta and its literature, that we are to notice in the following pages, have a place (as Pontiffs) in one or the other of these three Mutts (or their Deśastha-Kins), it would be helpful to know their exact places in the order of succession, of the Mutts concerned. For convenience's sake certain dates (sometimes of inscriptions and sometimes of the demise of the Pontiffs) have been given. The latter are based upon the geneo-chronological tables preserved in the Mutts. Complete dates are available only for the Rāghavendra Svāmi, Uttarādi and Kundāpūr Mutts; but none for the Uḍipi Mutts, (including the Bhaṇḍārkere and other Mutts) and those of Padmanābha, Mādhava and Akṣobhya. For the Vyāsārāya Mutt dates are calculable only partially. The dates of the Mutt lists have been accepted with considerable modifications:—

¹ (Opp. Koṅkan). These may therefore be appropriately designated the Deśastha-Maṭhas or Mutts situated in the Deśha. The term "Deśastha" is often mischievously and loosely used in some parts of the Madras Presy., as synonymous with a Mahratta Brahmin. It may therefore be pointed out in this connection that the term Deśastha, originally imported from Bombay Presy. has absolutely no linguistic implication whatever but only a geographical connotation. A "Deśastha" need not necessarily speak Mahratti. See also *Bombay Gazetteer*, Dharwar, Vol. XXII, 1884, pp. 56-88.

TABLE I

Śrī Madhvācārya (d. 1317)

Padmanābha Tīrtha (d. 1324)	Madhva Tīrtha (d. 1350)	Akṣobhya Tīrtha (d. 1365)
1 Lakṣmīdhara Tīrtha	Madhubari Tīrtha	Trailokyabhūṣaṇa Tīrtha
2 Saṁkarṣaṇa "	Nārāyaṇa "	Lokavandita "
3 Paraśurāma "	Paramjyoti "	Sulabha "
4 Ādirāja "	Maunivārya "	Raghupuṅgava "
5 Satyavratā "	Jagannātha "	Raghunātha "
6 Svārṇa-varṇa "	Jñānivārya "	Raghuvarya "
7 Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa "	Raghupati "	Raghunandana "
(Śrīpādarāya)	Hayagrīva "	Vidyānidhi "
8 Hayagrīva "	Raghupuṅgava "	Raghupati "
9 Śrīpati "	Raghuvarya "	Nārāyaṇa ¹ "
10 Śrīdhara "	Raghunandana "	Mukunda "
11 Gopālasvāmī "	Raghupati "	Raghupati "
12 Rāmacandra "	Rāma-Mādhava "	Rāmacandra "
13 Raghunātha "	Keśava-Mādhava "	Raghūttama "
14 Lakṣmīmanohara "	Prājña-Mādhava "	Raghurāja ² "
15 Lakṣmīpati "	Dhīra-Mādhava "	Rāmacandra "
16 Lakṣmīkānta "	Yogi-Mādhava "	Rāma "
17 Lakṣmīnātha "	Vāsudeva-Mādhava "	Raghuvarya "

¹ Donee of a grant in 1527 A. D. by Kṛṣṇa Devārāya (*Śhīmoga* 84).² Donee of grant by Keladi Somāśekhara Nāyaka in 1659 Pingala. (*Śhīmoga* 98).

TABLE I (Continued)

	Srinivāsa-Madhava Tirtha (Majige-halli-Matha)	Raghuvallabha Tirtha
18 Lakṣminidhi	Tirtha	
19 Śrīkāṇṭha	"	"
20 Śrīnidhi	"	"
21 Tejōnidhi	"	"
22 Yōganidhi	"	"
23 Sugūṇanidhi	"	"
24 Vidyānidhi	"	"
25 Jñānanidhi	"	"
26 Guṇasāra	"	"
27 Prājñasāra	"	"
28 Subodhanidhi	"	"
29 Vairāgyanidhi	"	"
30 Sujñānanidhi	"	"
31 Sugūṇanidhi	"	"
32 Sudhīnidhi	"	"
33 Medhānidhi	"	"
34 Dayānidhi	"	"
	(present)	
	(Mulbāgal Matha)	

Srī Madhvācārya (1238-1317)

1 Padmnābha Tirtha (d. 1324)	2 Nārahari (d. 1333)	3 Mādhava Tirtha (d. 1350)	4 Akṣobhya Tirtha (d. 1365)	5 Jayatirtha (1388)	6 Vidyādhiraṇa (1412)*
7 Rajendra Tirtha (1430)*	8 Jayādhvaja T. (1443)*	9 Puruṣottama T. (1460)*	10 Brahmanya T. (1478)*	11 Vyāsārāya (1539)	12 Śrīnivāsa T.
13 Rāma T.	14 Lakṣmīkānta T.	15 Śrīpati T.	7 Kavindra T. (1420)*	8 Vāgīśa T. (1425)*	9 Rāmacandra (1435)*
10 Vibudhendra (1440)*	11 Jitāmītra (1460)*	12 Raghunandana (1490)*	13 Surendra (1539)	10 Vidyānātha (1444)	11 Raghunātha (1502)
12 Raghuvarya (1557)	13 Raghuttama (1596)	14 Vijayindra (1595)			

TABLE II (continued)

16 Rāmacandra (g. 1627)	15 Sudhinda (1623)	14 Vedavyāsa (1619)
17 Lakṣmivallabha		15 Vidyādhīśa (1631)
18 Lakṣminātha (g. 1642, 63)	16 Raghavendra (1671) (गदाचर) ¹	16 Vedanidhi (1636)
		17 Satyavrata (1638)
		18 Satyanidhi (1648)
		19 Satyanātha (1674)
		(सत्यनाथ) ¹
19 Lakṣmīpati (g. 1690)	17 Yogindra (g. 1679)	20 Satyābhinava (1706)
20 Lakṣminārāyaṇa	18 Śūrindra (1692)	21 Satyapūṛṇa (1726)
21 Raghunātha (g. 1709)	19 Sumatindra (1725)	22 Satyavijaya (1737)
(अश्वमेध)	20 Upendra (1728)	23 Satyapriya (1744)
22 Jagannātha	21 Vāindra (1740)*	
	22 Vasudhendra (1761)	24 Satyabodha (1783)
23 Śrīnātha	23 Varadendra (1774)	25 Satyasandha (1794)
24 Vidyānātha (g. 1787)	(श्रीरघु)	26 Satyavara (1797)
25 Vidyāpati	24 Bhuvandendra (1799)	
		27 Satyadhama (1830)
26 Vidyāvallabha (g. 1809)	25 Subodhendra (1835)	28 Satyasamkalpa (1841)
27 Vidyākānta (1827)	26 Sujanendra (1836)	29 Satyasamtustha (1842)
28 Vidyānidhi (g. 1845)	27 Sujānendra (1861)	
29 Vidyā(śrī)sindhu (g. 1863)		

¹ Bracketed names in Devanagari are of those who did not succeed to the Pīṭha.

* Denotes the revised dates.

g Denotes the year of grants.

TABLE II (continued)

30 Vidyādhara (g. 1884)	28 Sudharmendra (1872)	30 Satyaparāyana (1863)
31 Vidyānīvāsa	29 Sugunendra (1884)	31 Satyakāma (1870)
32 Vidyāsamudra	30 Suprajñendra (1903)	32 Satyeṣa (1872)
33 Vidyāratnākara	31 Suktiñdra (1912)	33 Satyaparākrama (1880)
34 Vidyāvāridhi	32 Suslendra	34 Satyavīra (1884)
(present)	33 Suvratīndra (1933)	35 Satyadhira (1907)
[Vyāsārāja Mutt]	34 Suyamīndra	36 Satyajñāna (1913)
	(present)	37 Satyadhyāna
	[Rāghavendra Svāmi Mutt]	(present)
		[Uttarādī Mutt]

TABLE III
The Uḍipi Mutts

(1) <i>Palimūr Mutt</i>			
1	Hrṣikeśa	Tirtha	
2	Samātmeś(var)a	"	
3	Sambhava	"	
4	Aparājita	"	
5	Vidyāmūrti ¹	"	
6	Śrīnidhi	"	
7	Vidyēśa	"	
8	Śrīvallabha	"	
9	Jagadbhūṣaṇa	"	
10	Rāmacandra	"	
11	Vidyānidhi	"	
12	Sureśa	"	
13	Rāghavendra	"	
14	Raghunandana	"	
15	Vidyāpati	"	
16	Raghupati	"	
17	Raghunātha	"	
18	Raghūttama	"	
19	Rāmabhadra	"	
20	Raghuvarya	"	
21	Raghupuṅgava	"	
22	Raghuvāra	"	
23	Raghupravīra	"	
24	Raghubhūṣaṇa	"	
25	Raghuratna	"	
26	Raghupriya	"	
27	Raghumānya	"	
	(present)		
(2) <i>Adhamar Mutt</i>			
1	Narasimha	Tirtha	
2	Kamalekṣaṇa	"	
3	Rāmacandra	"	
4	Vidyādhīśa	Tirtha	
5	Viśvapati	"	
6	Viśveśa	"	
7	Vedanidhi	"	
8	Vedarāja	"	
9	Vidyāmūrti	"	
10	Vaikunṭharāja	"	
11	Viśvarāja	"	
12	Vedagarbha	"	
13	Hiranyagarbha	"	
14	Viśvādhīśa	"	
15	Viśvavallabha	"	
16	Viśvendra	"	
17	Vidyāpati	"	
18	Vibudhapati	"	
19	Vedavallabha	"	
20	Vedavandya	"	
21	Vidyēśa	"	
22	Vibudhavallabha	"	
23	Vibudhavandya	"	
24	Vibudhavarya	"	
25	Vibudhendra	"	
26	Vibudhādhirāja	"	
27	Vibudhapriya	"	
28	Vibudhamānya	"	
	(present)		
(3) <i>Kṛṣṇāpūr Mutt</i>			
1	Janārdana	Tirtha	
2	Śrīvatsāṅka	"	
3	Vāgīśa	"	
4	Lokeśa	"	
5	Lokanātha	"	
6	Lokapriya	"	
7	Vidyā(dhī)rāja ²	"	

¹ His disciple Rājarājeśvara (author of *Maṅgalāṣṭakam*) did not succeed to the pīṭha.

² Donee of a grant in 1409 A. D. by Devarāja Mahārāja (*Madras Insç.* Vol. II, p. 871).

8 Viśvādhiraṇja	Tīrtha
9 Viśvādhīśa	“
10 Viśveśa	“
11 Viśvavandya	“
12 Viśvarāja	“
13 Dharanīdhara	“
14 Dharādharma	“
15 Prajñānamūrti	“
16 Tapomūrti	“
17 Sureśvara	“
18 Jagannātha	“
19 Sureśa	“
20 Viśvapūṅgava	“
21 Viśvavallabha	“
22 Viśvabhūṣaṇa	“
23 Yādavendra	“
24 Prajñānamūrti	“
25 Vidyādhiraṇja	“
26 Vidyāmūrti	“
27 Vidyāvallabha	“
28 Vidyendra	“
29 Vidyānidhi	“
30 Vidyāsamudra	“
31 Vaidyāpati	“
32 Vidyādhīśa	“
32 Vidyāpūrṇa	“
34 Vidyāratna	“

(present)

(4) *Puttige Mutt*

1 Upendra	Tīrtha
2 Kavindra	“
3 Hamsendra	“
4 Yādavendra	“
5 Dharanīdhara	“
6 Dāmodara	“
7 Raghunātha	“
8 Śrīvatsāṅka	“
9 Gopinātha	“
10 Raṅganātha	“

11 Lokanātha	Tīrtha
12 Ramānātha	“
13 Śrīvallabha	“
14 Śrīnivāsa	“
15 Śrīnidhi	“
16 Guṇanidhi	“
17 Ānandanidhi	“
18 Taponidhi	“
19 Yādavendra	“
20 Kavindra	“
21 Rāghavendra	“
22 Vibudhendra	“
23 Surendra	“
24 Bhuvanendra	“
25 Yogindra	“
26 Sumatindra	“
27 Sudhindra	“
28 Sujanendra	“

(5) *Śrūr Mutt*

1 Vāmana	Tīrtha
2 Vāsudeva	“
3 Puṇyaśloka	“
4 Vedaramya	“
5 Vedavyāsa	“
6 Vedavedya	“
7 Maheśa	“
8 Kṛṣṇa	“
9 Rāghava	“
10 Sureśa	“
11 Vedabhūṣaṇa	“
12 Śrīnivāsa	“
13 Vedanidhi	“
14 Śrīdhara	“
15 Yādavottama	“
16 Rāghavottama	“
17 Lakṣminārāyaṇa	“
18 Viśvabhūṣaṇa	“
19 Trailokyapāvana	“
20 Lakṣmīkānta	“

1	Lakṣminārāyaṇa	Tīrtha
2	Lakṣmīpati	"
3	Lakṣmīdhara	"
4	Lakṣmīramāṇa	"
5	Lakṣmīmanohara	"
6	Lakṣmīpriya	"
7	Lakṣmīvallabha	"
8	Lakṣmīsamudra	"
9	Lakṣmīndra	"

(6) Sode Mutt

1	Viṣṇu	Tīrtha
2	Vedavyāsa	"
3	Vedavedya	"
4	Vedagarbha	"
5	Vareśa	"
6	Vāmana	"
7	Vāsudeva	"
8	Vedavyāsa	"
9	Varāha	"
0	Vedātma	"
1	Viśvavandya	"
2	Ratnagarbha	"
3	Vedāṅga	"
4	Vidyāpti	"
5	Viśvavandya	"
6	Viśva	"
7	Viṭṭhala	"
8	Varadarāja	"
9	Vāgīśa	"
0	Vādirāja *	"
1	Vedavedya	"
2	Vidyānidhi	"
3	Vedanidhi	"
4	Varadarāja	"
5	Viśvādhīrājendra	"
6	Vādivandya	"
7	Viśvaveda	"
8	Vibudhavarya	"
9	Viśvanidhi	"

30	Viśvādhīśa	Tīrtha
31	Viśveśa	"
32	Viśvapriya	"
33	Viśvādhīśa	"
34	Viśvendra	"

(7) Kāṇūr Mutt

1	Rāma	Tīrtha
2	Raghunātha	"
3	Raghupati	"
4	Raghunandana	"
5	Yadunandana	"
6	Viśvātma	"
7	Viśvanātha	"
8	Vedagarbha	"
9	Vāgīśa	"
10	Varadapati	"
11	Viśvapati*	"
12	Viśvamūrti	"
13	Vedapati	"
14	Vedarāja	"
15	Vidyādhīśa	} g. 1614 A. D. ¹
16	Vibudheśa	
17	Vārijākṣa	Tīrtha
18	Viśvendra	"
19	Vibudhavandya	"
20	Vibudhādhīrāja	"
21	Vidyārāja	"
22	Vibudhapriya	"
23	Vidyāsāgara	"
24	Vāsudeva	"
25	Vidyāpati	"
26	Vāmana	"
27	Vidyānidhi	"
28	Vidyāsamudra	"

(8) Pejāvar Mutt

1	Adhokṣaja	Tīrtha
2	Kamalākṣa	"
3	Paṣkarākṣa	"
4	Amarendra	"

¹ Ins. of Madras Pres. Vol. II, p. 871.

* Author.

5 Vijaya *	Tirtha	20 Viśvanidhi	Tirtha
6 Mahendra	"	21 Viśvādhīśa	"
7 Vijayadhvajā *	"	22 Viśvādhirāja	"
8 Dāmodara	"	23 Viśvabodha	"
9 Vāsudeva	"	24 Viśvavallabha	"
10 Vādindra	"	25 Viśvapriya	"
11 Vedagarbha	"	26 Viśvavarya	"
12 Anucāruprajña	"	27 Viśvarāja	"
13 Viśvaprajña	"	28 Viśvamanohara	"
14 Viśveśvara *	"	29 Viśvajña	"
15 Viśvabhūṣaṇa	"	30 Viśvamānya	"
16 Viśvavandya	"	31 Viśveśa	"
17 Vidyādhirāja	"		
18 Viśvamūrti	} 1		
19 Viśvapati		(present)	

The four itinerant disciples of Madhva shall herein be designated as the 'Prācīna Tīkā-kāras.'

9. Padmanābha Tirtha (1318-24) *

Padmanābha Tirtha was a native of the Telugu country². His former name was Śobhana Bhaṭṭa.³ He was met by Madhva probably at Rājamundry (*M. Vij.* IX. 14-20) on his way back to Uḍipi from the first North Indian tour. Śobhana-bhaṭṭa was a distinguished scholar of his day and master of all the eighteen branches of learning, a good student of the Vedas, Epics and Purāṇas, and a great Logician and probably also the Court-Pandit at the capital (IX. 17^b). He tried conclusions with Madhva and worsted by the superior wisdom of the Master, sought and obtained the favour of admission to the new faith and afterwards became a monk under the name of Padmanābha Tirtha. The event may be placed about 1265 A. D. He soon became one of

* The dates except where otherwise stated, denote the dates of accession to the pīṭha and demise respectively, in the case of Pontiffs.

¹ Nos. 18-19 are referred to in the *Koṅkaṇābhyaṇḍaya* of Sāgarī Rāmācārya, which was composed in 1700 A. D.

² यो गोदाया उपायया (*M. Vij.* XV. 120).

³ Op. cit. IX. 17a. Bhandarkar was wrong in giving it as Ānandabhaṭṭa-raka, in his *Collected Works*. Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa in his C. on the *Tattva-sandarbha* of Jīva Gosvāmin, describes how the great Padmanābha Tirtha, proficient in the fourteen branches of learning was silenced in a second, by Madhva.

the most beloved and trusted disciples of the Ācārya. Unstinted praise is lavished upon him in the *M. Vij.* XV. 120-26. He was probably the seniormost among the disciples which made it possible for him to be constituted the first "successor" of Madhva on the "main Pīṭha." He was Pontiff for seven years (according to the Mutt lists) and passed away at Navabrndāvana near Hampi, in 1324. His mortal remains lie entombed there.

WORKS

Nearly fifteen works have been ascribed to him of which only four have so far been printed. A small fragment of his commentary, on the *B. S. B.* of Madhva, has been published by me.¹ All his unpublished works save three, are preserved in Mss.

ii

Padmanābha Tirtha is one of the leading commentators of the Dvaita system especially of the Pre-Jayatirtha period. He is even more important to the history of Dvaita Literature than Trivikrama; for it must be remembered that he is the earliest known commentator on Madhva's *Daśa-Prakaraṇas*, the *B. S. B.* AV and the *Gītā-Prasthāna*, while Trivikrama contented himself merely with writing a commentary on the *B. S. B.* In the wider sense of the term, Padmanābha is the earliest "Tīkā-kāra" of the system. No wonder that Jayatirtha, who is again the next great commentator on a majority of Madhva's works, eulogises Padmanābha as a pioneer commentator, but for whose services the works of the Ācārya would have presented no end of difficulties to posterity and gives him the title of "Tīkā-kāra" (NS. i. 4. p. 222, Bombay).

स पञ्चनाभतीर्थार्यगोणोऽस्तु दृशे मम ।
न तत्त्वमार्गगमनं विना यदुपजीवनम् ॥

(*Gītā-Tātparyā-Nyāyadīpikā*)

Commentaries on the Ten Prakaraṇas

Commentaries on all the ten Prakaraṇas have been ascribed to Padmanābha. No Mss. however of the commentaries on the TS., TV., and KN., are available. His commentaries on the rest of the Prakaraṇas, are brief and pointed. He is not a discursive

¹ *Catus-Sūtri-Bhāṣya* of Śrī Madhvācārya, with the comm. of Trivikrama Paṇḍita, Padmanābha Tirtha and Jayatirtha, Law Journal Press, Madras, 1934.

writer like Jayatīrtha and is seldom polemically inclined. He writes a lucid and impressive style which has been carried to perfection by Jayatīrtha. Most of his comm. are presupposed by the latter in his own respective works and the indebtedness is handsomely acknowledged. It must be pointed out here that all the Pre-Jayatīrtha commentaries such as those of Trivikrama, Padmanābha and Narahari have been completely eclipsed and superseded by those of Jāyatīrtha. The earlier commentaries are no longer read by anybody and they have ceased to have anything but an antiquarian and historical interest.

A Nāgarī Ms. of (4) the commentary on the TD is preserved in the Mys. O. L. (2974 f. 76-81). That on the VTN (Mys. O. L. 2974 f. 82-102) would appear to go by the name of *Nyāyaratnāvalī*. It is quoted by Jagannātha Tīrtha in his *Bhāṣyaḍīpikā*. Interesting is Padmanābha's explanation of the phrase:—

यथार्थः—यथाज्ञेयम् । अर्थशब्दस्य ज्ञेयवाचित्वाद्यथाज्ञेयं प्रमाणमित्युक्तं भवति ॥

His commentaries on two of *Khaṇḍanātrāyas* i. e. the MK. and the UK have been published by that doyen of Mādhva publishers: T. R. Kṛṣṇācārya of Kumbakonam. (Śrī Vidyā Press, Kumbakonam, 1929). That on the PMK (known as *Nyāyaratnāvalī*) is quoted by Śrīnivāsa¹ in his commentary: *Kiraṇāvalī* on the *GT-Nyāyaḍīpikā* of Jayatīrtha (Bby. 1905, p. 60). Mss. of his commentary on (9) the *Kathālakṣaṇa* and (10) the PL are available both at Mysore (2974) and at Madras (O. L. No. 3928).

SŪTRA PRASTHĀNA

(11) *Sattarka-Dīpāvalī* (m)

This² is the name of the author's commentary on the B. S. B. of Madhva. We have no Ms. of it either at Mysore or at Madras or even at the Tanjore P. L. I have with me a Ms. of this rare commentary upto II. 2 of the B. S. It seems that the work was left unfinished by the author as all Mss. hitherto available, come to a stop with II. 2. (or even earlier). The commentary is referred to by name, in one of the introductory stanzas of his *Abhinava-candrikā* by Satyanātha Yati, and the work itself

¹ He was a pupil of Satyapūrṇa Tīrtha (1707-26) of the Uttarādi Mutt. (See his introd. verses 4-5).

² Not "*Sattarkaratnāvalī*" as we find on p. 298 of the *Vij. Sex. Com.* Vol.

³ [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

is quoted eight times in the *Bhāṣya-dīpikā* from the portions anterior to II. 2. The portion of the work now available, runs to 1700 granthas nearly. The author keeps close to the original. He quotes from the *Dvādaśa-stotra* of Madhva (under B. S. i, 3, 28) and mentions the AV., by name (i, 4, 27). A fragment of the work (sūtras i-4), has been included in my edition of the *Catus-sūtrī-bhāṣya*.

(12) *Sannyāya-ratnāvalī*. (p) D

This is a commentary on the AV and is the biggest of Padmanābha's works (granthas 5304). It is quoted occasionally by Jayatīrtha and very often by Vyāsātīrtha in his *Tātparya-candrikā* where an attempt is made to reconcile some of the peculiar views of Padmanābha and Trivikrama with those of Jayatīrtha. It has however been completely superseded by the *Nyāyasudhā* of Jayatīrtha which is seven times the size of the former. The usual characteristics of Padmanābha's writings are dignity, elegance, clearness, brevity, and avoidance of digressions and controversies. None of the works of Pre-Jayatīrtha commentators have however found subsequent commentators.

(13) *Gitā-bhāṣya-bhāvadīpikā* (m)

This commentary of Padmanābha, is not so well known as his other works. A complete Ms. of the work (Devanāgarī) exists in a private collection at Bangalore.¹ The total number of granthas, is about 1700. The name of the commentator is *not* mentioned anywhere either in the introductory verses, or in the colophon. But the language and style of writing bear a marked resemblance to those of our author. The introductory² and concluding verses make it clear that the author was a direct disciple of Madhva. There are no references to earlier commentaries on the G. B., but there are many references to and criticisms of

¹ Since purchased by the Bangalore Press, Bangalore.

² गुणगणनिलयं प्रणम्य कृष्णं जगद्धृदहनं च वासवीस्तुम् ।

गुरुकुलतलकं संपूर्णबोधं गुरुमपि विवृणोमि गीतिकाभाष्यम् ॥

This bears a strong resemblance to the introductory verse in Jayatīrtha's C. on GB which is again significant; for, the latter very often models his expressions on those of his predecessor: See *Sannyāya-ratnāvalī* II, p. 18 and corresponding portion in the NS. (विदारणात्मा भेदः).

the interpretations of Śaṅkara.¹ There are no digressions in the work.

(14) *Gītā-Tātparyanirṇaya-Prakāśikā* (m)

A Nāgarī Ms. of this work is preserved in the Mysore O. L. (2969, ff. 35-58). Jayatīrtha in his com. on the GT acknowledges his indebtedness to this commentary. (verse 3). The work runs to about 900 granthas. The name of the commentator is clearly given as Padmanābha-Tīrtha-Bhaṭṭāraka, in the colophons. There are, as usual, no digressions. There is a very lucid exposition and criticism of the concept of "Svaprakāśatva" in Advaita. The commentary opens with the words :

श्रियः पतिं हरिं नत्वा गीतातात्पर्यनिर्णयम् ।

ग्रन्थमानन्दतीथार्यकृतं स्पष्टीकरोम्यहम् ॥

It is quoted by Śrīnivāsa, in his *Kiraṇāvali* on Jayatīrtha's commentary on the GT. (Bby. 1905, pp. 175, 207).

10. *NARAHARI TĪRTHA* (1324-33).

Like Padmanābha, Narahari Tīrtha was also presumably a native of the Telugu districts. The *M. Vij.* does not mention him and we have no reliable sources of information regarding his early life and career. A short praise in 13 *Sragdharā* verses, called *Narahariyati-stotra* (S. M. pp. 349-52), professes to give full details of his life. But its account is marred by legendary details and its late date makes it useless for historical purposes. Tradition has been persistent however that Narahari was for some time Regent in the Kalinga Kingdom. The *Narahariyati-stotra* and some other works also² allude to this regency which is supposed to have lasted for twelve years. The fact of the regency is confirmed³ by the evidence of inscriptions from the

¹ मयटो विकारार्थ एव, अर्थान्तरमेव नास्तीति कश्चिद्व्याख्याति । तं प्रत्याह—नहीति (Ch. VII, 13); अव्यक्ताक्षरशब्दाभ्यां निर्गुणं ब्रह्मेत्यप्यव्याख्यानदूषणायाव्यक्तपदं सप्रमाणं व्याचष्टे—उपासन् चेति" (xii, p. 46, Ms.).

² Such as for example the *Rāghavendra-Vijaya* (II, 7) of Nārāyaṇa (17th century), Nirṇayasagar Press, Bombay 1898.

³ Cf. "देवामुत्र तथात्र योऽवति जनान् कालिङ्गभूतसंभवान्" (Śrīkūrmam Ins.) Dr. M. Rama Rao (Journal of the Andhra His. Research Soc., XI, Pts. 3-4, pp. 154-9 and *Pūrṇabodhadarśani*, II, 1,) would thus appear to have been a little too precipitate in dismissing the alleged regency of Narahari Tīrtha, as a Myth. The phrase: "कालिङ्गभूतसंभवान् जनानवति" is highly significant and it would be difficult either to dismiss it lightly or try to explain it away.

Śrīkūrmam and Simhācālam temples. There are altogether nine inscriptions pertaining to Narahari with whose help we can easily test and verify the information supplied by tradition and the later chronicles. These epigraphs are distributed over a period of 30 years between 1264-94 A. D.

The *Narahariyatistotra* makes out that Narahari went over to Kalinga at the instance of his Master Ānandatīrtha, to procure for him the idols of "Mūlarāma and Sītā" which had a history behind them and which happened then to be in the state treasury at Kalinga. A very good opportunity presented itself when the king of Kalinga died. The prince and heir to the throne being too young to rule, the ministers, in time-honoured fashion, sent out the state-elephant to pick up and get them the proper Regent. By some stroke of good fortune the choice of the elephant fell upon Narahari Tīrtha and he was accordingly placed on the throne. He was there for twelve years and when the young Prince came of age, Narahari relinquished his office. The king in gratitude, bade Narahari choose any presents and the monk asked for and obtained the idols of Mūlarāma and Sītā, for which he had come. And these he presented to Madhva.

Such is the semi-Poetic account of the stotra. But we are yet far from knowing the real purpose or exact duration of Narahari's regency. One thing at least is beyond doubt viz., that he was in the zenith of his power in Kalinga in 1281 A. D., the year of his famous Śrīkūrmam inscription, which makes a special reference to his *rule* over the Kalingas and to his teacher Ānandatīrtha. There is good reason to believe that Narahari was by no means a stranger to Kalinga or to court-life. His own father seems to have held high office in the state, probably as Minister.¹ In that case, it would not be difficult to understand the choice of Narahari for the place. The episode of the state-elephant is too absurd and antediluvian to have any place in sober history. The fetching of the Mūlarāma idols, must therefore have been a purely incidental affair in the political life of Narahari.

¹ See the expression: पित्राचारमुपैति सत्पुत्रिति सन्नीतिस्थितो धर्मतः
द्वेषामुत्र तथात्र योजयति जनान्कालिङ्गधूम्रमेषान् ।
in his Śrīkūrmam Ins. *Ep. Ind.* VI. pp. 263-5.

The earliest inscription of Narahari is dated 1264 A. D. and in this he is already designated by the ascetic title of "Śrīpāda." We have to take it then that his conversion at the hands of Madhva, should already have taken place, in or before 1264,¹ probably at Rajamundry along with that of his friend Śobhana-bhaṭṭa (later Padmanābha Tīrtha). Narahari's former name is said to have been Svāmi Sāstrin.² His Śrīkūrmam Ins. (1281)³ refers to his conquest over the Śabarasa and to his prowess as a swordsman. We may assume therefore, that he was about 40 years old at the time. From this again we can safely calculate his date of birth to be c. 1241 A. D. He was thus about 22 years old at the time of his first meeting with Madhva and some three years younger than the latter.

Of a total of nine inscriptions of Narahari in Kalinga, only two⁴ are dated before 1281. The rest are all distributed between 1281-93. The tone and wording of the Ins., of 1281 makes it clear that Narahari was the virtual overlord and master of the country in that year and seeing that there are five more grants between 1282-93, the period of his regency may well be placed between the years 1281-93. In 1324 he "succeeded" Padmanābha Tīrtha⁵ and 'ruled' for nine years. He died in Śrīmukha 1333 A. D. and was laid to rest at Cakra-Tīrtha, near Hampi.

WORKS

No less than fifteen works have been traditionally ascribed to Narahari of which only two seem to be available in Mss.

¹ Needless to add that Dr. Saletore is wrong in placing the first meeting between the two as late as 1270. (*History of Tuluva* i, p. 439).

² C. M. Padmanabhacar, *Life and Teaching of Madhva*. In the *Karṇātaka Kavacarite* (R. Narasimhacar, vol. 2) his name is given as Śubha Śarman. The *Satkāthā* gives it as Sāmā Sastrin.

³ P. P. S. Sastri makes a desperate but futile attempt to adopt 1181 A. D. as the year of the Śrīkūrmam Ins., (*Madhva Chronology :- Kuppusvami Sastri Com. Vol.*, Madras pp. 167-169) with the object of defending the date of the Mutt lists : 1119-99 for Madhva. For a refutation of his plea see my paper in the *Annals B. O. R. I.* vol. XIX, pp. 306-309.

⁴ Which record some very minor gifts.

⁵ S. N. Rajapurohit in the *Prācīna Karṇātaka*, Dharwar, has attempted a fantastic reversion of the order of succession among the four disciples of Madhva, placing Narahari last. For a refutation of this, see my paper, on the Date of Madhva and Some of His Immediate Disciples, *Annamalai Uni. Journal*, Vol. V, no. 1.

(1-10) Commentaries on the Ten Prakaraṇas

The only authority for the ascription of commentaries on all the ten Prakaraṇas to Narahari is the *Sāṅkhyā* (p. 22). Of these only those on the VTN* and KN* are quoted and criticised by Jayatīrtha, in his turn. Of the others, even Mss. have not been found.

A commentary on Madhva's B. S. B. is ascribed to Narahari by Mm. Vāsudeva Śāstri Abhyankar (edn. *Sarvadarśanaśaṅgraha*, Bby p. 576) without however giving the source of his information. ¹ Mm. Śāstri even goes to the extent of giving the name of the commentary as भावप्रकाशिका. ** There is no reference however to this com. in any of the later works of the system.

(11) *Gītā-Bhāṣya-Bhāvaprakāśikā* (m)

This com. of Narahari on the G. B. is quoted with approval in Jayatīrtha's *Prameyadīpikā* (G. B. II, 50) and by Rāghavendra in his *Gītāvivṛti* (II, 16). A Ms. of the commentary is to be found in the library of the Bangalore Press. The name of the commentary is given as *Bhāvaprakāśikā*. The Bangalore Ms. breaks off abruptly with ch. VIII, 4 of the *Gītā* and is full of lacunae. It contains nearly 950 granthas.

The author avoids digressions and writes an unaffected though somewhat verbose style. A glowing tribute to Padmanābha Tīrtha is paid in one of the introductory stanzas. He throws a good deal of light on certain obscure lines in the G. B. and in these cases where sufficient light interpretational or other, has been thrown by his predecessors, Jayatīrtha has naturally cut short his remarks. The interpretations of Śaṅkara and Bhāskara disapproved of in the G. B. are pursued still further by Narahari and criticised. He refers once to Rāmānuja *by name*. The following extracts containing references to the rival commentaries, may be of interest :—

(a) तत्र मायी—“किमाश्रयः कामं जह्या...मुच्यत इति(?) श्लोकमवतार्य, सद्देशेभ्यो बुद्ध्यन्तेभ्योऽभ्यन्तरो यं च देहिर्न कामो मोहयतीत्युक्तं स बुद्धेः परं आत्मेति वर्णयति

(b) तदितरस्तु (i. e. Bhāskara) “ कस्मिन्कामास्तिष्ठन्तीति दर्शयितुं आदेशवतार्य, ‘ बुद्धेः परतस्तु सः ’ इति काम एव परावृत्तते, तस्य प्रकृतत्वादिति ॥ तद्बुद्धयं चानेन निरस्तं भवति ॥

¹ See also *Vij. Sex. Com.* Vol. p. 298.

(c) अन्यस्तु, भगवतोऽप्यात्मन एवानादित्वं वर्णयति, नतु तद्वेदस्य । तद्द्रष्टव्यमिति (IV)

(d) अत्र केचिन्—अकर्तारमिति पदभ्रान्ताः सर्ववेदायुक्तं भगवतः सर्वकर्तृत्वं मिथ्येति वर्णयन्ति (IV)

(e) न च तयोरेकत्वचिन्तनं होमः ! अश्रुतकल्पनाप्रसङ्गात् .

(f) अपाने (जुह्वति प्राणं) इत्यादिना, श्लोकस्य पूरणरेचनकुम्भकपरत्वेन यदप्यारब्धानं तन्निराकुर्वन्त्यथार्थमाचष्टे ।

(g) द्वन्द्वव्याग एवात्र संन्यासः ; न मायुक्तप्रकारेण निष्क्रियः परमात्माहमिति ज्ञानेन शास्त्रीयसर्वकर्मग्रहाणमिति भावेनाह—संन्यासशब्दार्थमिति ॥ (V. p. 53).

(h) Other references occur in Chap. V. P. 57; VI; and VII. p. 70.

(12) *Yamaka-Bhārata-Tikā* (m)

This is preserved at the Mysore O. L. (2985) in a Nagari Ms. (f. 8-11).

In addition to his attainments in the field of Sastric learning, tradition regards Narahari as the pioneer of Vaiṣṇava devotional literature in Kannada.¹ His contribution to this branch of literature will be dealt with in Appendix II.

11 MĀDHAVA TĪRTHA (1333-50)

Mādhava Tīrtha was third in "succession" from Madhva on the "Pīṭha" and is regarded as one of the direct² disciples of the latter. His former name is said to have been Viṣṇu Śāstrin. It is not known to what part of the country he belonged or who he was.³ He is comparatively an obscure figure in the history of his school. No works of his have come down to us. Jayatīrtha has completely ignored him in his works. Mādhava Tīrtha had most probably no literary leanings or ambitions. Yet the *Satkathā* ascribes to him commentaries on the Rg, Yajus and Sāma Vedas ! Of course no Ms. of any of these have been found. Mādhava died in 1350 A. D. (*Vikṛti*) after a 'rule' of 17 years. He founded a Mutt

¹ A fleeting allusion to this may perhaps be detected in one of the passages in the text of the Śrīkūrmam Ins. नरहरितथिास्त्रिययतिवरेण्येन कलिसमयप्रह्लादपरितोष्यनुहारिरूपेण । But it will not be convincing.

² Such at any rate is the general belief.

³ The M. Vij. tells us that Madhva's disciples came from various parts and provinces of the land:—

अनन्तवोषस्यानेके यतीन्द्रा बहुदेशजाः (XV, 127d).

of his own which now exists under the name of Maggigehalli. Maṭha, very near Mulbagal. His mortal remains are at Nava-brndāvana, near Hampi.

12 AKṢOBHYA TĪRTHA (1350-65)

Akṣobhya was the last in "succession" among the four disciples of Madhva. His former name is said to have been Govinda Śāstri. We know nothing about his early life or to what part of the country he belonged. The only work attributed to him in the *Sātkathā* is a *Mādhva-tattva-sāra-Saṁgraha*,¹ of which nothing is known. It was most probably a manual of Dvaita doctrines, to judge from the title.

Though not a distinguished *writer*, Akṣobhya figures as an outstanding personality in the history of the school. He is recognised to have been a contemporary of the great Advaitin scholar and writer Vidyāranya (who took a leading part in the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar, 1336) on the one hand and of the celebrated Viśiṣṭādvaitin polymath of the 14th century: Vedānta Deśika. His chief claim to recognition rests upon the incident of his historic disputation with Vidyāranya over the purport of the Tattvamasi-text—a disputation which is believed to have taken place at Mulbāgal 10 miles off Kolar. It is said to have been referred to Vedānta Deśika for arbitration and that scholar is reputed to have delivered judgment in favour of Akṣobhya in the following couplet oft-quoted in traditional circles:—

असिना तत्त्वमसिना परजीवप्रभेदिना ।²

विचारण्यमहारण्यमक्षोभ्यमुनिरच्छिनत् ॥

This tradition finds corroboration in the *Vedānta Deśika-Vai-bhava-prakāśikā* of Mahācārya (16th century) and in the still earlier (15th cent.) work of Brahmatantra-Svatantra Jeer III, accounted to have been the third spiritual successor of Deśika at

¹ Not "*Mādhva-Tattva-Sāra-Saṁgraha*" as stated on p. 301, of the *Vij. Sex. Com. Vol.*

² A. V. Gopalacarya first made the wild statement, in his introduction to the *Yādavābhyudaya* (Srirangam 1907) that the Advaitins claim that the judgment was in their favour: अक्षोभ्यं क्षोभयामास विचारण्यो महामुनिः । without indicating the source of his information. This opinion has since been blindly adopted by certain writers in the *Vij. Sex. Com. Vol.* See pp. 49 and 301.

the Parakāla Mutt in Mysore. It is also recorded in the *Jaya-tīrtha-vijaya* of Vyāsātīrtha—direct disciple of the former (canto II, 54–68), in the *Jayatīrtha-Vijaya* of Saṅkaraṇācārya and in the *Rāghavendra-Vijaya* (17th cent.) There is some kind of an epigraphic evidence also, from Muḷbāgal, where a commemorative pillar of victory has been discovered,¹ but in a grossly mutilated form.

The last days of Akṣobhya were spent in the neighbourhood of the Bhīmarathī river, presumably near Pandharpur. Tradition says that it was somewhere on the banks of that river that his first meeting with his future disciple: Jayatīrtha, took place. After the latter's initiation, Akṣobhya seems to have moved northwards still, and spent his days at Malkhed (on the Kāgīnī river) or Mānyakheta—the old capital of the Rāstrakūṭas, now in the Nizam's territory. His mortal remains lie entombed there.

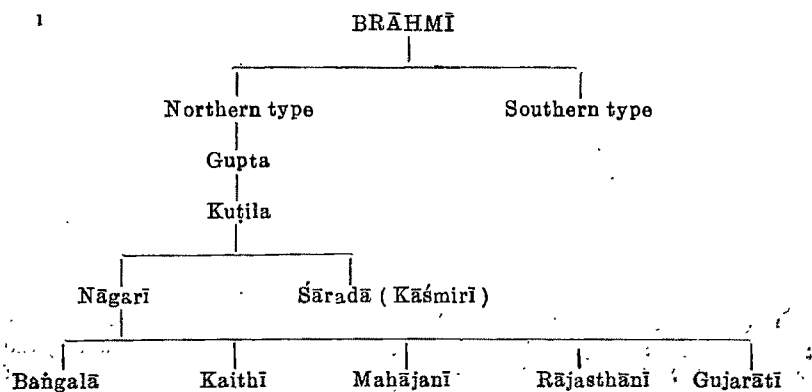
¹ On the entire question of the historicity of the Vidyāranya-Akṣobhya-tīrtha Debate, see my rejoinder to S. N. Rajapurohita in the *Journal of the Annamalai University*, vol. V, no. 1, pp. 103–7. The *Jayatīrthavijaya* of Vyāsātīrtha too speaks of the erection of a stone-pillar to commemorate the victory: स्तम्भं प्रतिष्ठाप्य जयाङ्कमहमतः ॥

THE NĀGARĪ, GUJARĀTĪ AND MODĪ SCRIPTS

BY

H. R. KAPADIA, M. A.

It appears that even when civilization had not dawned, human beings were in a position to express and exchange their ideas and views either by gestures or by words or by means of both; but it must not have been equally easy for them, even if possible, to communicate their thoughts, feelings etc., by resorting to the art of writing. So some period must have elapsed before mankind got equipped with this powerful art by means of which they could depict their thoughts and emotions. Furthermore, it seems that this art was differently cultivated in different parts of the world, and this has in its turn given rise to a number of scripts. Leaving aside other countries, even if we were to concentrate our attention on India, we will find that even to-day there are good many scripts prevalent in this country, all of which are said to be derived from the *Brāhmī* script. In this article, I propose to deal mainly with one of its great-grand-daughters viz. *Nāgarī* and its (*Nāgarī*'s) daughter *Gujarātī* ¹



—Cf. *The Palæography of India* (pp. 42, 130 and 131) also styled as *Bhāratiya Prācīna Lipimālā* by Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha. 7

and to cursorily examine the main features of the *Modī script*, which seems to have practically no independent origin of its own.

Various names of the Nāgarī scripts

The *Nāgarī* script (*lipi*) is known by various names such as *Nandināgarī*, *Devanāgarī*, *Daivanāgarī*, *Bālabodha*, *Bālābodha*, *Bālābodh*¹, *Bālbod*², *Sanskrit lipi*³, *Śāstrī lipi*⁴, *Brāhamaṇī*⁵ and *Mahājani*.⁶ Out of them the name *Nandināgarī* occurs in the *dāna-khaṇḍa* (ch. VII, p. 545) of *Caturthavādacintāmaṇī* composed by Hemādri. The pertinent verse therefrom is as under :—

“ नाभिसंततिविच्छिन्नं न च श्लुक्ष्णैर्न ककशैः ।
नन्दिनागरकैर्धर्णैर्लेखयेच्छिवपुस्तकम् ॥ ”

The name *Nāgarī* is mentioned by Malayagiri Sūri in his commentary⁷ (p. 188^a) on *Nandisutta* (sūtra 39).

Now, a word about *Devanāgarī*. The late Prof. William Dwight Whitney has observed in his work *A Sanskrit Grammar* (p. 1) that “ this name is of doubtful origin and value. A more comprehensive name is *Nāgarī* (perhaps ‘ of the city ’), and *Devanāgarī* is ‘ *Nāgarī* of the gods ’ or ‘ of the Brāhmaṇas ’.”

Moreswar Ramchandra Kale, B. A., in his work *A Higher Sanskrit Grammar* (p. 1, 3rd edn., 1905) explains *Devanāgarī* as under :—

¹⁻² In the translation (p. 60) of the introduction to a Portuguese work by the late Monsignor Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado—the translation named as “ *Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic languages* ” alias “ *Influence of Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic languages* ”, these two words are used in the following passage :—

“ Marathi has two alphabets : Bālabodh (or Bālbod) which is, with slight variations, the same as Devanāgarī or Sanskrit, and is employed in the schools and the press...”

³ See ft. notes 1 and 2 as well as pp. 388 and 389.

⁴ See p. 389.

⁵ See p. 389.

⁶ See p. 389.

⁷ “ तत्र नागरी लिपिमाधिकृत्य किञ्चित् प्रदर्श्यते ”.

I would like to know, if any work or works composed in the 10th century of the *Vikrama* era or earlier than this, mentions the *Nāgarī* script by this very name.

"Sanskrit or the refined language, is the language of Devas or gods; and the alphabet in which it is written is called Devanāgarī or that employed in the cities of gods.

"The correct name for the Sanskrit alphabet is Daivanāgarī sometimes abbreviated into Nāgarī. Perhaps in the word Devanāgarī we have a history of the times when the Aryans entered and settled in Northern India. The Aryans who were much fairer in colour than the aborigines of India are the Devas referred to in the name *Devanagari* (from दिव् to shine, those of a brilliant complexion); and *Nagari* means the Aryan settlements within the precincts of which the sacred language was spoken.

"The Sanskrit language is generally written in different parts of the country in that alphabet which is used for the Vernacular (e. g. Bengālī, Marāthī &c.). That character, however, in which the earlier monuments are written (such as inscriptions containing the edicts of Aśoka) and which is employed throughout Upper India is generally considered to be the real Devanāgarī."

Dr. R. Shamshastri has explained the origin of the word *Devanāgarī* in his learned articles published in *The Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XXXV, pp. 253-267, 270-290 and 311-324).

Leaving aside the *Tāntrika* literature referred to by him, I may say that the word *Devanāgarī* does not appear to have been used in Sanskrit or Prakrit literature, at least of the earlier centuries. So far as the *Jaina* literature is concerned, I do not remember to have noticed this word anywhere therein. On the contrary, the word *Nāgarī*, is mentioned in a verse quoted by Maladhārīn Hemacandra Sūri, in his commentary (p. 256) on *Viśeṣāvassayabhāṣa* (v. 464) while enumerating 18 *lipis*.¹ As already noticed on p. 387, Malayagiri Sūri, too, has referred to *Nāgarī lipi*.

¹ The corresponding verses are as below :—

“ हंसलिपी १ भूयलिपी २ जकली तह रक्खसी ४ य बोधव्वा ।
उड्डी ५ जवणि ६ तुरुक्की ७ कीरी ८ दविडी ९ य सिंधविचा १० ॥
मालविणी ११ नडि १२ नागरी १३ लाडलिपी १४ पारसी १५ य बोधव्वा ।
तह अनिमित्ती १६ य लिपी चाणक्की १७ मूलदेवी १८ य ॥ ”

These verses are quoted with or without variants by Devendra Sūri in his commentary (p. 14) on his own work *Kammavivāga* and by Vinayavijaya Gaṇi in *Lokaprakāśa* (III, v. 779ff).

Under these circumstances, one will not be completely unjustified to believe that the name *Devanāgarī* is not so old as *Nāgarī*, though, now-a-days the former has become more popular than the latter. It may be mentioned *en passant* that the word *Devanāgarī* is at least 50 years old; for, it has been mentioned by L. R. Vaidya in his work “*The Standard Sanskrit English Dictionary*” published in A. D. 1889.

The *Nāgarī* script is generally known as *Bālābodha* in Gujarat and Deccan as well. It is at times styled as *Brāhmaṇī* as can be seen from a Gujarātī Reader. Some go to the length of saying that *Brāhmaṇī* is a corrupt form of *Brāhmī*.

The Sanskrit equivalent for *Bālābodha* or *Bālābodha* which is translated by Mr. Kher in his Marāṭhī grammar (p. 4) as ‘teachable to children’ does not seem to have been mentioned in Sanskrit literature, as a name of one of the scripts. Probably, the same remark holds good for *Brāhmaṇī*. So it is necessary to ascertain the period since these words are being used in the senses noted above.

As already mentioned on p. 387, the late Monsignor Sebāstio has named the *Nāgarī lipi* as Sanskrit. The late K. P. Trivedī, too, has done so, as can be seen from the following passage occurring in his Gujarātī work viz. *Higher Grammar of the Gujarātī language* (p. 341, 1st edn., 1919):—

“ગુજરાતી ને રાજસ્થાની બંને સંસ્કૃત લિપિને મઠતી લિપિમાં લખાય છે. સંસ્કૃત લિપિ તે નાગરી લિપિ છે. રજપુતાનામાં એ લિપિના પ્રકારને મહાજની લિપિ કહે છે. ગુજરાતી લિપિ ઉત્તર હિંદુસ્થાનની કેથી લિપિને ઘણી મઠતી છે. નાગરી લિપિનો ઉપયોગ ગુજરાત કરતાં રજપુતાનામાં વિશેષ છે.”

From this it follows that he designates a type of the *Nāgarī lipi* as *Mahājani lipi*.

As regards *Nāgarī lipi* being styled as *Sanskrit lipi*, I may quote the following lines from *A School History of India* (p. 48):

“The Boghaz Koi inscriptions-epigraphs of the period 1400 B. C. show numerals that closely resemble the Sanskrit ones.”

The late Vrajlal Kalidas Shastri styles the *Nāgarī lipi* as *śāstrī lipi* as can be inferred from the following observation made by him in his work *Gujarātī bhāṣāno itihāsa* (p. 82, 3rd edn., 1900):—

“ગુજરાતમાં દેવન(ના)ગરી લીપીના અક્ષરોને શાસ્ત્રી અક્ષર કહે છે અને વ્યવહાર-લેખના અક્ષરોને વાળિયાશાહ કહે છે.”

Number of the Akṣaras in the Nāgarī lipi

It is but natural that the number of *akṣaras* (alphabet) in different *lipis* may differ, but it may rather sound strange, if this number is not fixed in case of one and the same *lipi*. When examined superficially, such seems to be, however, the case with the *Nāgarī lipi*.

M. R. Kale in his work *A Higher Sanskrit Grammar* (p. 2) observes :—

“ The Devanāgarī alphabet consists of *fourty-two* letters or *varṇas*, *nine* vowels or *svaras*, and *thirty-three* consonants or *vyañjanas*. ”

Amongst the nine vowels he has included five simple or short (*hrasva*) vowels and four diphthongs. Furthermore, on p. 2, he has stated that short vowels include the long (*dīrgha*) and protracted (*pluta*) vowels. That is to say the number of vowels thus comes to 22 (5 short vowels + 8 long vowels + 9 protracted vowels)¹ It may be noted that though he has mentioned protracted *ḷ*, he has excluded *ḹ*.

He adds on p. 3 : “ Each of these vowels may be again of two kinds अनुनासिक or nasalised, and अननुनासिक or without a nasal sound.

Vowels are also further discriminated into उदात्त or acute, अनुदात्त or grave and स्वरित or circumflex ”.

Thus there are eighteen² different modifications of each of the vowels अ, इ, उ and ऋ, and twelve of ए, ऐ, ओ and औ; for, there is no long *ḷ* and the last four have not their corresponding short vowels.

The late K. P. Trivedi in his *Sanskrit Śikṣikā* (p. 1) has noted that so far as the classical Sanskrit is concerned there are 46 *akṣaras* (13 vowels plus 33 consonants). Besides he has said

¹ They are :—

(a) 5 short vowels : अ, इ, उ, ऋ, and ए.

(b) 8 long vowels : आ, ई, ऊ, ऋ, ए, ऐ, ओ and औ.

(c) 9 protracted vowels : आः, ईः, ऊः, ऋः, एः, ऐः, ओः and औः.

² In Malayagiri Sūri's commentary (p. 21) on *Bṛhatkalpasūtraniryukti* (v. 60), the following quotation occurs :—

“ ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतत्वाच्च त्रैस्वर्योपनयेन च ।

अनुनासिकभेदाच्च संख्यातोऽष्टादशात्मकः ॥ ”

in this very work (p. 1) that in the *Vaidika* language, we have (ॠ) in addition to these 46 *akṣaras*.

The late Dr. Ketker has observed in his *Maharāṣṭrīya Jñāna-kośa* (Prastāvana khaṇḍa, p. 39) that there are 50 *akṣaras* : 16 vowels and 34 consonants. Thus, over and above the 47 *akṣaras* mentioned by K. P. Trivedi, he has noted 3 more, all of which are vowels.

In a pamphlet named as "Devanāgarī Linotype" (देवनागरी लाईनो टाइप) and issued by Mergenthaler Linotype Company Brooklyn--New York in 1933 there is a following remark on the very first page :—"Although Devanagari contains only forty-nine letters, it employs, through combination of consonants with vowels or other consonants nearly 700 different printing characters and a complicated system of type-setting in which in many places, two or three pieces of type are placed one above the other in composing a single line."

From this it can be seen that the author of this pamphlet believes that there are 49 letters in the *Nāgarī* script.

M. H. Choksi has said in his Gujarati Grammar styled as *Navina Vyākaraṇa* (pt. III, p. 11, 2nd edn., 1935) that in Sanskrit there are 52 *akṣaras*. He has divided these into two groups. Out of them, the first contains the following 16 letters :—

अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ, ए, ऐ, ओ, औ, अं, अः, क, ख, ल and लृ.

The second group contains 36 *akṣaras* i. e. to say it includes all the 34 consonants above referred to plus *kṣ* and *jñ*.

Ratnaśekhara Sūri (c. *Vikrama* 1428) mentions 52 *akṣaras* as can be seen from his commentary (v. 4)¹ on his own work *Laghukṣetrasamāsa*.

Kalikālasarvajña Hemacandra Sūri, the well-known polygrapher and lalitudinarian has referred to 49 *akṣaras* (16 vowels)²

¹ The pertinent portion is as under :—

“ धत्ते या सितमेकं वर्णं दर्शयति तान् द्विपञ्चमितान् ।
दत्ते च कोटिसंख्यानुदाररूपा जयति सा गीः ॥ ५ ॥ ”

² This is supported by the verse as under :—

“ विचिन्तयेत् तथा नाभौ कमलं षोडशच्छदम् ।
कर्णिकायां महामन्त्रं प्रतिपन्नं स्वरावालम् ॥ १३ ॥ ”

and 33 consonants) in his *Yogaśāstra* (VII, 13 and VIII, 12-4). From this it follows that the number of *akṣaras* is variously mentioned e. g. as 42 (9 + 33), 46, 47, 49, 50, 52, 55 (22 + 33) and 132 (18 × 4 + 12 × 5). This difference seems to be due to the different meanings assigned to the word *akṣara*.

Number of Symbols in the Nāgarī lipi

Pandit G. H. Ojha in his splendid work *Bhāratiya Prācīna lipīmālā* alias *The Palæography of India* has observed on p. 44 that in the *Vaidika* literature there were 64 *varṇas* or *sanketas* for *dhvanis* pertaining to the *Brāhmī lipi* of the *Vaidika* period, in case the long *ṛ* and the protracted *ṛ* were excluded. These *varṇas* are as under :—

“स्वर	ह्रस्व	अ	इ	उ	ऋ	लृ
	दीर्घ	आ	ई	ऊ	ऋ	[लृ?]
	प्लुत	आरे	ईरे	ऊरे	ऋरे	[लृरे?]
	संध्यक्षर	ए	ए	ओ	औ	
	इनके प्लुत	एरे	ऐरे	ओरे	औरे	
	अयोगवाह	अनुस्वार			ॐ	(ग्वम् या गुं)
		विसर्ग	:			
		जिह्वामूलीय	×	क	×	ख
		उपध्मानीय	×	प	×	फ
	व्यञ्जन	स्पर्श	क	ख	ग	घ
			च	छ	ज	झ
			ट	ठ	ड	ढ
					ळ	लृह
			त	थ	द	ध
			प	फ	ब	भ
	अन्तस्थ	य	र	ल	व	
	ऊ मन्	श	ष	स	ह	
	यम	कुं	खुं	गुं	घुं	”

They are as below :—

“तत्र षोडशपञ्चादये नाभिकन्दर्गतेऽम्बुजे ।
स्वरमालां यथापत्रं भ्रमन्तीं परिचिन्तयेत् ॥ २ ॥
चतुर्विंशतिपत्रं च हृदि पद्मं सकार्णिकम् ।
वर्णान् यथाक्रमं तत्र चिन्तयेत् पञ्चाविंशतिम् ॥ ३ ॥
वक्त्राब्जेऽष्टदले वर्णाष्टकमन्यत् ततः स्मरेत् ।
संस्मरन् मातृकामेवं स्याच्छ्रुतज्ञानपारगः ॥ ४ ॥”

If we were to add to these *saṅketas*, those for long *ī*, protracted *ī*, and the 16 additional *yamas*, their number would come to 83. In the *Yajurveda* there is no scope for *la* (ल) and *lha* (ल्ह). Furthermore, in the *Prātiśākhya* of the *Śukla Yajurveda* there are mentioned three varieties of *ṛ* viz. *hrsva*, *dīrgha* and *guru*, and for each of them there is a special symbol. So, taking these factors into account, one may say that so far as the *Śukla Yajurveda* is concerned, the number of symbols is also 83.

From this it will be clear that the *Nāgarī lipi* consists of all the necessary characters which can represent almost all the articulate sounds worth noting. In the words of M. R. Kale "these express nearly every gradation of sound and every letter stands for a particular and invariable sound" ¹—p. 2.

To put it quite explicitly, in the *Nāgarī lipi* there are distinct characters for all the vowels and consonants as well as for various combinations that may arise from them—*bārākhadī*², ligatures³ and even the *bārākhadī* of ligatures included. It is however true that some of the combinations of consonants with one another exist only in theory; for, we are not obliged to write them, since words having such combinations are not to be met with in Sanskrit and Vernacular languages.

Varieties of the Nāgarī lipi

At the very outset I may quote what the late Prof. Whitney has said and rightly said in his grammar (pp. 1-2) about the varieties of the *Nāgarī* (*Devanāgarī*) *lipi*:

"Of the *Devanāgarī* there are minor varieties, depending on differences of localities or of period as also of individual hand. See examples in Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit Mss., in Rajendralāla Mitra's Notices of Mss. in Indian libraries, in the published facsimiles of inscriptions, and so on and these are in some measure reflected in the type prepared for printing⁴ both in India and Europe."

¹ M. R. Kale accordingly observes on p. 2 as under :—

"This explains why there are no names, as in Greek, for the different letters of the alphabet."

² See p. 407.

³ These are known as *samyuktākṣaras* in Sanskrit and *joḍākṣaras* in Gujarātī.

⁴ See Whitney's Grammar (pp. 2-3) where the printed types for अ, आ, इ, ई, ओ, औ, उ, ए, ऋ, ॠ, य, व and ह differ more or less from the ones current in the Bombay Presidency.

11 [*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

It is not possible to discuss the specialities of each and every one of these varieties. So I would divide *Nāgarī* characters into two broad classes viz. the *Jaina* and the *non-Jaina*.¹ By the former I mean those to be mostly met with in only ² *Jaina* Mss.³ and by the latter those which are generally found in *non-Jaina* Mss. and are mostly used by several Sanskritists. Furthermore, these *non-Jaina Nāgarī* characters are practically adopted by the Gujarātīs and the Deccanīs;⁴ but, the persons in the north use some slightly different characters as can be seen from the *Hindī* Devanāgarī script.⁵ The Bengalis seem to emply this. *Hindī* script with only some slight variations especially regarding the shape of the hook occurring in the sign for *ikāra* and *īkāra*,⁶ when combined with a consonant. The Mahārāṣṭrians use the *non-Jaina Nāgarī* script, but they write *a*, *jha*, *ṇa*, *bha* and *kṣa* in a manner which distinguishes these characters from the corresponding *Hindī* ones.

The Gujarātī lipī

It seems it will be better if we take up at this stage the topic about the *Gujarātī lipī* and the *Moḍī lipī* so that it may facilitate comparison of the *Jaina Nāgarī* script with the *non-Jaina* one, and the *Gujarātī lipī* and the *Moḍī lipī* as well. So, on this understanding I shall first of all say a few words about the *Gujarātī* script.

¹ In order that this remark may be easily followed, the reader may refer to my chart I (see pp. 413-416) and which is practically based upon pp. 1-3 of Appendix I of my *Descriptive Catalogue of Jaina Mss.* which forms Vol. XVII, pt. II of *Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collections of Manuscripts deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*.

² This remark is made to indicate that mostly the *Jaina* works now-a-days are not printed in *Jaina* characters. So Prof. Keith may be congratulated; for, in his *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, we find *Jaina* characters used for *Jaina* works.

³ See chart II (pp. 417-418).

⁴ In this connection it may be mentioned that the script used in Deccan for writing Sanskrit works, is styled as *Nandināgarī* by Pandit G. H. Ojha in his work *The Palaeography of India* (p. 68). There he further remarks that this is the very *lipī* found in the *dānapatras* of the rulers of Vijayanagara.

⁵ For some of the variants see chart I referred to in ft.-note 1 on this page.

⁶ For instance see *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, No. 2, P. 200, where the word *vṛṇā* is printed in a different way.

Just as there are various names for the Nāgarī script, so we have for the Gujarātī script, too. They are: (1) *Gurjari*¹, (2) *Gurjari*, (3) *Gūrjari*², (4) *Gujarātī*, (5) *Gūjarātī* and (6) *Deśī lipi*³.

As already mentioned on p. 386, the *Gujarātī* script is derived from the Nāgarī script. Consequently one may expect the same number of alphabets in both these scripts, but such is not however the case especially when the Gujarātī script is utilized for writing the *Gujarātī* language only, the language which has no words containing $\bar{r}$, $\bar{l}$ or $\bar{\bar{l}}$. Thus the *Gujarātī* script in this case has 11 vowels and 34 consonants. If, however, we think of Sanskrit words to be written in the *Gujarātī* script, the number of its alphabet will be the same as that of the Nāgarī script; for, we can have the corresponding symbols for $\bar{r}$, $\bar{l}$ and $\bar{\bar{l}}$, if necessary.

Reserving at present further remarks in connection with the *Gujarātī* script, I may now say a few words about *Moḍī*.

The Moḍī Script

Some believe that Pandit Hemādri brought this *lipi* from Laṅkā and introduced it in Mahārāṣṭra. Ojha challenges this view in *The Palaeography of India* (pp. 131-132). There he says

¹ This is the name mentioned in *Vimalaprabandha* (p. 157) where 18 *lipis* are noted as under:—

“लाडी चौडी नि सोरठी, हाडी महयोधी मरहठी ।
कर्णाटी काहनडी डाहली, लिपि मागधी ससी सिंगली ॥ ६० ॥
खुरासाहाणी गुर्जरि कूंकणी, हम्मीरी परतारी भणी ।
मालवनी लिपि लह विचार, बोलि लिपि एतलह अदार ॥ ६१ ॥”

² This name is mentioned by Lakṣmīvallabha Upādhyāya (pupil of Lakṣmī-kīrti) in his *Kalpādrumakalikā* (p. 203), a commentary on *Pajjosaṇākappa*, popularly known as *Kalpasūtra*. The pertinent passage is as under:—

“लाटी १ चौडी २ डाहली ३ कानडी ४ गुर्जरी ५ सोरठी ६ मरहठी ७ कौंकणी ८
खुरासाणी ९ मागधी १० सिंहली ११ हाडी १२ कीरी १३ हम्मीरी १४ परतारी १५ मसी
१६ मालवी १७ महयोधी १८”

In *Gujarātī bhāṣāno itihāsa* (p. 82, 3rd edn.) we find the name *Gūrjari*.

³ See *The Principles of Gujarātī Grammar in English* published in 1900 A. D. by Manchershā Pallonji Kaikobad. There he has said (p. 4):—

“There are two sets of characters (लिपी) employed in Gujarātī viz. *Gujarātī* or *Deśī* and *Bālabodhī* or *Devanagrī*”.

that this *Moḍī lipi* is not found before the time of Śivāji. It was this celebrated ruler who got the *Nāgarī* script modified by Bālāji Āvaji, as the *Nāgarī* script was not quite suitable for fast writing owing to the horizontal strokes occurring on the heads of each of its letters. In the time of the Peshwas, Bivalkar introduced some further changes in the way of writing the *Moḍī akṣaras*.

The current *Moḍī* characters are such as can be written without lifting up the pen. Therein there is no difference between short and long forms for *i* and *u*. Moreover, there is no *halanta vyañjana*. The forms for *i* and *ja* resemble the corresponding ones in *Gujarātī*. The forms for *kha*, *pa*, *ba* and *ra* seem to have been derived from the corresponding *Telugu-Kānaḍī* letters. Forms for *ṭa* and *ṭha* are same except that there is a dot placed in *ṭha*. Excluding forms for *a*, *u*, *ka*, *jña*, *ya*, *la*, *va*, *sa* and *ha*, the rest agree with those of the *Nāgarī* script. I may now give charts I and II pertaining to the characters of the three scripts viz. *Jaina Nāgarī*, non-*Jaina Nāgarī* and *Gujarātī* so that further remarks about them may be easily grasped. (Vide pages 413-418 at the end of this article.)

The investigation of these two charts, when carried out, is likely to reveal the following facts :—

(1) In the case of vowels, there is a wide difference in the shapes of *a*, *ā*, *ṛ*¹, *ṝ*, *ḷ*, *ḹ*, *o* and *au*, so far as the *Jaina* and the non-*Jaina Nāgarī* scripts are concerned.

(2) In the non-*Jaina* script *o* and *au* seem to have been derived from the shape of *a*, and this may be due to an idea of making them correspond with the forms for *ko* and *kau* derived from *h*, *kho* and *khau* derived from *kh* and so on. If this is so, it is most undesirable, inasmuch as it creates a very wrong impression in the minds of abecedarians.

It seems that non-*Jaina Nāgarī* forms viz. ओ and औ do not represent the original shapes,² and these current ones must have

¹ The *Jaina* form for this *ṛ* is many a time mistaken for *ru* of the non-*Jaina Nāgarī* script.

² I find that Ojha, too, holds the same opinion; for, he has remarked in *The Palæography of India* (p. 45, fn) as under :—

“जैसे वर्तमान नागरी में ‘ओ’ और ‘औ’ के, और गुजराती तथा मोड़ी (मराठी) में ‘ए’, ‘ऐ’, ‘ओ’ और ‘औ’ के मूल संकेत न रहने से ‘अ’ पर ही मात्रा लगाकर काम चलाया जाता है (अ, ऐ, ओ, औ—गुजराती) वैसे ही प्लुत के प्राचीन चिह्नो के लुप्त होने पर दीर्घ के आगे ३ का अंक लगाया जाने लगा है।”

been coined later on, either because the older ones were lost or forgotten or somebody wanted to simplify ¹ the methods of writing these characters.

(3) As regards ૐ, the symbol for *pranava*, in the *Jaina* script, there is nothing special; for, it is derived from writing *anusvāra* in the crescent placed above the *Jaina* *o*. Such is not however, the case with the non-*Jaina* script. For, therein in ૐ, there is apparently no trace of ओ. Pandit Ojha has suggested on p. 136 of *The Palæography of India* that ૐ is a modification of older *au* occurring in plates Nos. XVIII, XIX, XXI and XXXV, but in the plate XXV, we have ૐ as the form for *o*.

(4) So far as 34 consonants are concerned, the *Jaina* characters for *ch, j, jh, th, ḍ, ṇ, bh, l* and *ḷ* may be singled out as differing from the corresponding non-*Jaina* ones.

(5) In the *Jaina* and non-*Jaina* *Nāgarī* scripts, we find that there is a marked difference in the symbols for certain ligatures e. g. क्ख, क्ख, क्ष, ²ग्ग, च्छ, ज्ञ, ज्ञ, ज्ञ, ज्ञ, ण, रथ, द, द, द, द, द. The *Jaina* symbols for some ³ of these ligatures are misleading, and a few have been already misunderstood even by some veteran scholars. For instance, the late Prof. A. Weber was misled by the corresponding *Jaina* ligature for ग्ग. He mistook it for द. See his German Catalogue viz. *Verzeichniss der Sanskrit und Prākṛit handschriften der Königlischen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (vol. II, pt. II, p. 525, l. 13, p. 576, l. 9 etc.). There is another *Jaina* ligature viz. one for ज्ञ which was mistaken for रथ by this same veteran scholar and pioneer of *Jaina* studies in Europe. See his Catalogue of Mss. in Berlin Library (Vol. II, pt. II, p. 577, l. 254) above referred to.

The late Babu Rajendralal Mitra mistook the *Jaina* character for द as द as can be seen from his work *A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Mahārāja of Bikanera* (Calcutta, 1880, No. 1537, p. 702, and No. 1780, p. 719 respectively).

¹ This may be compared with the idea recently started by some of even writing द, द etc. as ओ, ओ, etc.

² See Chart II (pp. 417-418).

³ They are the *Jaina* forms for क्ख, क्ख, ग्ग, द, द, द, द, द. These are symbols likely to be mistaken for the non-*Jaina* symbols viz. क्ख, रक, ग (or रज as the case may be), द, द, and द.

(6) As regards *bārākhaḍīs* of consonants, it may be said that the *Jaina* forms for क, छ, ङ, ढ, ण and ष deserve to be specially noted.

(a) In the first two forms, the *Jaina* क has undergone a change. For ङ & ढ see chart I and for the rest chart II.

(b) The same remark holds good in the case of the 3rd and the 4th forms. The changed shape of *da* to be noticed in these two forms is found also in the *Jaina* forms for *dga*, *dbha*, *dma* and *dra*, and in the non-*Jaina* form for *dma*.

(c) In the case of the 5th form, we have almost a horizontal stroke drawn between the letter *dha* and its *kāno*. This is unique; for, not a single other combination of a consonant with *ā* has such a stroke.

(d) So far as the 6th form is concerned, the sign for *u* is attached as a hook¹ to the letter *dha* to its left. Unfortunately, this shape for *dhu* was mistaken for *pha* by the late Prof. Bühler. This caused the late historian Vincent A. Smith make the following wrong statement in his article "The *Jaina* teachers of Akabar" published in *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* (p. 273):—

"No. CXXIII commemorates one of those pilgrimages, which was taken by Vimalśarṣa and 200 others. The same inscription states that Hīravijaya belonged to the Sāpha race."

Here the word *sūdhū* is misread as *sāpha*.

(7) As already noted in foot-note Nos. 3 & 5 of p. 415, the hooks occurring in the *Jaina* symbols for *i* and *ī* do not have the horizontal stroke drawn across them above.

(8) There are more than one forms for some of the *Jaina* ligatures. For instance, the combination of *j* and *ja* is represented in the *Jaina Nāgarī* script in five ways. Out of these, in the first four, there is a trace of at least *ja*; but in the last there is hardly any trace of *ja*.

Like the combination of *j* and *ja*, one for *j* and *jha* is represented in five ways. Out of these, the first two are almost what one may naturally expect. The last three require to be explained. Out of them, the difference in the first two is due to two

¹ See p. 405.

lalloḥa Upādhyāya. It is not possible to indicate the dissolution of its syllables without consulting its commentary.

The following verse composed by Muni Manarūpavijaya (?) contains all the consonants except *h* in the order we have at present :—

“कुखगोऽघङ् चच्छोऽजा-झोऽजट ! ठोढाणते ।
थ्युदधिनिपफो बाभू-मी यारलोऽव शंषः ॥ ”¹

Municandra Sūri has composed *Praśnāvali* consisting of verses.² The answer pertaining to each of them forms a *khadi* of one of the consonants. As an example, I may mention the very first verse and its answer which are respectively under :—

“मद्रुद्धी परिपृच्छतीदमुदिता ब्रह्माङ्गजा कीदृशी ?
प्रश्नं व्याहरतो भुवावपद्दे रम्येह का केकिनाम् ? ।
कामश्चक्रयुगं च पृच्छति बकं कः प्ताति पक्षी हठाद् ?
बालानां वद मातृकोपरि कथं पापठ्यते संहतिः ॥ १ ॥

Answer :—ककाकि ! की कुरू केकै कोकौ कंकः । ”

*Special forms arising from combinations of the characters
of the Nāgarī Script*

Since all the initial letters or radical signs of the *Nāgarī* script can be mainly classified under two heads viz. (i) vowels and (ii) consonants, one may ordinarily³ expect four⁴ types of combinations of these letters as under :—

- (i) Combinations of vowels and vowels.
- (ii) “ “ “ “ consonants.
- (iii) “ “ “ “ consonants and vowels.
- (iv) “ “ “ “ consonants.

Out of these the first type is generally dealt with in Sanskrit Grammars under the heading of *svarasandhi* (euphony of two vowels), and it will be partly dealt with, here, too, while discussing the third type.

¹ For the explanation of this verse see my Sanskrit *bhūmikā* (pp. 17-18) to *Stūticaturvīṃśatikā*, where its *avacūri* is given.

² In some of these verses, instead of mentioning a letter, its order is mentioned.

³ This word is here used with a view to exclude combinations of vowels with ligatures and those of ligatures with consonants,

⁴ This is true of the *Gujarātī* script, too,

The second type leads to no other combination than a consonant by the side of a vowel to its left, except in only two cases when a peculiar form arises : They are (i) when ṛ or any other nasal is added by way of an *anusvara* and (ii) when ṛ is changed into a *visarga* popularly known as *visarga*. This is, of course, the modern method of writing it. For, in older days *anusvara* used to be written as ṃ and ḥ . The *visarga* means two dots placed one below the other by the side of the vowel concerned, to its left. It is said that this is a modern way of writing it. Formerly it was written as ṃ or ḥ as required. Now a days only these symbols are at times used for *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmanīya* spirants.

This *anusvara* is called "āṭar-tone" by Whitney in his Sanskrit Grammar (p. 23). As regards this *anusvara* the following remark is made by the Grammar (p. 24) above referred to :—

Two different signs, ṃ and ḥ are found in the Mss. indicating the nasal here treated of. Usually, they are written above the syllable, and they seem most naturally to imply a nasal addition of the vowel of the syllable, a nasal (*anusvika* vowel). Hence, some texts (Śāma and Yajur Mss.), when they mean a real *anusvara*, bring one of the signs down into the ordinary consonant-place; but the usage is not general. As between the two signs, some Mss. employ or tend to employ the ḥ where a nasalized vowel is to be recognised, and elsewhere the ṃ and this distinction is consistently observed in many European printed texts; and the former is called the *anusvika* sign : but it is very doubtful whether the two are not originally and properly equivalent.

"It is a very common custom of the Manuscripts to write the *anusvara* sign for any nasal following the vowel of a syllable, either before another consonant or as final (not before a vowel), without any reference to whether it is to be pronounced as nasal mute, nasal semi-vowel or *anusvā*."

2 Whitney in his Sanskrit Grammar (p. 22) says :—

"The ḥ or *visarga* (*visarjaniya*), as it is uniformly called by the Pratiśākhya and by Pāṇini, probably as 'belonging to the end' of a word), appears to be merely a surd breathing, a final *h*-sound (in the European sense of *h*), uttered in the articulating position of the preceding vowel. One Pratiśākhya (T. Pr. ii, 48) gives just this last description of it."

Whitney observes on pp. 22-23 :—

"It may be fairly questioned, perhaps, whether these two sounds are not pure grammatical abstractions devised (like the long ī vowel) in order to round out the alphabet to greater symmetry. At any rate, neither printed texts nor manuscripts (except in the rarest and most sporadic cases) make any account of them. Whatever individual character they may have might (continued on the next page)

The last two types of combinations out of four deserve to be fully treated, since they give rise to peculiar forms, when combined letters are written together. These last two types are probably the unique feature of only the Indian scripts ; for, at least they are not being met with in Latin or Italian alphabet, each of which is respectively used for printing and writing the English language.

In the case of a combination of any vowel with a consonant mostly two stages are noticeable as under :—

(i) The nether stroke of a consonant¹ is removed (and this makes it a ²syllable.)³

(ii) The vowel is not reproduced in its entirety but only a special sign for it gets associated with a consonant.

be, it would seem, in the direction of the (German) *ch* and *f*-sounds. When written at all, they are wont to be transliterated by >C and φ "

Hemacandra Sūri in his *laghuvṛtti* on his own *Siddhahema* (I. 1. 16) uses the words *vajrākṛti* and *gajakumbhākṛti* for *jihvāmūliya* and *upadh-māniya* spirants. Bopadeva who styles *anusvāra* and *visarga* as *bindu* and *dvibindu* respectively has done the same.

For other details see the late Dr. F. Kielhorn's Report for 1880-81, *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1926* (pp. 27-28), and *The Palæography of India* (plates XVII, XXI, XXIII, XXVIII and XXIX).

¹ From Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar (p. 5) we learn that it is called *virāma* (rest-stop) in Sanskrit. Joseph Van Someren Taylor has not only practically said the same thing in his work *A Grammar of the Gujarati language* (4th edn., p. 9) but has styled the nether stroke (the *vyāñjana-cikha*) as *hal*. No Grammar written in Sanskrit that I have come across mentions that the nether stroke above referred to goes by the name of *virāma* or *hal*. Consequently is this a wrong statement due to an improper understanding of the following *sūtra* occurring in *Aṣṭādhyāyīsūtrapāṭha* (I. 4 110) :—

“ विरामोऽवसानम् ”

² It appears that it is on this account that some of the European scholars opine that, the theory of the *Nāgarī*, as of the other Indian modes of writing is syllabic and consonantal. That is to say, it regards as the written units, not the simple sound, but the syllable (*akṣara*) and further, as the substantial part of the syllable, the consonant or the consonants preceding the vowel—this latter being implied, or, if written, being written by a subordinate sign attached to the consonant. See Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar (p. 3).

³ In order to facilitate the pronunciation, every consonant with the letter अ added to it is given in *akṣaramālā* in Gujarātī Infant's Primer (p. 32) and elsewhere. This अ is called *anuṣaṅgin* by Taylor in his Grammar (p. 8).

(a) In the case of *a*, the combination stops at the very first stage. This is what is styled in *Gujarātī* as कने कंइ नहि क (to take the case of the combination of क and अ).

(b) As regards the combination of अ with a consonant, a perpendicular stroke known as *kāno* in *Gujarātī* and *kānā* in *Marāṭhī* is placed to the left of (i. e. after) a consonant. *Kāno* and *kānā* as well, appear to have been derived from the Sanskrit word *karṇa*, and each of them is so called as it is placed by the side of a letter, like an ear.¹ It may be added that it is this *karṇa* that marks the difference between अ and आ; for the latter resembles अ with a *karṇa*.

(c) The combination of इ with a consonant means now-a-days placing a stroke similar to a *karṇa* before the consonant and connecting it with a hook placed above the horizontal stroke—the upper line occurring on the head of the consonant concerned.

(d) The same is the case with the combination of ई with a consonant except that a stroke like *karṇa* is placed after the consonant.

As remarked by Prof. Whitney, formerly there was only a hook² drawn from the middle of the upper limb of the consonant. Taylor, too, has expressed the same view in his *Gujarātī Grammar* (p. 8)³

The hook with or without a perpendicular stroke has been assigned a name both in *Gujarātī* and *Marāṭhī*. For instance, the hook alone is called "*kuṇḍālī*" by Taylor. He refers to ि as पांच कुंडाली and says that this name is incorrect, the correct one being पांच कुंडाली inasmuch as the *kuṇḍālī* is written at the back of the consonant concerned. For, he has suggested that *ajju* or *ajyu* is not the correct name which ought to be अगिणु i. e. आगलु as it is placed in front of the consonant concerned. At present, the general tendency is to designate ि and ि and as ह्रस्व अज्जु and दीर्घ अज्जु. From the *Marāṭhī Grammar* (p. 8) of Mr. Kher, it appears that the usual *Marāṭhī* word for अज्जु is वेलाटी. A

¹ Mr. Taylor holds the same opinion as could be seen from his *Grammar* (p. 8).

² It is only this hook which makes us distinguish इ from ई (इ+इ).

³ In order to point out the difference between short *i* and long *i* the hook was respectively placed to the right of the consonant and to the left of the consonant. With a view to mark out this difference, a perpendicular stroke was brought in use.

Dictionary, Marāṭhī and English (p. 772) by J. T. Molesworth, mentions this name along with a few more as under :—

बेलांटी, बेलांडी, बेलांटी and बेलांडी deriving each of them from बेल and कांटी.

So far as Sanskrit is concerned there seems to be no special name for the symbol for *ikāra* or *ikāra*. Probably the same is the case in Hindi.

(e) The addition of उ to any consonant except र is to attach a hook to the lower end of a consonant¹. There is, however, an exception in the case of those consonants which have as a part of their limb a vertical stroke resembling a *karṇa* to their left. In their case, the sign for उ is attached to the middle of this vertical stroke.² The same is the case with र which when combined with उ is written as रु.³

Thus it will be seen that there are on the whole two methods followed when उ is to be added to a consonant (simple or conjunct). It is difficult to say for certain why two methods have come into existence even when the first method of placing a hook at the foot of the consonant can very well serve the purpose in the case of all the consonants, र, too, included. Perhaps it may be that in the beginning the second method was evolved first, and that, too, probably on the analogy of having ऊ from उ + उ. But as it was not applicable in the case of 11⁴ consonants, the first method may have been invented, and this, in its turn, may have led to an option being followed where possible.

(f) The combination of ऊ with a consonant is to fix up a hook in the inverted position to the foot of a consonant. In the case of र such a hook is affixed as it were to रु to its hook, the resulting form being रू.⁵

Before proceeding further it may be noted that Whitney has remarked in his *Sanskrit Grammar* (p. 5): "On account of

¹ In some of the old Mss. this method is adopted,

² It is this very sign which distinguishes उ from ऊ (उ + उ).

³ Some persons have modified this and write रू to have uniformity with ऊ etc. Amongst the educated Gujaratis, there are two modes prevalent at present. Some write it in *Gujarātī* script as shown in Chart I.

⁴ They are: क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, च, छ, ज, झ, ञ, ट, ठ, ड, ढ, ण, and त्र.

⁵ This is written in *Gujarātī* as रू. I do not know if some write as रू, too. A few decades ago रू stood both for forms for रू and रू in *Gujarātī*. Taylor observes on p. 9 that the form रू is arrived at by writing र fast and cites as a parallel example the peculiar form of ज in *Gujarātī* (vide Chart I p. 416).

the necessities of combinations, *du* and *dū* are somewhat disguised¹ and forms with *ṛ* and *ṝ* are still more irregular: thus *रु ru*, *रू rū*, *हु hu* and *हू hū*".

The signs for उ and ऊ are respectively known at present as *ह्रस्व वरड्ड* and *दीर्घ वरड्ड* in Gujarātī. Taylor, however, styles *वरड्ड* as *वयड्ड* and *वळड्ड* and suggests that the latter is a correct word meaning bent, as the name for the sign for उकार and नेत्र for that of ऊकार. He equates नेत्र with मूळ and says that it is so called as it resembles a root of a tree. In Marāṭhī, it appears that the signs for *ukāra* and *ūkāra* are styled as *ukāra* and *ūkāra* respectively.

(g-h) The combination of क with a consonant except र, usually results in attaching to the lower portion² of a consonant a sub-joined hook opening towards the right and a double one when क is combined with it. The combination of र and क is written as कॅ e. g. in नेकॅय³.

In Gujarātī and Marāṭhī as well, there are no specific names for these signs. The absence of these names in Gujarātī is due to there being no scope for such combinations in the *bārūkhadi*.

(i) The combination of ल with a consonant is the addition of somewhat reduced form of its full initial character. This form is placed at the lower end of the consonant concerned. However in the case of ख, ग, घ, च, ज, झ, ञ, त, थ, ध, न, प, ब, भ, म, य, र, श, ष and ण which have a perpendicular stroke as a part of the limb, this stroke is removed and ल written to its left.

(j) The same remark practically holds good so far as the addition of ल to a consonant is concerned.

(k) The combination of ए with a consonant comes to writing an oblong line raised upon the horizontal stroke of a consonant. This is called a *mātrā*. This may be optionally written as a *karna* to the right of the consonant⁴ and touching the horizon-

¹ This remark is mostly applicable to *Jaina Nāgarī* script; so it appears that this remark is to be taken in the narrow sense.

² In the case of र the hook is attached to the middle portion as र्ह.

³ The combination of र and क leads to the vowel क being written in full and the consonant र in subordination to it as *repha* over क.

⁴ Compare the Bengālī alphabet and the Tamil (?) too.

tal stroke of the consonant so that it may not be mistaken as a *karṇa* of the preceding consonant, if any. In the latter case such a *karṇa* is called a पृष्ठमात्रा, पङ्क्तिमात्रा, पङ्क्तिमात्रा¹ or प्रतिमात्रा.

Taylor in his Gujarātī Grammar says that *mātrā* meaning "a measure" was originally a name for all the vowel-signs. So I think, perhaps this is the reason why, even now, all the vowel-signs are spoken of in Hindī as *mātrā*. At least, Ohja has done so as can be seen from his work *The Palæography of India* (p. 70).

On pp. 18-19 Taylor informs us that formerly there were two types of *mātrā*: the one used now and the other inverted; and the latter was used to denote a broad pronunciation which is necessary in cases like कौल and गौल in order that they may be distinguished from कोल and गोळ. But this is probably a speciality of the Gujarātī language.

(1) The addition of ऐ with a consonant results in writing two *mātras*² above the horizontal stroke (limb) of the corresponding consonant or writing one *mātrā* and one *prṣṭhamātrā*.

(m) The combination of ओ with a consonant means writing *karṇa* by the side of the consonant to its left³ and writing a *mātrā* or a *prṣṭhamātrā*.

(n) Adding औ to a consonant is to write *karṇa* by the side of the consonant to its left and to write two *mātrās* above the consonant or to write one *mātrā* above it and to attach one *karṇa* to its right side. The former method is spoken of as कानो बे मात्रा in Gujarātī and काना दु मात्रा in Marāṭhī.

When the above signs for vowels with the exceptions of those for क, ऋ, ॠ, and ॡ, but along with those of *anusvāra* and *visarga* are added to a consonant, the series so formed is called *bārākhadī* in Gujarātī and Marāṭhī as well. The Sanskrit equivalent for this is द्वादशक्षरी, a collection of twelve letters. I do not know if this word *dvādaśākṣarī* is used in any Sanskrit work of olden days. I think, the word *saṁhitā* occurring in *Praśnāvalī* seems to be used for it in the 15th century or so.

¹ Ohja has remarked on p. 70 that the scribes of Rajputana use this name.

² This is spoken of as बे मात्रा in Gujarātī and दु मात्रा in Marāṭhī.

³ This is read in Gujarātī as कानो मात्र and in Marāṭhī as काना मात्र,

Vowels	Sanskrit Names	Modified forms used in combinations	Their Names		
			Gujarātī	Marāṭhī	Hindī
अ	अकार	Nether stroke of a consonant removed			
आ	आकार	।	कानो	काना	मात्रा
इ	इकार	ि or ि	ह्रस्व अज्जु, अगियुं (?) पांच कुडाळी पाछ ”	ह्रस्व वेलांटी, वेलांडी, वेल्हांटी or वेल्हाडी	”
ई	ईकार	ी, ी or ी	दीर्घ अज्जु	दीर्घ वेलांटी वेलांडी, वेल्हांटी or वेल्हाडी	”
उ	उकार	ु , उ	ह्रस्व वरडु, वयडु or वळडु	उकार (?)	”
ऊ	ऊकार	ू	दीर्घ वरडु नेत्र	ऊकार (?)	”
ऋ	ऋकार			ऋकार (?)	”
ॠ	ॠकार			ॠकार (?)	”
ऌ	ऌकार			ऌकार (?)	”
ॡ	ॡकार			ॡकार (?)	”
ए	एकार	े or ॑	एक मात्र	मात्रा	”
ऐ	ऐकार	ै or ॒	बे मात्र	दु मात्रा	”
ओ	ओकार	ो or ॒	कानो मात्र	काना मात्रा	”
औ	औकार	ौ or ॒	कानो बे मात्र	काना दु मात्रा	”

The combination of one consonant with one or more may be now dealt with. At the very outset it may be mentioned that though the Mss. and type-fonts as well, differ from one another

in their management of consonantal combinations,¹ often having peculiarities, it is not here possible to deal with each of them. So, mostly only such consonantal combinations as we generally come across in Sanskrit works printed at the Nirnayasagar Press etc., will be here treated.

The consonantal combinations take place in the following ways:—

(i) By placing one consonant above the other, so that the consonant to be pronounced first occupies the upper place, whereas the other, a place just below it. The consonant which is thus placed below is deprived of its bar, and at times has its perpendicular framing line, if any, partly excluded or amalgamated with the consonant below which it is placed, and that the consonant to be placed above loses its nether stroke, e. g. दु (द + म); कू (क + क); कु (क + ड); कु (क + व); कु (क + ल); चु (च + च); कु (ड + क), कु (रु + ख), कु (इ + ग); अ (अ + ज); त (त + त); and इ (इ + द).

(ii) By placing one consonant by the side of the other; of course, the consonant to be first pronounced is assigned a place ahead of the other i. e. to its right. Here, only the latter consonant usually retains its full form, whereas the former generally loses a perpendicular framing line, if any, and its nether stroke e. g. ख्य (ख + य); म्य (म + य); ज्य (ज + य); त्य (त + य); न्य (न + य); प्य (प + य); भ्य (भ + य); स्य (स + य); व्य (व + य); ह्य (ह + य); and ह्य (ह + य).

Thus we see that there are practically two methods employed in placing two consonants together i. e. in consonant-combinations: They are: (i) by writing, one above the other and (ii) by placing one by the side of the other. In some cases either method is followed e. g. in the कू and कु , लू and लु and लू and लु . In all these methods there are some cases wherein there is more or less abbreviation or the partial disguise of the independent form of a combination e. g. that of क in कू , वू and वु ; that of त in तू ; that of इ in दू and दु ; that of म in मू , मू , मू , मू ; and that of य in व्य , ह्य , ह्य and ह्य .

¹ I do not know if anywhere the question as to why consonant-combinations and ligatures must have peculiar forms is discussed. So, I may, hereby make a tentative suggestion that an idea of having special and suitable forms for them may have arisen on finding that it was not necessary to have a nether stroke for a consonant which was pronounced first, out of more, and on realising that in doing so some space and time could be saved in writing.

It appears that the method of placing the consonants to be combined side by side as suggested above could have mostly served the purpose, and it is what one naturally expects. But even then another method has been adopted of placing one consonant above the other. What is this due to? This method seems to have been invented to deal with such cases where no trace of the combination was prominently noticeable and was likely to create confusion, when consonants were placed side by side. This remark may be illustrated by citing the examples of combinations of ह+व, झ+क, द+ट, द+ठ, द+ड, झ+ग, झ+व, झ+म, द+व, द+ग, द+भ, द+म, द+व, ह+ण and द+व.

Now we may note peculiar forms which arise in a few cases of consonant-combinations. Out of them, the case wherein र, a semi-vowel occurs, deserves to be specially mentioned. When र is pronounced before another consonant (or consonant-combination or a ligature), instead of र, a hook opening to the right like the sub-joined sign for ऋ is written at the top of the following consonant (or consonant-combination or ligature) concerned. Thus, र+क=कं, र+घ=घं, र+स्न=स्नं. etc. The hook here referred to is called *repha*. In this connection Whitney has remarked in his Sanskrit Grammar (p. 8) that *r* "is never called *rahāra*, but only *r* or *repha* ('snarl' the only example of a specific name for an alphabetical element of its class)."

Before dealing with consonant-combination where र is pronounced after another consonant or so, it may be mentioned that in some of the Mss. र+य is written as रय i. e. to say, when र is followed by य or its *bārākhadi*, it only loses its nether stroke and a portion of य is so bent as when it is combined with a preceding consonant such as द and the like. Probably, for this reason, a special type like रयै is included by the Nirayasagar Press in its chart of *Jaina* type (p. 28).

When र is pronounced after another consonant (alone or in a combination), only a subordinate sign is placed below that consonant. This sign is of two kinds: (i) a slanting stroke below and to the right of the consonant and (ii) a sign like á *kākapada* (caret). As examples of the former case may be mentioned क¹, घ, य, झ, ग², ञ², भ, द etc., whereas those for the latter, ङ, ढ, ढ etc.

¹ This is also written as कं.

² Here र has undergone a slight modification.

When इ is followed by any one of the consonants such as च, ज, र, ल and व, it assumes a form to be noted in syllables such as अच^१, अज, अर, अल and अव.^२

In consonant-combinations there are a few cases where no trace of the consonant is recognizable, e. g. $\mathfrak{z}$, $\mathfrak{h}$ and $\mathfrak{z}$. Out of these, last two deserve to be specially mentioned.⁴

Combinations of more than two consonants or ligatures having more than two consonants are generally made according to the two main rules pointed out on p. 409.

While concluding this topic of combinations, I may refer to a case which ⁵ some look upon as a vagary. In कर्मन्, धर्म, पर्वन् and the like, the sign for र् which follows the first syllable is written as a snarl on the head of the second and not on the head of the first whereas reverse is the case with the sign for the nasals ङ्, ञ्, ण्, न् and म् occurring in words like अङ्ग, चक्षु, दण्ड, दान्त and कम्प; for, *anusvāra* is placed on the head of the first syllable and not on that of the second, though ङ् etc. follow the first syllable. [To be continued]

3 The resulting forms are written as श and श्र.

⁵ See J. L. Barbhāya's article "भाषा-वृत्ती अथवा शिक्षणनं अगडं बगडं" published in the Dīpotsavī issue (31-10-37) of *The Gujarati*.

CHART I

Nāgarī and Gujarātī Characters

(1) Vowels and praṇava

Jaina NAGARĪ	अ ¹	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	रु	रू
Non-Jaina N	अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ	ॠ ²	ॡ ³
Gujarātī	અ	આ	ઇ	ઈ	ઉ	ઊ	ૠ	ૡ

Jaina N	लृ ⁴	लृ ⁵	ए	ऐ	न	न ⁶	ँ
Non-Jaina N	लृ ⁵	लृ ⁶	ए	ऐ	ओ	औ	ँ ⁷
Gujarātī			એ	ઐ	ઓ	ઔ	ઓમ્

(2) Consonants

Jaina N	क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	च	ब	ज ⁸	झ ⁹
Non-Jaina N	क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	च	ब ¹⁰	ज	झ
Gujarātī	ક	ખ	ગ	ઘ	ઙ	ચ	બ	જ	ઝ

1-3, 5 & 6. The corresponding *Hindī* letters are respectively as under:—

अ, ऋ, ॠ, लृ and लृ.

4 For variants see the 3rd chart which forms Appendix II to my *Descriptive Catalogue of Jaina MSS.* (Vol. XVII, pt. II) and my third *Kiraṇāvālī* (p. 13, l. 3) forming the 3rd part of *Ārḥata jīvana jyoti* and published by the late Babu Jivanlal Panalal, Bombay, 1935.

7 In Jaina MSS. this is mostly written as shown in Chart II sq. No. 8.

8 At times this is also written as one below it.

9 Compare ॠ.

10 In *Hindī* ॠ stands for ॠ.

11 The corresponding *Hindī* letter is ॠ.

Consonants (continued)

Jaina N	ञ्	ट्	व्	रु	ह्	ण् ¹	तं ²	थ् ³	द
Non-Jaina N	ञ्	ट्	ठ्	ड्	ह्	ण्	त	थ्	द
Gujarātī	ञ्	ट्	ठ्	ड्	ह्	ण्	त	थ्	द

Consonants (continued)

Jaina N	ध्	न्	प्	फ्	ब्	ञ् ⁴	म्	य्	र
Non-Jaina N	ध्	न्	प्	फ्	ब्	भ्	म्	य्	र
Gujarātī	ध्	न्	प्	फ्	ब्	भ्	म्	य्	र

Jaina N	ल्	व्	श्	ष्	स्	ह्	ह्वं ⁵
Non-Jaina N	ल्	व्	श्	ष्	स्	ह्	ळ्
Gujarātī	ल्	व्	श्	ष्	स्	ह्	ल्

1 The corresponding Hindi letters for this ण्, and for भ्, ल् and श् as well are ण्, भ्, ल्, and श् respectively.

2 3, For variants see Chart II sq. Nos. 10 and 60, and 11.

4 In Jaina MSS. this is at times written as shown in Chart II sq. No. 62.

5 It seems that this is not the way in which this letter is written in Jaina MSS. Some write it as indicated in the 3rd *Kiraṇāvālī* (p. 13, l. 4). Some believe that in the Jaina script there is no letter corresponding to ह्वं.

(3) Typical Ligatures

Jaina N	क	ख	कृ	क्ष	च	ज	च	प्र	क्ष
Non-Jaina N	क	ख	कृ	क्ष	च	ज	ज	प्र	क्ष
Gujarātī	ક	ખ	કૃ	ક્ષ	ચ	જ	જ	પ્ર	ક્ષ

Jaina N	इ	ऊ	ठ	ण	थ	ड	प्र	क्ष
Non-Jaina N	इ	ऊ	ठ	ण	थ	ड	प्र	क्ष
Gujarātī	ઇ	ઊ	ઠ	ણ	થ	ડ	પ્ર	ક્ષ

(4) Typical Miscellaneous Letters and a symbol

Jaina N	क्ष	ज	कु	फू	रु	रु	ह
Non-Jaina N	क्ष	ज	कु	फू	रु	रु	ह
Gujarātī	ક્ષ	જ	કુ	ફૂ	રુ	રુ	હ

Jaina N	णि	ण	ड	ड	न	न
Non-Jaina N	णि	ण	ड	ड	न	न
Gujarātī	ણિ	ણ	ડ	ડ	ન	ન

1, 2, 4 In Jaina MSS. each of these is also written as shown in Chart II.

3 In *Hindī*, this is written as एण.

5 For variants see Chart II sq. Nos. 56 and 57.

6 For a variant see Chart II sq. No. 20.

7 In this connection the following remark has been made by the late Prof. William Dwight Whitney in his work entitled "A Sanskrit Grammar" (p. 4):—(continued on next page, foot note 2)

Jaina N	स्यो	ह्य	व	श्री	श्व	
Non-Jaina N	यो	ह्य	व	श्री	श्व	ॐ
Gujarātī	यो	ह्य	व	श्री	श्व	

(5) Numerals

Jaina N	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	०
Non-Jaina N	१ ^३	२	३	४	५ ^४	६	७	८ ^५	९ ^६	०
Gujarātī	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	०

(6) Typical Gujarātī Characters

Gujarātī	જી	રુ	રુ	રુ	રુ	રુ
Non-Jaina N	जी	रु	रु	रु	रु	रु

1 See fol. 10⁹ of No. 687 of 1899-1915 (आदीश्वरजीनी विनति).

2 "The hook above, turning to the left or to the right, is historically the essential part of the character, having been originally the whole of it; the hooks were only later prolonged, so as to reach all the way down beside the consonant. In the MSS., they almost never have the horizontal stroke drawn across them above, though this is added in all the printed forms of the characters."

3-6 The corresponding numerals in *Hindī* are १, ५, ८ and ९ respectively.

Typical Symbols and Characters from Jaina Mss.

इ	कु	अ	हु	य	व्य	क	क्क	ख	प्र
ऊ	कु	क	उ	ह	हू	रु	रु	रं	यं
अ	औ	ध	धा	ग	गा	सु	न्ध	ह	ह
क	औ	घ	थ	स	सा	क	ह्य	झ	झि
ए	प	व	उ	ऊ	हु	ह	ह	सु	स्थ
ग		क	गु	ङ	मु	च	त्त्व	सु	स्त
ई	ई	व		क	क	स	त्स	ख	व्य

* These marginal figures denote the serial numbers of the large squares facing them.

Chart II
(Supplement)

ॐ [ॐ]	रि [रि]	सि [सि]	कि [कि]	वि [वि]	त्रि [त्रि]	रि [रि]
ॐ [ॐ]	सि [सि]	सि [सि]	वि [वि]	वि [वि]	त्रि [त्रि]	रि [रि]
ॐ [ॐ]	सि [सि]	सि [सि]	वि [वि]	वि [वि]	त्रि [त्रि]	रि [रि]
ॐ [ॐ]	सि [सि]	सि [सि]	वि [वि]	वि [वि]	त्रि [त्रि]	रि [रि]
ॐ [ॐ]	सि [सि]	सि [सि]	वि [वि]	वि [वि]	त्रि [त्रि]	रि [रि]
ॐ [ॐ]	सि [सि]	सि [सि]	वि [वि]	वि [वि]	त्रि [त्रि]	रि [रि]
ॐ [ॐ]	सि [सि]	सि [सि]	वि [वि]	वि [वि]	त्रि [त्रि]	रि [रि]

36-42

43-49

50-56

57-63

64-70

MISCELLANEA

A DATE CORRECTED

Mr. P. K. Gode in his note XLī on a Ms. of Śamkarasamhitā published in the Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XIX, Part II, pp. 191-192 gives *Sunday 3rd July 1726* as the date of the copy of the Ms. belonging to Kanhoji Angria.

Now I find that the above date is not correct. The text gives Śake 1648, आषाढ शुद्ध प्रतिपद्विंशत्ये, as the date. The corresponding Christian day is *Sunday 19th June, 1726* and not Sunday 3rd July 1726 as worked out by Mr. Gode. (Vide, Ephemeris Vol. VI p. 254 and also Khare Jantrī). The Muhammedan date corresponding to 19th June is 29th Shawwal. This obviously disposes of all discussion about Zul-kada or जिल्काद in Mr. Gode's note.

Perhaps Mr. Gode through some error mistook the प्रतिपदा for पौर्णिमा which latter when converted corresponds to 3rd July, Sunday being common in both cases. That explains why Mr. Gode refers to p. 255 of Ephemeris Vol. VI for the conversion.

About the reference to the letter No. 98 Peshwa Daftar Selections No. 43, the correct conversion given by me above, disposes of the possibility of proceeding to fix the date of the letter on the strength of the common Zulkada as no such fact can be established. The Ms was copied in Shawwal and the letter No. 98 was despatched in Zulkadā, the next month.

Even if the above discrepancy is kept aside, there are other important considerations deserving of attention. The Peshwa Daftar Sel. 43, letter No. 98, refers to चातुर्मास, either about to commence or already running as the difficulty for sending कासी पाध्ये. Now चातुर्मास commences from आषाढ शु. ११; whereas the Ms. copy was completed on आषाढ शु. १. This is one point to be considered. Another and a more important one is to see when the जोशी-पाध्ये controversy was going on. This dispute was a long-drawn one. Mr. G. S. Sardesai of Kolhapur, the historian of the मावळंगकर सरदेसाई family refers to this dispute in a separate chapter in his उत्तरार्ध-खण्ड पहिला of the family history. He refers

to the early stages of this जोशी-पाध्ये feud as occurring in A. D. 1636, 1654, 1659, 1662, 1704, 1709 and 1723 on page 410.

I would suggest that the letter No. 98 may therefore be more reasonably supposed to refer to A. D. 1723 as no mention of the dispute in 1726, the year of the Ms. in question, is yet traced and noted.

Datto Vaman Potdar

— I am glad to find that my note on the Ms. of *Śaṅkarasāṃhitā* belonging to Kanhoji Angria published in the last issue of the Annals has attracted the attention of Prof. D. V. Potdar. I have also to thank him for verifying the Christian equivalent of the date of the Ms. recorded by me, which comes to *Sunday, 19th June 1726* and not *Sunday 3rd July 1726* as stated by me through oversight in using the *Indian Ephemeris* resulting in the discrepancy of a fortnight.

As regards the possibility of fixing the exact date of letter No. 98 of *Peshwa Daftar Selection No. 43*, I am unable to subscribe to Prof. Potdar's suggestion that "no mention of the dispute (Joshi-Padhye controversy) in 1726 the year of the Ms. in question is yet traced and noted" and consequently we must suppose the letter to refer to A. D. 1723 which is the latest of the references to the Joshi-Padhye feud recorded in the *History of the Sardesai Family*. This is a negative line of argument and it would be reasonable to wait till some positive evidence is disclosed by scholars bearing on the date of letter No. 98 in question.

My object in writing about the Ms. of *Śaṅkarasāṃhitā* was to point out the interest of Kanhoji Angria in Sanskrit Mss. I hope Prof. Potdar will be better able than myself in discovering and recording more facts about the cultural interest of the Angrias, who have been depicted as mere pirates by European writers. It is time for competent scholars to devote their attention to an exhaustive history of the Angrias in its proper historical perspective instead of the present partial surveys based on insufficient data.

P. K. Gode

REVIEWS

THE MAHAPURĀṆA OF PUṢPADANTA: Vol. I. edited
by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M. A., D. Lit. It is published as the
37th Volume of the Manikyachandra Jaina Granthamālā
pp. xlii + 672. (Text, notes, glossary etc.); 1937.
Price Rs. 10/-.

Dr. Vaidya has rendered a signal service to the Apabhraṃśa-studying world by bringing out this first Volume of the Mahā-purāṇa of Puṣpadanta. It is the magnum opus of the poet and is being critically edited for the first time.

The text has been very critically edited with the help of five Manuscripts divided into two groups. The oldest Ms. dates back to 1528 A. D.

The introduction deals with problems relevant to the portion of the text that is edited in the first Volume, the general Introduction being reserved for the last (i. e. the third) Volume. The text is printed in fine bold type on thick white paper and the variants are noted just below the text. The novel feature of the text is that a running gloss, in Sanskrit is printed at the bottom of each page, so that the reader need not refer to the glossary or the notes at the end, for every difficult word. The notes are critical and the glossary notes down only the difficult Apbhraṃśa words. The printing and get up of the work is excellent.

Dr. Vaidya has pointed out the various difficulties that he had to face in the publication of this Volume. The trustees, therefore, of the above Grantha-Mālā ought to be specially thanked for their generous help in bringing out the first Volume. Let us, therefore, hope that the other two Volumes also will soon see the light of the day. We are sure that the complete edition of the text will be a very valuable addition to the Apbhraṃśa literature available in print and no one is better fitted for the task than Dr. Vaidya.

N. V. Vaidya

HAIMAPRAKĀŚA-MAHĀVYĀKARAṆA of Vinayavijaya-

Gaṇī, edited by Upādhyāya Kṣamāvijaya Gaṇī, with copious notes and indices, Part I, as the first Volume of 'Śrī Amisoma Jaina Granth Mālā and published by Shaha Hiralal Somchand, 57-59 Old Modi Street, Fort, Bombay, 1937. Text pages 472 + pp. of prefaces, Introduction in Sanskrit, Gujarati and Hindi, Index of Sūtras etc. Price Rs. 8/

Hemacandra was the most prolific and versatile writer of his age and he truly deserved the title Kalikāla Sarvajña. He wrote on varied subjects and we are always conscious of a Master's hand in all his writings. He wrote a Grammar, named 'Siddha-Hemacandra' the first seven chapters of which are devoted to the grammar of Sanskrit while the eighth chapter deals with the grammar of Prakrits. Though he has borrowed from and based his grammar on earlier treatises of grammar, he has also improved a good deal on them. To illustrate the rules of his grammar, he also wrote a 'Dvyāśraya Kāvya' also known as Kumārapāla Carita, or The History of King Kumārapāla, who was a disciple of Hemacandra.

The present Volume is a commentary on Hemacandra's Sanskrit grammar, Haimalaghuprakriyā with the Svopajñā Vṛtti of Vinayavijaya Gaṇī, pupil of Kīrtivijayagaṇī. The Prakriyā was composed in A. D. 1652, and the commentary was written some twentyfive years later. The published text is only the first part of the text and ends with Taddhita. Vinayavijaya Gaṇī has also written a commentary on the Kalpasūtra and is the author of the famous work Lokaparakāśa.

The present volume is printed in the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, the hall mark of best printing. Mr. Hiralal Somchand Shah and the trustees of his father's will deserve also special thanks from all lovers of Sanskrit and Prakrit for having brought out this excellent edition. We hope that the subsequent volumes also will soon see the light of the day and enrich our knowledge.

N. V. Vaidya

BHAKTAKUSUMAÑJALI— Edited by Prof. P. P. S. Sastri,
of the Presidency College, Madras ; published by Vani
Vilas Press, Srirangam ; Price Rs. 5/-

This is a Volume of articles in English and Sanskrit contributed by different scholars, and presented to His Holiness Śrī Śaṅkarācārya of Srīṅgeri Mutt, on the auspicious occasion of the completion of 27 years of H. H.'s spiritual rule. The articles, as is usual on such occasions, describe the outstanding merit of His Holiness, and as the occasion was, owing to the number 27, called Nakṣatramahotsava, so also the number of articles, too, limited to 27.

For the convenience of readers a short English summary of Sanskrit articles and vice versa, has been inserted by the learned editor, who has himself written a Sanskrit article discussing the pros and cons of the long discussed Maṇḍana Miśra-Sureśvarācārya identity. M. M. Tatasastri's intensive Vedic studies are clearly illustrated in his 'Vedasvarūpa' where he has authoritatively discussed the imperfect nature of certain mantras in Yajurveda, while lucid and sweet Sanskrit poetry is freely served to the reader in the 'Ācāryastava' by Abhinavabhaṭṭa Bāṇa, Krishnamacharya. A short life of His Holiness is seen in the article by Kunigal Ramasastri, palace Dharmadhikari at Mysore. A number of photos take us to the important sites of the holy place itself, where we meet some distinguished spiritual leaders of old.

S. N. Tadpatrikar